AUSTRALIAN ABORIGINAL CONTACT WITH THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE IN NEW SOUTH WALES: 1788 TO 1845

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To my father Eric Troy and

my mother Shirley Beed-Troy

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE

This is a revised version of my BAHons thesis (Troy 1985), which incorporates suggestions made by various reviewers and referees. It has been updated to include some references not available to me in 1985. The material now forms a basis for my PhD research in the Department of Linguistics, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University, which is concerned with the development of contact languages in New South Wales (taking into account the diachronic border changes).

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

ABBREVIATIONS

GENERAL

Note: For abbreviations used only in the Bibliography see the list before the first bibliographic entry.

CMS	Church Missionary Society	LMS	London Missionary Society
HRA	Historical Records of Australia	ML	Mitchell Library
IE	Indo European	PJE	Pacific Jargon English

GRAMMATICAL ABBREVIATIONS

Adj	adjective	NP	noun phrase
AdjP	adjectival phrase	Num	number (No was not chosen because of the possibility of confusion with Nom)
Adv	adverb		
Affir	affirmative		
CN	compound noun	PL	plural
Cond	conditional	Pn	pronoun
Conj	conjunctor	Poss	possessive
DefArt	definite article	Prep	preposition
Dem	demonstrative	p1, p2, p3	first person, second person, third person
Dir	direction		
Fut	future	Redup	reduplication
Interr	interrogative	S	singular
Intj	interjection	TransM	transitive marker
Ints	intensifier	V	verb
Loc	locative	VI	intransitive verb
M	marker	VP	verb phrase
N	noun	VT	transitive verb
Neg	negator		

NOTATIONAL CONVENTIONS

(1:84) or 1:84	means appendix one, datum eighty four
~	means that two or more items are alternative interpretations of the data, e.g. {Aborigine} ~ {Aborigines}
< >	encloses orthographic symbol/s from the data, following K.H. Albrow 1972.

Footnotes appear at the end of each chapter and are sequential throughout the chapter.
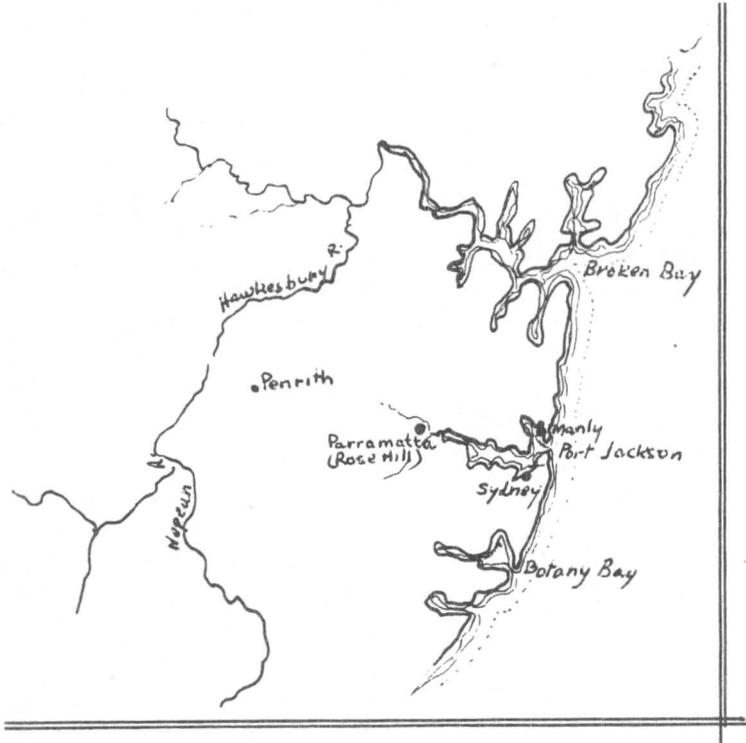
MAP 1: SYDNEY AND ENVIRONMENTS

MAP 2: THE COUNTIES

COLONY of
QUEENSLAND
declared 1859

Moreton Bay penal settlement 1824

COLONY
of
SOUTH
AUSTRALIA
declared 1836

NEW SOUTH WALES

Port Macquarie   garrison 1821
                  free settlement 1825

Wellington   •Newcastle garrison 1804
garrison 1820's free settlement 1830's   Pt. Stephens   free settlement 1820's
        Bathurst. garrison 1814 . free settlement 1820's
        •Sydney penal & free settlement 1788
        •Illawarra penal & free settlement 1790's

        Monaro District free settlement 1830's

COLONY
of
VICTORIA
declared
1851   •Melbourne
        free settlement 1838
Port Phillip penal settlement 1820's

Dates noted are first settlements by non-aboriginal Australians

MAP 3: KEY AREAS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF NEW SOUTH WALES PIDGIN

1. INTRODUCTION

In 1788 the British began to colonise Australia and immediately commenced to impose their own social and linguistic conditioning on the Aborigines. For the next twenty years British influence was confined within the natural barriers of the coastal mountain ranges of what is now New South Wales[1]. However, news of the colonists and the effects of their arrival on Aborigines, especially those within the County of Cumberland, was spread along the traditional trade routes and communication networks. After 1813, the interior of NSW was opened for settlement and the consequences of the resultant contact with colonists were devastating for Aborigines throughout NSW. Gradually at first, then with increasing momentum in the 1830s as the pastoral and squatting rush began, Aborigines all over NSW had direct, if unsolicited, contact with colonists. There is an ever-increasing body of literature dealing with the social effects on NSW Aborigines of British colonisation in Australia. However, the linguistic effects have not been researched to the same extent. There are excellent studies of the traditional Aboriginal languages of NSW and of the consequences for those languages of the British colonisation of Australia. However, to date there has been no detailed study of the kinds of linguistic results which emerged out of Aboriginal contact with English in NSW. This work is offered as a first contribution to the study of Aboriginal contact with English in NSW for the period beginning in 1788 – the first year of British settlement in Australia – and ending in 1845 with the cessation of transportation to NSW and the beginning of major immigrant arrivals.

It is recognised that the orthographic conventions, linguistic terminologies and grammatical categories used ultimately may not prove to be optimal for this field of study. However, they are part of an heuristic methodology designed for this work so as to facilitate analysis and discussion of the data. Without these labelling and transcription systems it would be impossible to make any analysis or to carry out discussion of the data presented and this is why such a system was devised. The orthographic conventions are based on the English orthographic system and were chosen because the data are provided from sources which were operating in terms of conventional English orthographic conditioning. Therefore the data, to some extent, determined the nature of the methodology designed for this work.

Many linguists have stated that they consider there is little evidence for the effects of English on the Aboriginal linguistic context during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This work indicates that view to be incorrect. During the first sixty years of British settlement in Australia people usually kept detailed accounts of their experiences and these are available as published sources or within the archival deposits of libraries and museums and in national repositories. Some are held by the descendants, or the descendants of friends, of the colonists or by collectors of historical material. The resources are extensive and available.

All linguistic data for the period 1788 to 1845 are written transcripts made by colonists, and there are consequences of this which must be considered in any study such as is being attempted in this work. To begin with, the reliability of sources for linguistic data is variable and is one of the issues addressed. Generally, sources are reliable in the sense that most are the products of people who were accustomed to writing in great detail about their experiences and surroundings. They were often government, naval or military officials. Works exhibiting creative license are often based on solid experience, the substance of which can usually be separated from the author's imaginative efforts.

In relying on the sources, one must remember that most[2] of the material for the first sixty years of Aboriginal contact with English was produced by a minority of literate colonists whose linguistic conditioning was primarily determined by their first language – English. In making their observations of Aboriginal speech they relied on a linguistically unsophisticated knowledge of their own first language. Therefore, the first major limitation on this study is that any attempted description of Aboriginal linguistic output for 1788 to 1845 is entirely based on the literate colonists' perceptions of it[3].

The second major limitation on this study is determined by its historical nature. In order to discuss sociolinguistic aspects of the late eighteenth to the middle nineteenth centuries, it is necessary to do a certain amount of extrapolation from present-day synchronic evidence so as to make diachronic assumptions. Such extrapolation is necessarily inferential. However, by using evidence from sources contemporary to the period of discussion and present-day synchronic studies which are pertinent to the historical context, it is possible to make generalisations which are likely to be representative of the diachronic situation.

A particular concern in this work is the investigation of evidence for contact language resultant from Aboriginal contact with English, and the ways in which it became part of the Aboriginal linguistic context. Two broad categories of contact language have been defined – NSW Jargon and NSW Pidgin. However, they are treated as overlapping categories and as yet the data do not provide clear evidence for firm statements about the development of varieties of contact language. That contact language developed is demonstrated herein but the existence of varieties and their periods of existence are not. The data at best demonstrate the expansion of contact language lexicon as time progressed from 1788 to 1845, with major expansion of the lexical inventory by the mid 1800s. The terms NSW Jargon and NSW Pidgin are used because the data does broadly evidence the existence of more or less regular forms. Attention to contact language has been emphasised in this work because the significance of NSW in the development of pidgin and creole languages in Australia has been pointed out by linguists since the inception of study of such languages in Australia. It was in NSW that Aborigines first had contact with English and that fact alone underlines the significance of studying contact language in NSW.

Currently, Aborigines speak at least two creole languages, Roper River Kriol and Cape York Kriol (Sandefur 1985), and it is likely that those languages owe something of their genesis to the NSW contact language context. Traditional trade routes and information networks covertly and overtly connected Aborigines all over Australia (in some areas the routes are still operating) disseminating information amongst them. It is likely that any developing contact language would have travelled along those routes as part of the information about the colonists.

The aim of this work is to provide a sociolinguistic analysis of the data provided in the appendices using a theoretical and methodological perspective devised for this material and incorporating a historical background to the material. Rather than discussing all the issues in pidgin and creole linguistics, many of which are not relevant here, the salient issues in the development of the Pacific Pidgins have been discussed as a comparison with the NSW contact language context. This approach was adopted to show the differences between the history of NSW contact language and the history of other Pacific contact languages and to indicate possible connections between NSW and other Pacific contact languages.

NOTES

1. The boundaries of NSW have changed several times since it was first declared a colony by the British in 1788. For the purposes of this study NSW is taken as meaning NSW as defined by the current state boundaries.

2. 'Most' is used rather than 'all' because there may be some resource material produced by literate colonists not of British extract. For example there is one piece of evidence cited in this study produced by Bunce who was a German settler (see Appendix 1:149).

3. It is remotely possible that some of the writings of Aborigines who were taught literacy skills may turn up in archives or more obscure places. However, it must be remembered that the education system of the time tended to emphasise reading skills rather than writing, so the likelihood of Aborigines having produced written material that may still exist is a remote one indeed.

2. THEORETICAL ORIENTATIONS AND METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 DEFINITIONS

In order to discuss the theoretical issues dealt with here it is first necessary to define and elaborate the principal terms used within the ensuing discussions. These are: 'jargon', 'Pacific Jargon English', 'NSW Jargon', 'pidgin', 'NSW Pidgin', 'creole', 'multilingual', 'lingua franca', 'interlanguage' and 'dialect'.

'Jargon' is structurally more primitive than pidgin, exhibiting the lowest possible degree of expansion necessary for communication. It does not necessarily obey rules of syntax, and its lexical inventory is comprised of a wide range of variants based on purely individual choice. Jargons are created on an individual basis, according to an individual's understanding of the usefulness of various lexical items for speaking with other individuals with whom there is no common language of communication. The individuals avoid issues of grammaticality, opting for lexical items which are significant to themselves and the communications they are trying to construct; they will vary their utterances according to the responses they receive from the people with whom they are trying to communicate. Input to a jargon is determined by the speakers' linguistic conditioning, tending to reflect the structures and features of their first language. Jargon is a mixed language that is very unstable and differs from a pidgin mainly in its degree of instability, which is much higher than that of any pidgin.

'Pacific Jargon English' is the term used by Mühlhäusler (1985a:37) to refer to a number of unstable varieties of jargon English in various parts of the Pacific Ocean which were the result of culture contact between speakers of Indo European languages and the indigenous people of the Pacific. 'NSW Jargon' is the term devised for and used in this work to refer to the most unstable form of spoken communication used within the colony of NSW from 1788 to 1845. NSW Jargon lacks any stable forms. Therefore the relative stability of NSW Pidgin is what distinguishes it from NSW Jargon. However, this is not always an easy distinction to make because NSW Pidgin for all this period appears to be unstable and the early NSW Pidgin is particularly unstable. Firm conclusions about the status of any datum are hard to make.

'Pidgin' is a cover term for a variety of linguisitic phenomena; there is as yet no consensus definition in the literature because "the linguistic nature of pidgin is still hotly debated" (Wurm and Mühlhäusler 1985:5). One of the main problems in the study of pidgin and creole languages is the comparatively small amount of attention given to pidgins and creoles that are the result of contact between languages of non-IE stock. This is a problem because attempts to define and study universal features of pidgins and creoles have been influenced by the obvious similarities between the IE components in most of the languages which have been studied.

A pidgin is a language which has never been the first language of any group of speakers. It arises as a medium for communication between different speech communities (Wurm and Mühlhäusler 1985:5). To date, most of the pidgins studied have involved contact between people in the following contexts or combinations of contexts: (i) speakers of IE languages colonising the homelands of non-IE language speakers; (ii) IE language speakers trading with non-IE speakers; (iii) IE language speakers using non-IE speakers as labour (slave or indentured) on plantations; (iv) war situations involving IE speakers and non-IE speakers.

4

Because pidgins do not have native speakers, their functions and life spans are potentially limited – they "come into being for a specific reason and are used as long as they are useful in a contact situation" (Wurm and Mühlhäusler 1985:5). Pidgins have less expanded communicative functions than natural languages (Hall 1966; Harris 1984; Todd 1974, 1984; Wurm and Mühlhäusler 1985:5). Wurm and Mühlhäusler (1985) have identified some of the functions they consider pidgins do not fulfil: self-expression, transmission of deeper emotions and facilitation of social integration. However, all human communication performs those functions, even if at a very elementary level. The data for Aboriginal communication with the colonists encompass a wide range of functions fulfilled by NSW Pidgin. Wurm and Mühlhäusler's position seems to be derived from the fact that (as mentioned above) most pidgin and creole languages studied have been IE language affiliated ones where, in interactions between IE language speakers and non-IE speakers, the dominance and power of the former has been emphasised. Such an emphasis does not accommodate any considerations of amicable social interactions between IE and non-IE language speakers. Nor does it take into account the fact that a pidgin tends to develop as a second language among the non-IE speakers, and is subsequently acquired from them by IE-speakers.

Any pidgin is a functioning linguistic system with syntactic and lexical rules and as such must be acquired as any linguistic system must (Harris 1984:15). Non-speakers of pidgins often misinterpret pidgin as jargon and are subsequently unable to function adequately in the system. In Papua New Guinea, Tok Masta used by first language speakers of English who are non-speakers of Tok Pisin (one of the pidgin/creole languages of Papua New Guinea) is an example of a jargonised form of a pidgin/creole[1] and Tok Pisin speakers recognise the mistakes in the speech of non-speakers who are trying to reproduce the system[2]. This is not to suggest that all non-speakers of Tok Pisin are trying to reproduce the system. Some Europeans in Papua New Guinea have thought of themselves as trying to uplift the natives by addressing them in something closer to Standard English, thereby giving them a model for 'improving' their Pidgin, which is thought of by the Europeans as a defective version of English (Rumsey 1985, personal communication).

Wurm and Mühlhäusler (1985:5) say that pidgins maintain non-intimacy between groups of people. In the NSW context this is a relevant point, given that Aborigines traditionally used language to mark social groups, and it is consistent that they should use NSW Pidgin – which was the product of contact with English-speaking people – to mark social relations resulting from that contact. It is likely that Aborigines used contact languages developed through contact with colonists to convey information about the colonists, inter and intra group, along their trade routes and information networks.

There are several aspects of the linguistic development of pidgins that are widely agreed upon by linguists: (i) pidgins are the result of linguistic contact (Wurm and Mühlhäusler 1985:5; Todd 1974, 1984; Hall 1966; Harris 1984); (ii) a pidgin has a less expanded lexical inventory and syntax than a natural language (Wurm and Mühlhäusler 1985:5); (iii) if there is an 'aggressor' community[3] the language of that community will provide the basis for the lexicon of the pidgin (Wurm and Mühlhäusler 1985:5) and this language is usually referred to as the "superstrate" (Bickerton 1975, 1981); (iv) the languages of the community/ies that are the object/s of the aggressors are referred to as the "substratum languages" or the "substrates" (Bickerton 1975, 1981) and their influence is manifested at all levels of the pidgin, particularly in the semantics and phonology (Wurm and Mühlhäusler 1985:5) – the effect of substrate influences on pidgins is a regularly debated topic in the field of pidgin and creole linguistics; (v) while language mixing or synthesis accounts for much of the structure of a pidgin, it seems that a possible set of linguistic universals as well as language-

independent forces (that may also be a set of universals) provide input for a pidgin (Wurm and Mühlhäusler 1985:5); (vi) pidgins are usually classified according to their lexical affiliations (Wurm and Mühlhäusler 1985:5).

'NSW Pidgin' is the term devised for and used in this work to refer to the pidgin, or possibly pidgins and dialects of pidgins, spoken by Aborigines in NSW from 1788 to 1845. In this work the pidgin investigated is the result of Aboriginal contact with English-speaking colonists.

'Creole' generally refers to "any language which was once a pidgin and which subsequently became a native language" (Bickerton 1981:2; *Macquarie Dictionary* 1982:441). A pidgin is likely to become creolised when it becomes the primary input to first language acquisition for a group of speakers (Bickerton 1981:4-6). As with the term 'pidgin', there is no tight consensus definition of the term 'creole'.

To be 'multilingual' is to be "able to speak one's native language and at least two other languages with approximately equal facility" *(Macquarie Dictionary* 1982:1142).

'Lingua franca' refers to a language which functions as a means of communication between two or more groups of people who do not share a common first language (Crystal 1980:211; Harris 1984:14). A lingua franca is any language recognised by two or more groups of people (who do not share a common first language) as a systematised form of communication.

'Interlanguage' is the product of an idiosyncratic response to second language learning and as such encompasses a wide range of variations of a target language (Harris 1984:14). Interlanguage is different to jargon because the speakers have as their objective acquisition of a target language rather than communication across a language boundary. Hence interlanguage represents speakers learning and approximating as closely as possible to a target language in all aspects, syntactic and lexical. However jargon speakers have communication as their objective, without any attempt to learn or approximate to another language beyond the most minimal elements necessary for the desired communication. Sandefur (1985:73) describes interlanguage as "acquired through a process of second language acquisition, it is a 'progressive' variety of speech for every individual speaker (although a given speaker may 'fossilise' at any point before acquiring proficiency in the target language). There are several 'starting-points' of prior proficiency or relevant prior linguistic conditioning from which any individual acquiring a language may start, and every speaker proceeds at his own rate and by his own route (that is, it is not a society-based normalised variety of speech)."

'Dialect' is "a regionally or socially distinctive variety of a language, identified by a particular set of words and grammatical structures" (Crystal 1980:110) and by phonological variation. Phonological systems frequently differ between dialects (D.S. Walsh 1985, personal communication).

2.2 GENERAL ISSUES

Aboriginal contact with English generated a variety of linguistic responses. Similarly, the colonists' linguistic responses to contact with Aboriginal languages were diverse. In addition there is evidence that demonstrates both groups had varied responses to contact languages developing in NSW. Aside from missionaries, most colonists did not attempt to acquire Aboriginal languages. They expected the Aborigines to attempt to communicate in English. To this end, early in the nineteenth century, the colonial administration established schools in which Aboriginal children could study English. However, few Aborigines availed themselves of the facilities for formal training in

English. Aborigines who attended the schools usually did so for a limited time. As a result their acquisition of English was limited to interlanguage speech and only basic literacy skills. Aborigines identifiable as first language speakers of English were usually those who had grown up from very early childhood in colonists' homes.

For most Aborigines contact with English resulted in the rapid development of a contact language. Contact languages were not simply lingua francas, but the mediums in which Aborigines could rationalise the radical social changes they experienced as a result of contact with the colonists. In traditional Aboriginal societies (as in other societies), specific languages were associated with inter- and intra-group social identity. It is likely that NSW Pidgin was incorporated into the Aboriginal linguistic corpus in continuation of that function, demarcating, within the minds of Aborigines, aspects of the social identity of the colonists. From the earliest contacts with colonists, Aborigines were discussing amongst themselves – using at least incipient elements of contact language – aspects of colonial society and the material culture of the colonists.

Colonists were likely to have acquired, helped develop, and used NSW Pidgin as the primary means of communication with Aborigines. Additionally, just as Aborigines were acquiring interlanguage English, some colonists were acquiring interlanguage versions of Aboriginal languages and of NSW Pidgin. As NSW Pidgin expanded and became more stabilised the Aborigines, and those colonists who had extended contact with Pidgin-speaking Aborigines, were likely to have shown a preference for this more standardised and expanded form of communication over jargons and interlanguages. The data support this contention, especially the data from the middle of the nineteenth century in which the largest number of stable forms are evidenced. It is often difficult to resolve the status of certain features, as they might occur only once in the data, but their resemblance to well-attested features of other Pacific pidgins and creoles or to Australian creoles indicates the likelihood of their being features of NSW Pidgin. Once Aborigines began to use NSW Pidgin for communication amongst themselves it is likely to have begun to stabilise through extended and constant use. Use of Pidgin between colonists and Aborigines was not necessarily a stabilising process, since the English based content in the Pidgin would have been likely to have increased if it was used with and by first language speakers of English.

2.3 THE RELEVANCE TO NSW CONTACT LANGUAGES OF RESEARCH INTO 'PIDGINISATION' AND INTO PACIFIC CONTACT LANGUAGES .

There are basically linear or cyclic models for the development of pidgin languages (Mühlhäusler 1985a:35-37). Hall proposed that pidgins develop according to a "life cycle" model; they come into existence for a specific reason, last as long as the situation which called them into being and then go out of use (Hall 1962). In some cases they creolise. Todd (1974, 1984) and Mühlhäusler (1974) proposed linear models. Todd's model being: (i) initial phase, (ii) nativisation phase, (iii) phase in which pidgin undergoes increased pressure from the lexical source language, (iv) 'post creole continuum'; and Mühlhäusler's: (i) 'jargon' phase, (ii) incipient stabilisation, (iii) nativisation, (iv) creolisation, (v) depidginisation.

None of these models adequately describes the variations that can occur in the development of a pidgin. In this work Mühlhäusler is followed rather than Todd or Hall. In applying the above models to Tok Pisin[4], Mühlhäusler (1985a:37) notes that "their main weakness...lies in their being unable to cope with non-linear developments in the history of Tok Pisin, a weakness which has been acknowledged by Mühlhäusler [who refers to himself in this way] who made the point that the diachronic development of Tok Pisin is found synchronically as we proceed from the urban centres of

Papua New Guinea to the remote 'Bush-Pidgin'-speaking areas". The geographical movement of Tok Pisin is also not handled by these models (Mühlhäusler 1985a:37). In the NSW context for the time of this study, similar criticisms of these models hold because the developing pidgin was in different stages of stabilisation and expansion in different geographical areas at any given time.

To understand the developmental continuum of a pidgin, the social conditions involved in the language contact context must be considered. In the south-west Pacific the socio-economic circumstances surrounding contact between IE languages and non-IE languages went through three stages from the late eighteenth to the mid nineteenth centuries. The first was the whaling period which began at the end of the eighteenth century. During that period IE language speakers did not usually have long periods of shore stay as deep sea whaling was practised, in which much of the processing was done on the ship. Therefore, contact with non-IE language speakers would not have been extensive. That period marked the beginning of what Mühlhäusler (1985a:37) calls Pacific Jargon English. The second was the period of sandalwood trade which dominated the 1830s, when stay was more regular but was still primarily for the purposes of collecting cargo and supplies. The third was the period of the trepang or bêche-de-mer trade in the 1840s and 1850s. In that period, speakers of IE languages began to make extended layovers amongst the non-IE language speakers.

The NSW context was different from that of the south-west Pacific for several reasons. Firstly, from the late eighteenth century onward the British colonists stayed permanently amongst the Aborigines. Secondly, language contact in Australia was not based on the economic concerns of trade, and the use of Aborigines as a labour force was at this time an essentially unrealised desire. Aborigines eventually did become part of the labour force in some areas of Australia, but they were only on the periphery for all of the period herein dealt with. Thirdly, language contact in NSW always involved a wide range of social functions and was never limited to economic concerns alone. Relations between Aborigines and colonists were always multifaceted – encompassing trade, occasionally labour, social interactions of a personal nature, and conflict.

Mühlhäusler (1985a:38) argues that in the south-west Pacific, up to the period of the trepang trade, contact between islanders and IE language speakers occurred only in the very rigidly defined social contexts of trade – "Trade relations were the only area of common interest. Beyond this the desire of each party to maintain their separate identity was predominant. The wish to remain on non-intimate terms was reinforced by distrust on both sides." Therefore, pidgin languages were only able to develop on the coastal areas of larger islands.

In NSW the situation was completely different from that described for the Pacific by Mühlhäusler because Aborigines and colonists could not really avoid each other even if they wanted to. Given the strong social ties between land and occupants in traditional Aboriginal society, the Aborigines were unlikely to simply walk off their land because colonists also occupied it, and in fact did not unless forced to do so. In addition, it was often dangerous for an Aboriginal group to move into the territory of another Aboriginal group because violent hostility was the likely result. Therefore, Aborigines and colonists tended to co-occupy land while ever the colonists tolerated those circumstances.

Mühlhäusler (1985a:39) also makes the important point that ad hoc jargons and stable pidgins are different and that stable pidgins can only develop in multilingual situations (also Harris 1984). In the earliest stages of language contact in NSW there were ad hoc jargons spoken and the situation was multilingual. The colonists spoke English and the Aborigines spoke one or more of the many Aboriginal languages. It is posited that in the first years of British settlement NSW Pidgin developed rapidly, especially amongst the Aborigines, because even the eighteenth century data reveal a degree

of stabilisation for some of the forms, especially those from Aboriginal languages. There are language contact contexts in which a contact language will develop but in which the contact is doomed to cease, while in others (such as the NSW situation) the contact is bound to continue. Contact languages spoken in doomed contact situations will have different potentials for stabilisation and pidginisation from those spoken in healthy contact situations.

From 1860 onwards, plantations were created in the south-west Pacific (Mühlhäusler 1985a:39-41) and the islanders had a new set of social circumstances to deal with. They had to accommodate lengthy encounters with other Pacific people, previous contacts with whom had been minimal if they had occurred at all. In addition, Europeans who had formerly been little more than trade associates settled amongst the islanders. The sustained language and social contact resulted in varieties of Pacific Pidgin English. They were a range of plantation pidgins which "demonstrated an effort to make use of an inadequate means of linguistic communication to come to grips with a totally new experience. Pidgins at this stage were a means of theorising about an only partly understood reality" (Mühlhäusler 1985a:40). Just so Aborigines in NSW used NSW Pidgin to theorise about the "only partly understood reality" of British colonisation. The contact languages used by Aborigines formed part of their response to, and attempts to cope with, the encroachment of the colonists on their land and the disruption of their traditional social organisations.

In the south-west Pacific Europeans maintained the master to worker distinction by strongly promoting the use of pidgin by the Islanders in speaking to Europeans (Mühlhäusler 1985a:40). There is no evidence of this in the case of NSW Pidgin. Colonists attempted to teach Aborigines English and to incorporate them as 'useful' and 'civilised' members of colonial society. However, most Aborigines were not interested in adopting the colonists' culture and did not have the degree of access to English that would promote it as a first or a second language. Further, in the first fifty years of settlement, the colonists could not make concerted efforts to effect their aims of 'civilising' Aborigines because the colonial administration was struggling to create and maintain services and facilities for the colonial population. It is likely that some Aborigines used NSW Pidgin with colonists as a way of defining their social relationships with the colonists. Likewise colonists developed ways of talking to Aborigines which defined their social attitudes to Aborigines. However, these responses were not part of an economically ratified system, as they were elsewhere in the Pacific.

It was on plantations that the processes of stabilisation, development, dissemination and maintenance of Pacific Pidgin Englishes were promoted. NSW had no plantations and Aboriginal labour was not used intensively anywhere. Therefore, while NSW Pidgin went through the same processes as Pacific Pidgins the reasons for doing so were different. Most importantly, Aborigines and colonists had unavoidable and varied sociolinguistic interactions and NSW Pidgin was used by Aborigines as a second language for communication amongst themselves while dealing with colonists, and as a medium of communication with the colonists.

The data used in this study probably do not represent the likely full extent of NSW Pidgin and its degree of expansion, because it was recorded by colonists most of whom were unlikely to have had full control of the NSW Pidgin system. The bulk of the data probably represent a variety or varieties comparable with the Tok Masta jargon variety of Tok Pisin, the recorded version of NSW Pidgin being significantly influenced by the linguistic conditioning of the observers who recorded it.

2.4 APPLYING THE THEORETICAL ORIENTATIONS IN ORDER TO DEVISE A METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

In any language contact situation humans exhibit individual responses in any given context. These responses are verbal and non-verbal and they are based on past experiences, either of language contact or simply of communication in a wide variety of social contexts. There may be universals that apply to all human responses in language contact situations and the discussion of linguistic universals is a current concern of linguists, especially in the field of pidgin and creole studies.

The general set of recognisable, characteristic responses to language contact situations, including the development of jargons and pidgins, are all evidenced within the NSW context for the period dealt with. This work incorporates that information with the notion that any language contact situation needs to be examined as a discrete set of phenomena and as a set that may have features in common with a universal set of phenomena evidenced in all language contact situations. 'Set of phenomena' is used because in language contact situations there are many possible linguistic responses, all of which are determined by the contextual phenomena particular to each situation. The phenomena are products of interactions between the individuals or groups involved in the contact. Therefore, in order to a understand contact languages it is important to develop a methodological framework which can be used to explain the set of phenomena peculiar to the context in which they were created.

Such a methodology must examine the linguistic and social input to any language contact situation, that is, an investigation of who was contacting whom and for what purposes, and the nature of the speakers' prior linguistic conditioning. In the NSW context this has involved investigating several sociolinguistic concerns: (i) the origins of the colonists and the Aborigines with whom they were in contact, (ii) the motivation behind contact between Aborigines and colonists, (iii) the languages spoken by both the Aborigines and the colonists, and (iv) their prior experiences of language contact.

The people who were most likely to have had language contact experiences before arriving in NSW were people involved in the maritime trade, and the naval or military personnel who may have served in India, Africa or the Americas before being sent to Australia. Later, missionaries and professional travellers – such as artists and writers – arrived in Australia and they too were likely to have had previous experiences of language contact. However, the majority of the non-Aboriginal Australian population, for all of the period 1788 to 1845, were uneducated, working-class British subjects who were unlikely to have travelled beyond the British Isles, possibly not beyond their own village or city, before being transported to or assisted in their emigration to Australia. By contrast, the Aborigines were quite accustomed to multilingualism and language contact, although they generally did not use lingua francas. However, the NSW Aborigines had no previous experience[5] of IE languages or of contact with non-Aboriginal people.

The purposes of any contact, and the attitudes expressed in the contacts, are important in determining whether friendly or hostile communications ensued, and how long contact extended. The British arrived as colonisers and rapidly occupied Aboriginal land. They had prior colonial experiences which they used to devise a set of policies to be applied in the colonisation of Australia. The Aborigines had no previous experiences of colonialisation and their responses, especially during the period of this study, were largely ad hoc.

The purposes for which communications occur are important because they determine who initiates the interactions. Colonists communicated with Aborigines because they wanted information about the environment and occasionally about the Aborigines themselves. They also communicated with Aborigines because they wanted to occupy the Aborigines' land, avoiding as far as possible

opposition and harassment. Each colonist had specific reasons for communicating with the Aborigines and each kind of communication produced a different linguistic output. Aborigines communicated with colonists in order to understand who they were and what their purposes were, and to obtain food and goods[6].

The frequency and degree of language contact is also important in examining the kind of linguistic output that is likely to result from any contact situation. As mentioned above, in the NSW context some Aborigines had access to English as a target language because they lived in the homes of colonists or spent significant periods of time with them or attended schools where English was taught. A very few colonists lived with Aborigines and had access to Aboriginal languages. Given the lack of access Aborigines had to English as a target language it is not surprising that jargons and pidgins developed to overcome the new language boundaries and to rationalise the post colonial world.

2.5 METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

This study deals with the linguistic results of Aboriginal contact with English, rather than the results of language contact in NSW as it may have affected all the inhabitants of NSW, colonists included. Therefore the criteria for division of the data were devised to facilitate an analysis which could take into account the first contact of any Aboriginal language group with English-speaking colonists. The data have been organised chronologically and discussed in terms of major periods of settlement expansion between 1788 and 1845, creating six main divisions based on those criteria. The various Aboriginal languages spoken in the areas contacted by the colonists have been identified using the Aboriginal language map created by M. Walsh (1981).

The main linguistic responses looked for in the data were (i) development of jargons, (ii) development of pidgins, and (iii) acquisition of English as one of a speaker's first or second languages and as an interlanguage. For most of the data the high incidence of English lexical forms indicates English was the superstrate language in the input. However, for the two earliest periods the amount of input from Aborginal languages may have been greater than from English, which challenges the notion of English as the superstrate (at least in the early formation of NSW Pidgin). For the purposes of indicating the significance of Aboriginal languages in the development of NSW Pidgin, a list was made of Aboriginal language features that are similar to those evidenced in the list of features of NSW pidgin.

The section for each period has been divided into (.1) an introduction to the relevant historical background for the period, (.2) a list of the written sources and a discussion of their reliability, (.3) a discussion of the data, (.4) a lexical inventory, (.5) a phonological inventory, and (.6) a syntactic analysis of the examples. (.4) to (.6) provide evidence of synchronic and diachronic variation and of the input to contact language in NSW.

The sources are discussed in terms of the relevant features of the author's and/or scribe's linguistic conditioning and style of writing – whether it was literary or report-like. These criteria are important, in order to determine who were most likely to be writing from a thorough knowledge of Aboriginal speech and whether or not they would have tended to embellish their observations with their own creative license. Some writers, such as Rev. Lancelot Threlkeld, consciously made the distinction between NSW Pidgin and English when they transcribed utterances by Aborigines, rarely confusing the two. However, even writers like Threlkeld, who had a depth of knowledge about and familiarity with Aborigines, their languages and NSW Pidgin, could not hide their linguistic conditioning in their

transcriptions of Aboriginal utterances and this could help account for some of the instability in forms within the data. However, the unstable nature of NSW Pidgin cannot entirely be explained by attributing it to inaccuracy in transcription.

NOTES

1. Tok Pisin cannot be defined simply as a pidgin or a creole. In some, mainly urban, areas it is substantially creolised while in others it exists as a pidgin. For a full discussion of the nature of Tok Pisin see Wurm and Mühlhäusler 1985.

2. Mühlhäusler (1985b:275) has discussed the disapproval shown by speakers of Tok Pisin to the varieties spoken by non-speakers attempting to approximate to the system.

3. That is, any community that took the initiative for the initial contacts that were made between communities and which resulted in linguistic contact (Wurm and Mühlhäusler 1985:5).

4. It is recognised that Tok Pisin is not a pidgin in the sense that NSW Pidgin was likely to have been in the period of this study. However, the points made in this quotation are relevant to both pidgins and creoles.

5. A very few Aborigines had experienced contact with explorers such as Cook prior to 1788.

6. It is likely that Aborigines wanted food and goods from the colonists more for the symbolic value of the exchange than for their intrinsic worth or utility. For example, when the annual blanket handout was terminated the Aborigines took it as a slight, being more concerned by the severance of their ritual connection with the Governor through his gift of the blankets than at the loss of the blankets as articles.

3. THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND TO CONTACT BETWEEN ABORIGINES AND COLONISTS

Historical detail is essential to the formulation of theories about and understanding of the development of contact languages in NSW. Therefore this chapter is provided as an overview of the historical information relevant to the discussion of the data presented later in this work. However, as mentioned earlier, the information contains its own bias which is that in discussing the history of contact between Aborigines and colonists[1] all the evidence on which one must draw, for this period, derives from written records left by the colonists; there is no material created by Aborigines which has yet been discovered. In addition, the only possible access to oral evidence for this period would be through surviving oral traditions. The accuracy of the records can be in part determined by considering the colonists who left or could have left records, and their motivations for doing so. Therefore, in this chapter, consideration is given to those colonists who were likely to have been literate. The evidence leads to the conclusion that only a minority were literate and that some of them were employed as scribes for illiterates.

3.1 INTRODUCTION

On 26 January 1788 the first British colonising fleet (known as the First Fleet) led by Captain Arthur Phillip, appointed first Governor of NSW, arrived in Botany Bay, Australia. Phillip later sailed up the coast and established the first British settlement in Australia, at Port Jackson. He made no attempt to communicate his intentions to the Aborigines, or to acquire the land from them by treaty. Phillip operated under the British assumption that Australia was 'terra nullius', unowned land, free for the taking. This conclusion had been reached because the Aborigines did not cultivate the land and evidence of cultivation was the major criterion applied by the British in judging whether or not foreign lands had owners (Broome 1982:26-27). Therefore, in the first communications with the Aborigines, the colonists were concerned with obtaining information which would help their settlement survive and flourish and the more curious amongst them collected information of a philanthropic nature. In the earliest days of settlement, convicts especially were interested in socialising with the Aborigines, and their communications were informal and varied. The Aborigines were interested in the origins, nature and intentions of the British. Later communications involved (i) unofficial interactions between individual Aborigines and individual colonists more for recreational diversion than to obtain information (of course it is only speculative that the Aborigines would have regarded any communications with colonists as recreational), (ii) attempts by the colonists to 'civilise', to make servants of, and to pacify the Aborigines, and (iii) the Aborigines' efforts to negotiate with the colonists for the return of their land and compensation for its use[2].

Historical records and current opinion conflict in assessing the amount of social mixing that existed between Aborigines and colonists. However, David Collins, a very keen observer of the Aborigines, clearly stated that from the beginning of British settlement the Aborigines and colonists were mixing. He noted that in a Port Jackson cove a 'family' of Aborigines was regularly visited "by large parties of the convicts of both sexes on those days in which they were not wanted for labour, where they danced and sang with apparent good humour, and received such presents as they could afford to make them; but none of them would venture back with their visitors" (Collins 1975:1/29).

In the first year of settlement, Phillip captured two Aborigines in order to teach them English and thereby use them as sources of information and as a means of communication with other Aborigines. Prior to their capture, no effective 'official' (from the point of view of the colonists) communication had existed with the Aborigines. The ensuing contact history was one of destruction of the Aboriginal population – by accident, design, displacement and disease. There were lame attempts by the officials, and more vigorous ones by missionaries, to ease the destruction through 'civilising' Aborigines, or making them 'useful' within the British colonial society. None of these attempts was notably successful.

The rate of destruction of the Aboriginal population and the usurption of traditional areas of habitation were not considered problems so much as regrettable inevitabilities. Frequently, Aborigines were used in the relentless advancement of the frontiers of British settlement. They became guides, sources of environmental and geographic information, and later – usually in the capacity of 'native police' – were employed to deal with other Aborigines. Aborigines also provided 'amusement' for colonists, sometimes as objects of curiosity from which to learn 'unusual' skills such as spear throwing. At other times they were made the targets of macabre humour, or hunted and killed like animals. Aboriginal women, in a society where women were scarce, were constantly targets for sexual coercion or rape.

"By the late 1790s, the Hawkesbury River area, eighty kilometres [sic] north west of Sydney supported over four hundred Europeans" (Broome 1982:29). Aboriginal guerrilla groups, led by individuals such as Mosquito, resisted the European enchroachments. They became such an effective resistance force that Governor Macquarie, in 1816, forbade the "Aborigines to carry weapons within two kilometres of a house or town or from congregating in groups of more than six, even when unarmed", however, "while violence persisted on the edges of white settlement, many of the Gamaraigal moved into Sydney town" (Broome 1982:29). They became very dependent on the British for food, as their own territory was taken over.

"The Aborigines in the interior were not entirely unprepared for the invasion of their lands. Accurate and detailed information about the European explorers travelled up to five hundred kilometres along the traditional lines of inter-tribal communication" (Broome 1982:36). Along the frontiers, there was resistance by the Aborigines, which became war when they were too insistent about retaining their land. However, Aborigines made friends with some of the less aggressive colonists, often relying on them for food, alcohol, tobacco, and medicine (such as copper sulphate, or 'blue stone', used to treat venereal disease) (Broome 1982; Rowley 1983). The colonists generally communicated with the Aborigines in English or a form of NSW Pidgin, as they rarely acquired any facility with Aboriginal languages. Missionaries and a few of the colonial officials attempted to acquire Aboriginal languages and to collect information about the lexicon, syntax and phonology of those languages. However, "it was maintained by many in the colony that the Blacks had no language at all, but were only a race of the monkey tribe!" (Threlkeld 1974:1/46). Therefore the Aborigines had no choice but to use NSW Pidgin or English with the colonists.

By the 1820s, schools had been established for the Aborigines in an attempt to provide them with a British education using English as the classroom lingua franca. The missions, in particular, were active in this sphere. Efforts to Christianise and 'educate' Aborigines were hindered by their general apathy and by lack of adequate funding, but mostly by massive depopulation of the Aborigines (by 1845, many coastal NSW groups no longer existed). The destruction of Aborigines was so severe that in 1845 Mahroot was identified as the last living member of the Botany Bay Aboriginal community (1/150). Threlkeld's mission to the Awaba of Port Macquarie had very few Awaba to be

concerned with by the 1840s (Threlkeld 1974). The depopulation occurred when Aborigines were relocated by missions, forced into new tribal territories by frontier encroachment, became fringe dwellers in settlements like Sydney or near squatters' homesteads and, in many areas, were 'eradicated' as pests (Broome 1982; Rowley 1983).

NSW Pidgin is the most demonstrable linguistic product of Aboriginal contact with English-speaking colonists. The Aborigines needed to find a way in which to rationalise the major changes that had occurred in their world view as a result of British colonisation. NSW Pidgin in part resulted from their attempts to explain to themselves the new social input and the consequent changes they experienced. It was a new language for a new social context.

3.2 DESCRIPTION OF THE COLONISTS, 1788-1845

The first British colonists were convicts, army and naval men and a very few free settlers. Later, increasing numbers of free settlers and ticket of leave men arrived in Australia. From 1788 to 1845 they comprised: (i) naval and military officers and civilian officials; (ii) rank and file marines and soldiers; (iii) convicts and emancipated convicts; (iv) free settlers, assisted (including indentured labourers or servants) or private; (v) ticket of leave holders, who had served two thirds of their sentence in England; (vi) sailors and maritime traders, who were the sector most in flux.

The majority of colonists came from England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales, England and Ireland being the predominant countries of origin (Ward 1958:44-45). "Before 1851, there were, relative to the total population, many more Irishmen in NSW than elsewhere in Australia" (Ward 1958:52). "Before 1851, more than half of the assisted immigrants reaching NSW were Irish...Generally speaking, Irish convicts and immigrants became unskilled labourers in Australia, while a very high proportion of Scotchmen, even of those who landed with little or no capital, became rich or at least 'successful'" (Ward 1958:45). The Scots referred to were Lowlanders as opposed to the Highlanders who were often poor, illiterate and not necessarily English-speaking. In Australia, Highland Scots were employed as shepherds and servants, especially by Lowland Scots (Laurie Fitzhardinge 1987, personal communication). The Scots Lowlanders were generally the most educated and literate sector of Australian society. Their "average standard of education, was much above that of England as England's was above Ireland's" (Ward 1958:46).

Identification with Australia became increasingly important to its non-Aboriginal residents throughout the period under discussion. Therefore, a terminological distinction was created to distinguish between non-Aboriginal free-born members of Australian society, and those who were British born. The first were known as 'currency' and the last 'sterling' (Meredith 1973:50).

The following table (Ward 1958:14) illustrates the changing makeup of Australian society:

	CONVICTS	EMANCIPISTS	CURRENCY	FREE IMMIGRANTS
1828	15,668 (43%)	7,530 (20%)	8,727 (24%)	4,673 (13%)
1841	26,453 (23%)	18,257 (16%)	28,657 (24%)	43,621 (37%)
1851	2,693 (1.5%)	26,629 (14%)	81,391 (43%)	76,530 (41%)

3.2.1 THE FIRST AND SECOND FLEETERS[3]

Sydney, Port Jackson, was the site of the First Fleet's earliest settlement. In November 1788, following crop failure in Sydney Cove and on Garden Island, settlement was extended to the more fertile area of Rose Hill (now called Parramatta).

One of the official justifications for the colony was that it formed part of Britain's answer to the enormous problems of overcrowding in her cities. Overcrowding had become a severe problem in the mid eighteenth century as a result of the Industrial Revolution and the Enclosure Laws, both of which prompted massive migration of displaced people from the rural to the urban centres of England, Ireland and Scotland . Crime (as defined in the legal system of the time) increased as the overcrowding and severe poverty put tremendous social and economic pressure on the working classes in particular. Australia was initially settled as a penal colony and a viable economic proposition (Lord Sydney 1786) with the long-term view of it becoming a free settlement, suitable for resettling the 'excess' from the working classes of England, Ireland and Scotland, providing a panacea for urban overcrowding (NSW Select committee on emigration from the United Kingdom 1826). It also appears that Australia was seen by the English as a place in which to 'dump' the rebels and rural poor of Ireland. Many Irish convicts were sent to Australia without records of a trial or sentence and were thereby forced to remain in Australia with little hope of repatriation (Kiernan 1954).

The First Fleeters were convicts, naval officers and marines, their wives and children, a few free settlers (such as Reverend Johnson) and sailors. The total population in 1788 was 1,024, 74.2% being convicts; less than one third of the convicts were women (see 3:1). The convicts were from "an illiterate class of unemployed" (Chapman 1981:12). "Children of urban England and of working class background...petty thieves, prostitutes, domestic servants, labourers, and factory and cottage workers, and few of them were victims in the legal sense" (Chapman 1981:9-10). NSW was to be a pioneering settlement, therefore "the major part of the prisoners were mechanics and husbandmen, selected on purpose by order of Government" (Tench 1979:42-43).

The Second Fleet began to arrive in June 1790 when the *Lady Juliana* arrived in Port Jackson carrying two hundred and twenty-five convict women. It was followed by three more transports, with two companies of the NSW Corps, convicts, and free settlers.

LITERACY AMONGST THE EARLIEST COLONISTS

The literacy rate in the First Fleet would have been low. All the officers, Reverend Johnson and the surgeons were literate, their positions requiring them to keep journals or accounts of their experiences. The ordinary marines were described as "sea soldiers trained to fight on ships" (Crittenden 1982:204), a group unlikely to have had any literacy skills. It is difficult, on perusal of the available documentation, to discern which of the convicts would have been able to read or write. All things considered, no more than a quarter of the 1788 arrivals was likely to have been literate.

The emancipated convicts who settled and raised families in NSW sometimes availed themselves of the colony's limited educational facilities, especially for their children. Therefore, the opportunity existed for people who had no access to the development of literacy skills in their country of origin to gain those skills in Australia.

3.2.2 POLITICAL PRISONERS

Political prisoners appear to have been a relatively small group, although many of the Irish prisoners, in particular, could be classed as political in the sense that they were rebels who were transported for petty crimes in order to remove them from Ireland. Prisoners transported for political crimes were "the Scottish 'martyrs' of 1794, the naval mutineers of 1797 (including the surgeon William Redfern), the Irish rebels of 1798, 1803 and 1804, the Tolpuddle 'martyrs' of 1834, the Canadian rebels of 1839, and the Chartists of 1842...They would number a little more than one thousand in all, of whom one half would come from the rioters of 1830" (Shaw 1958:31). Few of them, except the 1830s rioters, remained in Australia after their sentence expired (Shaw 1958:31).

3.2.3 CONVICTS

About 157,000 convicts were transported to Australia between 1788 and 1868 (the end of transportation). From 1787 to 1797, 5,858 convicts were sent to NSW (NSW Select Committee on Finance 1798; and see 3:2). The types of convicts changed over the period from 1788 until the end of transportation to NSW in 1840. By then 80,000 had been sent to NSW, including to Port Phillip Bay and to Moreton Bay. From 1788 to 1820, the state of English law was much harsher and many petty criminals were transported. There were a huge number of petty theft type offences for which a person could be gaoled, executed or transported. Up until 1820, about 28,700 convicts were sent to Australia, most of them small-time thieves.

Reforms of the criminal laws began in 1820, and between then and 1850 120,000 convicts were transported to Australia. Most of them were thieves and repeated offenders who came from very poor, uneducated, working-class backgrounds (Shaw 1958:31). Educated criminals tended to be forgers, embezzlers, and gamblers from working class or lower middle class backgrounds – for example, the middle-class architect Francis Greenway was transported for forgery. Such educated and skilled convicts were frequently emancipated before their term expired, and encouraged to become freely contributing members of colonial society. In just that way Francis Greenway became the Colonial Architect. However, after the 1835 Criminal Law Reforms, many of the offenders convicted in the British Isles were major criminals with little likelihood of reform. Therefore, from 1835 onwards it was more common that murderers, rapists and big-time thieves were transported to Australia.

3.2.4 THE POPULATION OF 1820

Commissioner J.T. Bigge (1823:78) described the population of NSW in 1820 in the following way:

> The population of New South Wales consists, first, of persons who have gone out to the colony in a state of freedom, either as civil servants, set lers [sic] and merchants, or of persons who, after serving in the regiments stationed there, have entered upon those pursuits. To these may be added a very few individuals who have repaired to the colony from India, and have settled in it. Second, of the children either of free persons or convicts, and who have been born in the colony. Thirdly, those who, after having been transported under the sentence of the law for crime from England, Scotland, and Ireland, and also from India, or the Eastern colonies, under sentences of courts martial, have become free by expiration of their terms of sentence, or remission of them by the

governors of the colony. Fourthly, of the convicts, whose terms of service are still subsisting; and lastly of those, whether free or convict, who having been again convicted of offences in the colony, are suffering punishment by the sentences of the colonial courts.

3.2.5 FREE IMMIGRANTS

In the nineteenth century the percentage of free immigrants increased. Between 1830 and 1837, NSW was described as "not only a penal, but a large and flourishing free colony" (NSW Select Committee on Transportation 1830-37:10-13). People were encouraged to stay in the colony and repatriation was only offered to the 'Tolpuddle martyrs'. However, in the early period naval and military officers and personnel frequently repatriated.

In 1825 England there was a "considerable proportion of able-bodied and active labourers, beyond that number to which any existing demand for labour can afford employment" (NSW Select Committee on Emigration from the United Kingdom 1826). It was this "redundant population" who were encouraged to emigrate to Australia. In 1825, the Irish peasants were being dispossessed of their tenancies and they reacted with bloody violence. Therefore the British strongly encouraged the Irish to emigrate, and where possible continued to transport them.

Encouragement to emigrate was also directed at working class people under the age of thirty who would work as servants, labourers and tradesmen. No emphasis was placed on formal education and literacy as criteria for selection, although on board the government ships details of immigrants' education were recorded. The main requirements were certificates of good character and health from clergy and important people from their last place of residence.

In 1831, the British government decided to assist young women from agricultural communities to emigrate to Australia as servants for farmers. In 1833, they advertised for "unmarried women or widows...between the ages of eighteen and thirty...of good health and character" (Foster 1833). By 1835 these women, as well as young, married mechanics and agricultural labourers were given free passage to Australia and settlers were given a bounty for assisting such people.

Not all the colonists were native English speakers, let alone literate in English. In 1847, Mrs Chisholm (1847:413) stated "numbers of poor people that go cannot speak or understand the English Language. I have known Numbers of Highlanders go who could not understand or speak English." She recommended that more help be given to dispersing the immigrants through the interior country areas. Chisholm also stated (1847:199) that many of the females in "The Female Immigrants' Home" were "unsuitable for Sydney service, but fit for the rough Country work of the Interior" and she took females to the country to obtain work. She reported (1847:198) that many of the female immigrants became vagrants in Sydney – "A few were properly protected, while Hundreds were wandering about Sydney without Friends or Protection".

'FOREIGN' IMMIGRANTS

Some immigrants were termed 'foreigners' by the colonial authorities because they were not British or Irish. They were sent to Australia "to cultivate the vine or olive, or for the manufacture of wine or oil" (Clark 1980:187). 'Foreigners' were required to have certificates of age but not of

character (Clark 1980:187). Included in this group were also the indentured workers brought from India and China to ease the urgent need for labourers in Australia.

SUSPENSION AND REINTRODUCTION OF IMMIGRATION

From 1841 to 1843, government and bounty immigration were suspended because assisted immigration was regarded as too expensive for the British government to support (Clark 1980:190). In 1843 assistance to immigrants was renewed, but it was suspended again in 1845 (Clark 1980:190). In 1847 government immigration was reintroduced due to pressure from colonists who wanted immigrant labour (Grey 1847:728-30) and no doubt also due to pressure from potential immigrants who wanted to leave the conditions of overcrowding and poverty that were rife in England. On March 17 1840 *The Sydney Morning Herald* (repr. in Clark 1980:195) reported that the "very refuse of the counties" were being sent to Australia as immigrants in order to ease the effects of the poor laws.

3.2.6 SQUATTERS AND THEIR EMPLOYEES

By the late 1830s, squatters were becoming a significant part of the NSW population, their successes spurred on by the value of the wool they produced. They were generally well-educated people who kept books to read for entertainment and wrote diaries, journals and accounts of their experiences. The last is fortunate for the twentieth century researcher as those records are rich in historical, social and linguistic data. Most importantly (for this work) some squatters enjoyed mixing with the Aborigines, 'chatting' with them, watching corroborees and learning traditional Aboriginal skills. Some of them encouraged, others forced, Aborigines to spend time with them, especially Aboriginal women. Curr (1883:7-9) recalled that "one young squatter, was particularly noticeable, as it was his custom to have a black boy in livery mounted on his horse's croup". The squatters were often new arrivals from England, young men with cash and no experience of colonial life. "It soon became known that the majority of squatters were of a fine type and in particular that their ranks included many university men and army officers...[in] 1836, Bourke wrote that not more than twenty to thirty Ticket-of-Leave holders occupy Crown Lands throughout the whole colony" (Roberts 1968:182).

The squatters' employees were usually convicts, people with conditional pardons, emancipists, indentured Indian labourers and, occasionally, assisted free immigrants. The reason for the imbalance between free immigrant servants and others was that free immigrants were a minority compared to the total of others throughout the period under discussion.

The number of women in the colony was always lower than that of men, and in the interior, where the squatters and their servants were, the shortage was most acute. One of the ramifications of the shortage was that non-Aboriginal men in remote parts of the colony looked to Aborigines for a supply of women. The squatters' shepherds frequently bothered Aboriginal women, which occasionally resulted in the killing of shepherds by Aborigines for their misdemeanours. Conflict frequently arose between squatters and Aborigines, generally caused by the squatters' shepherds' behaviour towards the Aborigines or the killing of squatters' stock by Aborigines. Disputes were dealt with by the Commissioner of Crown Lands. However, "strange to say the Blacks habitually neglected to give their version of the tale, though we know that they had constantly very serious charges to advance against the shepherds, in connection with their conduct towards the females of the tribe. As the

Blacks therefore neglected to appear before the Commissioner in what might be termed his judicial capacity, nothing was left for him as guardian of the public peace but to appear before them which he did at a gallop, sabre in hand, surrounded by his troopers industriously loading and discharging their carbines [at the Aborigines]" (Roberts 1968:296).

3.2.7 BUSHRANGERS

By 1839 another element had emerged in NSW society – a class known as the bushrangers. The first bushrangers were convict 'bolters' who had escaped into the bush and proceeded to live as outlaws. Later, 'currency' people took to bushranging, especially during the gold rushes (Ward 1958:141). Although they lived in the bush, they rarely had intimate associations with Aborigines. There were exceptions, such as Ben Hall's brother-in-law, John McGuire, who "while still a lad...spent some years wandering with a tribe of Aborigines" (Ward 1958:141). Bushrangers were generally from illiterate working class families. However, a notable exception was the captain of "a gang of four, who had long infested the settlement of Hunter's River (whose captain) was quite a literary character besides, never failing to rummage the library, and select what works pleased him best...said the romantic hero, 'books are very instructive, and very amusing, too, in the bush when we have nothing to do'" (Cunningham 1827:2/197-198). Rolf Boldrewood's *Robbery Under Arms* (1881) was concerned with 'gentlemen' bushrangers, and could be considered some evidence for the existence of such bushranging types.

3.2.8 WHALERS

A discussion of the whalers in Australia is included because the whaling trade was very important in the introduction of PJE into the NSW context and for disseminating incipient NSW Pidgin into the south-west Pacific. Whaling in the Pacific was the first enterprise which brought English-speaking people into extended contact with Pacific Island people, and promoted the development of contact languages in that area. The high seas whaling industry began in the Pacific after the 1788 voyage of the British whaler *Emilia* around Cape Horn, returning to England in 1790 with a full cargo of sperm oil from the south Pacific (Australia, *Parliament* 1979:25). American and other British ships soon followed.

Pacific whaling was usually 'deep-sea' whaling which did not require long periods of shore stay because the butchering and processing of the whales was completed on board (Spence 1980). In the First Fleet there were two whalers with licenses to go whaling after completing the voyage to Australia; whether they went or not is unknown (Spence 1980:65). In the Third Fleet, which sailed in 1791, there were five whaleships (Spence 1980:65). The first ship to hunt whales in Australian waters was the *Britannia* which was originally used as a convict transport and in 1791 returned to Port Jackson with its first whale cargo (Heaton 1984:261). The coast of NSW was reported to be abundant with whales, as were the river and coast of Hobart (Australia, *Parliament* 1979: 26). "The first Australian deep-sea whaler was launched in 1805, and by 1819 Sydney owners had considerable whaling interests. There were deep-sea whalers, in addition to bay whalers operating from Twofold Bay when operations came to an end in 1848" (Australia, *Parliament* 1979: 26). The whalers often arrived in NSW as transports and once they arrived in Sydney became merchantmen supplying the colony – "Sydney became a thriving settlement, important as a port of call, especially for the whaleships which pursued their trade in the Pacific" (Spence 1980:65). They included New Zealand and Tasmania in their trade networks. These trade connections were very important in the

dissemination of PJE to Australia. Given the frequency of Pacific whalers calling in to NSW by the early 1800s, it is not surprising that by 1816 innovations in NSW Pidgin evidenced the influence of PJE. By the 1820s the PJE lexical input into NSW pidgin and other contact languages was significant.

Aborigines had direct contact with the whalers and may have acquired some PJE from them and whalers are likely to have acquired some NSW Pidgin from the Aborigines. In the early 1820s it was noted that "some individuals of the Botany Bay tribe have been on whaling voyages, and had their "lay" with the rest of the sailors. A few have also recently been apprenticed as sailors from the Orphan School, and will probably do well" (see 2:36). The linguistic experiences of Aborigines who went on sea voyages were probably passed on to other Aborigines when they returned.

3.3 ABORIGINES AND EDUCATION[4].

From the earliest years of the colony colonists attempted to provide Aborigines with a formal education in the British tradition. At a time when most of the children in the colony were not provided for at all, selected Aborigines (adults as well as children) were tutored in the homes of the more wealthy and respected colonists. By the early nineteenth century the colonial government was providing schools especially for Aboriginal children, while the children of colonists were only barely catered for. It was an ironic situation when one considers that most Aborigines appear to have considered the colonial government's attempts to have been an invasion of their privacy while poor colonists complained about the lack of educational facilities.

3.3.1 GENERAL EDUCATIONAL POLICY, 1788 TO 1845

From 1788 to 1845, education was aimed at utilitarian ends and was most readily available to those in a minority sector of NSW society who could afford to pay fees. The poor majority generally remained uneducated. Paradoxically, both the church and government education systems were seen by colonial officials as a way to save the colonists' children from 'delinquency' and to maintain them as a labour force through vocational training. However, there was no compulsory education system. "The shortage of labour limited the importance of schooling for economic or social advancement" (Barcan 1980:93). For professional education in fields such as medicine and law people tended to go to England and the children of wealthy 'currency' were often sent to England for all their education.

The education provided for Aborigines was modelled after the charity education available to a limited degree for poor colonists and their children. Reading and speaking English were considered important, with much less emphasis on writing. When Aboriginal children could not be recruited voluntarily they were kidnapped and forced to attend school. Education was initially regarded as the way to 'civilise' Aborigines and facilitate their assimilation into British colonial society. Later it became evident that contact with the colonists had devastating physical and social effects on the Aborigines and education was seen as the means by which they could be 'saved'. It was believed education 'saved' morally through Christianising, and physically and socially through teaching independence from the colonists – thereby protecting Aborigines from exploitation, physical attacks and ill health caused by alcohol, tobacco and disease (not to mention arsenic-laced flour and other deliberately poisoned food).

Formal education encouraged some Aborigines to acquire English as it was spoken by the colonists. It made English a target language, if only for the brief period during which Aborigines

attended school. Schools, missions and colonists who tutored Aborigines provided them with access to acquiring English as used by native speakers. Some Aborigines would have acquired the idiosyncratic interlanguage of a second language learner, their access to native English ceasing at that point. A very few others acquired English as a second language with a high degree of facility in it, for example Bungaree, who not only acquired a high degree of facility in English but also in Latin (see 1:157).

3.3.2 FORMAL BRITISH-STYLE EDUCATION OF ABORIGINES

Governor Phillip captured several Aborigines with a view to teaching them English, thereby facilitating communication between Aborigines and officials. The first was Arabanoo (see 2:2), and after he died Bennelong and Colbey (see 2:5) were taken. The English training they received is not documented; however, they certainly acquired at least a limited English lexical inventory.

The very first attempts to 'educate' the Aborigines were carried out by colonists in their homes, especially by officials and clergymen. In 1789, Reverend Johnson had a female child, "Abaroo", living in his home (see 2:3). He taught her to read and speak a little English, as well as "the Lord's Prayer &c, and as she comes better to understand me, endeavour to instruct her respecting a supreme being &c" (Johnson 1790). She absconded after a few months under his care. Children living with colonists usually ran away at puberty. In 1799, Marsden wrote that his native boy could "speak the English language well, and had begun to read" (Woolmington 1973:21).

The first organised, formal education for Aborigines was initiated when on 10 December 1814, a Government and General Order from Governor Macquarie announced that a school was to be established "'to effect the civilisation of the Aborigines of NSW, and to render their habits more domesticated and industrious'. [Subsequently] the Native Institution opened at Parramatta on 18 January 1815, and by June there were five boys and eleven girls in the school" (Barcan 1980:20). They were to be placed in a dormitory away from their parents, Christianised, given vocational training and taught basic reading, writing and arithmetic. William Shelley, a former South Seas missionary and trader, was put in charge. However, he died in the same year, and his wife took over. By 1817 the children were reported as able to read the Bible and were attending Sunday School:

> With respect to the capacity of the natives to learning, we can have no doubt, as the Native Instititution founded by Government about three years ago (1811) under the Superintendency of our late much lamented Mr. William Shelley fully proves. There are about seventeen children in the Native School, under the management of the Widow Shelley – the greater part of these poor Native children can read their Testament or Bible, and lately a part of them are admitted into the Sunday Schools (Hassall 1817:275).

In 1819, a fourteen year old Aboriginal girl won the first prize in the Anniversary Schools Examination, ahead of twenty Aboriginal and one hundred non-Aboriginal children. Macquarie was very gratified, and "wrote glowing to his superiors that Aboriginal students reveal 'good Natural Understandings, and an Aptitude for learning whatever is proposed to be taught them'...The *Sydney Gazette* hailed the Institution as the instrument of 'civilisation and salvation of thousands of fellow creatures, at present involved in gross darkness'" (Broome 1982:31). The public education available to colonists had utilitarian aims and Macquarie translated this into his plans for Aboriginal 'education'. He believed that through education it would be possible to exploit Aboriginal labour.

They were potential 'assets' to be trained as mechanics and labourers so that they might well find 'useful' roles "as members of the lower orders of society" (Rowley 1983:6).

Commissioner Bigge was concerned about the expense of one pound fifteen shillings per child per annum for education. In 1823 the Native Institution was moved to the Black Town settlement under the charge of Rev. George Clarke (Reece 1974:63). However, the institution was regarded as unsuccessful and Clarke's successor William Walker (a Wesleyan missionary) gave the girls into his wife's keeping. The boys went to Rev. Robert Cartwright at Liverpool. Governor Brisbane was not interested in the institution and dissolved its committee in 1825 (Reece 1974:63). The remaining female students went with Walker when he took his new post as master of the Female Orphan School. In 1826, the institution was revived by the Clergy and Schools Corporation when Thomas Hobbes Scott decided that Aborigines from the Male and Female Orphan Institutions should be placed there. In January 1827, nine Aborigines were in the new institution. However, it was abandoned in 1829 and the remaining Aborigines were sent to the Male Orphan School (Reece 1974:63). After the closure of the Aboriginal Institution, Aboriginal children were sent to the orphan asylums because it was believed that by mixing with the colonists' orphans the Aborigines would "gradually imbibe their ideas, and manners and customs too" (Cunningham 1827:1/18).

In 1836 George Langhorne, a catechist for the Church Missionary Society, was appointed catechist to Aboriginal prisoners at Goat Island, Sydney and he taught them to read English. He later took six conditionally released prisoners to Threlkeld's establishment at Lake Macquarie where they escaped (Threlkeld 1974:1/35, 2/324).

Teachers, missionaries and colonists all frequently remarked that Aborigines, especially children, were very quick to acquire spoken English and reading skills. "Aborigines seemed to enjoy reading and asked for more books. They also learnt to count, say tables and do simple arithmetic" (Woolmington 1977:32).

Government and religious bodies regarded education of Aborigines as the best way to 'civilise' them, to make them compatible with the colonists. In addition, there was always the hope they would make good servants. 'Civilising' the Aborigines translated as teaching them to be sedentary, to wear clothes, to read[5] and speak English, to conform to British cultural norms, and to be Christian. These attempts to 'educate' and 'civilise' the Aborigines were not very successful. The schools suffered from lack of Aboriginal support more than lack of funding. In 1833, the only Aboriginal school was at Liverpool and although it had only four pupils it was the most highly endowed of the colonial schools (Cole 1926). However, as with all the government and church charity efforts, funding was dependent on the whims of the authorities in charge. Further, when the Aborigines left school they returned mainly to the company of other Aborigines and had little opportunity to maintain the skills they had learned at school. Although the schools did provide some Aborigines with English as a target language for a short period of time there was little maintenance of English as a target language once they left the schools.

There is some evidence that Aboriginal children were forced by some colonists to attend school. For example, when Rev. Lawry was preaching to a group of Aborigines at Portland "they hid their children and when he asked why 'replied that many of them had been taken away by men in Parramatta, and they feared I was come on that errand'" (Lawry 1818:371-373). Lawry stated that he believed the provision of a Christian education at the Native Institution was the Aborigines' only hope for salvation (Lawry 1818:371-373).

3.4 ABORIGINES AND MISSIONS

In the 1820s, missions were established to continue the work of Christianising and 'educating' the Aborigines. Prior to the 1820s, church funds had not been available for missions to the Aborigines. The churches had directed their money to projects benefiting the colonists and especially non-Aboriginal orphans. Once missions to the Aborigines were established the missionaries made it their policy to learn Aboriginal languages and to use them as the vehicles for converting the Aborigines to Christianity (Coates 1838:498). Missionaries were the only people who formally used Aboriginal languages for the purposes of education. Threlkeld (1974:2/187) made clear their policy: "first obtain the language and then preach the Gospel, then urge them from Gospel motives to be industrious". In order to acquire Aboriginal languages, missionaries often relied on Aborigines who could speak some interlanguage English or NSW Pidgin; for example Threlkeld's helper M'Gill, who grew up in the Sydney Barracks and reportedly could speak English (see 2:30).

The missionaries had a very difficult time encouraging adults into their programs, so they turned to the children, segregating them from their parents in dormitories. They gained the children's interest in class using singing, marching and clapping hands. Rev. Coates at Wellington reported that children very much enjoyed reading after initial instruction (Coates 1838:494-496). He was pleased to note that the Aborigines had made progress "in the respective Departments of instruction and civilisation" (Coates 1838:485-486). The missionaries' methods for Christianisation involved prolonged, intensive schooling and especially vocational training. For example, the Wellington mission employed a superintendent of agriculture "to teach habits of industry, order and subordination" (Broome 1982:33). Women were to be instructed in "good motherhood" and how to be "useful members of the community" (Coates 1838:496-497). Attendance at the missions was voluntary, although kidnapping occasionally occurred, especially at the Wellington mission under Rev. Watson (Broome 1982:33).

Mission schools ended when the missions closed. The Lake Macquarie mission was closed by Gov. Gipps in 1841 and the Wellington mission closed in 1894. The reason was that there were not enough Aborigines left in the mission locales. The State Government Aborigines' Protectorate took over from the missions and attempted to carry on the mission goals of 'civilisation' through tuition and the passing on of the "sober virtues of the middle-class whites" (Rowley 1983:100).

3.4.1 GENERAL HISTORY OF MISSIONS TO THE ABORIGINES TO 1845

Christians in this period believed that *"welfare* for non-Christians meant conversion: it did not mean the right of free men to decide what they wanted to do, and then to find opportunities to do it" (Rowley 1983:88). The Wesleyan Rev. Leigh arrived in Australia in 1815 (Woolmington 1976:46), and the Wesleyan Missionary Society was established in Australia in 1820 (Woolmington 1976:48). This was the society's first mission to the Pacific. It subsequently established missions in Tonga (1822), Samoa (1835), Fiji (1835) and Rotuma (1839) (Beaton Barton 1958:66). In 1825, John Harper had begun working for the CMS in the Wellington area; Wellington had been established as an agricultural and military settlement. In the same year Rev. Lancelot Threlkeld began working for the London Missionary Society at its ten thousand acre grant at "Reid's Mistake" on the shores of Lake Macquarie (Reece 1974:116).

The LMS was "an organisation formed in London, in 1795, by a group of Anglican and Nonconformist clergymen with the object of preaching the gospel in foreign lands" (Chisholm 1958:5/360). "One of the earliest ventures of the LMS had far-reaching effects in Australia. In 1795

the society purchased the *Duff*, a vessel of 300 tons, with the object of sending missionaries to Tahiti. In September 1796 the *Duff* sailed from England and it reached its destination in March 1797. In the following year the islanders became hostile to the missionaries and eleven of them decided to seek refuge in Sydney. Among those who remained and rendered useful service to the colony were Rowland Hassall and Samuel Clode. William Pascoe Crook, who had also sailed in the *Duff*, and Threlkeld were other missionaries who reached Australia later" (Chisholm 1958:5/361).

In 1827 the LMS and the CMS were given land grants. The grants were to be used in setting up Aboriginal reserves which could be forfeited to the State if the mission failed. The attitude of the missionary societies as sponsors of these missions was always ambivalent. Colonists were barely catered for in religious matters and the Aborigines were regarded, by the sponsors, as a less important element in the missions' cause. In 1830 the LMS ceased helping Threlkeld and his work continued with Government finance. The Wellington mission was formally established in 1831 (Chisholm 1958:5/65).

By 1831 there were two missions operating in NSW – the CMS and the LMS[6]. The Wellington mission mostly dealt with the Wiradjuri people and the Lake Macquarie mission with the Awaba. The prevailing official opinion in the 1830s was that Aborigines did not benefit from contact with colonists and should be kept away from any such contact[7]. Missionaries and colonial officials were in agreement that missions should be built in areas isolated from colonial settlements. Paradoxically, one of the goals of the missionaries was that Aborigines should be assimilated into colonial society (Reece 1974:65-66).

The Lake Macquarie mission never detained Aborigines against their will. However, at the Wellington mission Rev. Willian Watson and Rev. James Gunther had a dispute over Watson's policy of detaining Aboriginal children against the will of their parents (Reece 1974:72). In 1840 Gunther established his own mission at Apsley on land given by a sympathetic local squatter (Reece 1974:72).

3.4.2 MISSIONS AND LANGUAGES

Amongst the colonists it was missionaries who were generally the most keen to establish amicable and regular communications with the Aborigines. This was because they wanted to convert the Aborigines to Christianity, and the fundamental doctrines of Christianity are humanitarian. Fortunately for anyone researching early contact with the Aborigines in NSW the missionaries kept detailed records and reports of their experiences with the Aborigines to supply to their sponsoring mission societies. They also collected information about Aboriginal languages, material culture and lifestyle. Missionary records provide reliable linguistic evidence because the missionaries, like the various officials who kept records, employed a report-writing style that tended to be pedantically detailed. They wrote with a view to describing their work and experiences and to provide suggestions for assistance. In some instances there are clear contrasts in the writings of individuals depending on their purpose in writing. The work of Threlkeld is a good example. In writing reminiscently about his life and the Aborigines he knew he tended to transcribe utterances by Aborigines in his own English (see 1:99). However, if in a report he transcribed utterances by Aborigines he used what appears to be NSW Pidgin (see 1:80, 84).

One important point to note about the linguistic significance of the missionary records is that no missionaries transcribed linguistic material using any knowledge of linguistic theories comparable to present day ones or with any standard method of transcription. Their prior linguistic conditioning

was likely to be an important influence in their assessments of Aboriginal languages or Aboriginal contact languages. For example, Threlkeld who knew Tahitian observed a similarity between it and Aboriginal languages.

Another important point is that while missionaries used the terms 'language' and 'dialect' they did not clearly define the differences or even the relationship between those terms. 'Dialect' is often used with the patronising implication that it is a vulgar variety of a language or is a language that is somehow less expanded than other languages. Keeping all these limitations in mind it is possible to use the writings of missionaries as linguistic evidence for comparison with evidence from other sources such as official government records and informal records kept by other colonists.

The CMS missionaries began their missions in the south-west Pacific after they had established a mission in Australia. Hence their dealings with Aborigines were unlikely to have been influenced by any previous extended dealings with Pacific Islanders, although it is likely that their experiences with the Aborigines influenced their dealings with Pacific Islanders. In addition any incipient contact language they had acquired in Australia (such as NSW Pidgin) would probably have been used in communicating with Pacific Islanders. However, the LMS missionaries had all worked in the mission to Tahiti before they began their work in Australia and may have been exposed to PJE. It is possible that any PJE input in their transcriptions may be the result of this prior linguistic conditioning.

The importance of missions in the development of NSW Pidgin is considerable. Missions brought together Aborigines of different language and social groups who may not have ordinarily mixed. Furthermore, missions added to the new social and linguistic input Aborigines were experiencing as a result of contact with the colonists. Missionaries initially attempted to assimilate Aborigines into colonial society by 'teaching' them about what they saw as the important aspects of British culture – Christianity, work ethics and middle-class British morality.

Missionaries presented Aborigines with additional unprecedented cultural input which needed to be rationalised and explained. Therefore, in reinforcing the Aborigines' need for a language in which they could rationalise aspects of their new lives, missionaries were instrumental in promoting NSW Pidgin. On mission stations Aborigines may have used NSW Pidgin as the medium for discussing amongst themselves mission-related or non-Aboriginal matters. That is, contact languages might have been used to explain contact or it might have been that lexical items from contact languages were used as input to traditional languages when Aborigines were speaking about contact matters. In the present-day context northern Aborigines tend to borrow lexical items from English or Kriol when discussing, in their own language, matters that relate to English-speaking people (Rumsey 1985, personal communication). In addition, NSW Pidgin was likely to have been useful to Aborigines in communicating with missionaries, while the missionaries probably relied on a jargon variety of NSW Pidgin or on English to talk with the Aborigines (especially before they acquired any facility with an Aboriginal language or languages).

In this sense missions also promoted the use of lingua francas by the Aborigines, a linguistic phenomenon which seems to have been unprecedented in Aboriginal society before their contact with English-speaking British colonists. Missions would have helped provide a prolonged and expanded context in which NSW Pidgin could have stabilised. Not all missionaries were able to acquire facility with an Aboriginal language and some no doubt had to rely on NSW Pidgin of a jargon or interlanguage variety, or on English in order to communicate with the Aborigines. Some missionaries

may also have acquired fluency in NSW Pidgin. Missionaries at Wellington in particular complained of problems in acquiring facility with Aboriginal languages (Coates 1838).

As early as 1817 missionaries expressed the desire to learn Aboriginal languages in order to spread Christianity among the Aborigines. Hassall, who wanted to save the "sable Natives" by teaching them Christian doctrine, said (1817:273): "a preacher for Portland would be very beneficial in this work and could collect the language of the Aborigines...and translate it into English so the Bible can be translated". This statement is indicative of the missionaries' confusion about the Aboriginal linguistic context. It is very unlikely they had a sophisticated linguistic conception of the differences between Aboriginal languages and between dialects of Aboriginal languages. Of all the missionaries Threlkeld was the most diligent in recording and attempting to acquire an Aboriginal language. He published detailed books based on his extensive studies of the language of the Awaba people.

3.5 THE COLONIAL GOVERNMENT'S OFFICIAL POLICIES ON THE ABORIGINES

The first fifty years of official policy concerning the Aborigines centred around the instructions Governor Phillip had received. He was "to endeavour by every means in his power to open an intercourse with the natives, and to conciliate their good-will, requiring all to live in amity and kindness with them" (*HRA* 1:13-14). The policies of each governor depended on his idiosyncratic interpretations of this instruction. Violence erupted between colonists and Aborigines from the first year of settlement and, because of this, official policy was viewed as needing to incorporate protective measures for both colonists and Aborigines.

Governors Phillip and Macquarie protected the Aborigines more than any other governors, and were most expressive of hopes for their assimilation within colonial society. Colonial officials regarded formal education and acquisition of the English language as essential to Aboriginal assimilation and vital in promoting friendly and mutually beneficial interactions between Aborigines and colonists. However, government policy was hindered by some colonists who had their own self-interested policies and who expressed total lack of regard for Aboriginal welfare. Aboriginal responses to the colonists were, probably, largely ad hoc. Where possible, they tolerated and interacted with the colonists, but when tolerance and interaction were not possible they retaliated against the colonists' hostile actions.

The governors endorsed the settlers by protecting them and their families and property from the Aborigines. Killing Aborigines, in self-defence, was permitted. Murder of Aborigines had the same legal status as murder of a British subject, however most colonists who murdered Aborigines were not even tried for the offence. If colonists *were* tried it was very difficult to convict them, given the colonists' belief that Aborigines were the 'enemy'. However, in 1838, seven of the perpetrators of the Aboriginal massacre at Myall Creek, Liverpool Plains, were executed as murderers. Prior to this judgment only one colonist had been brought to justice for the murder of an Aborigine – he was a convict whose execution was authorised by Macquarie for the murder of an Aboriginal constable (Reece 1974:108[8]).

Official retaliation against Aboriginal resistance to colonial incursion was usually swift. Although Phillip was keen to be friendly with the Aborigines he ordered the heads of any six Gamaraigal Aborigines to be brought to him following the spearing of convicts (Broome 1982:27). Governor King encouraged settlers to form militia groups to protect themselves against Aboriginal guerilla groups and he encouraged colonists to fire upon Aborigines in the Georges River area (p.107). Governor Bligh banned Aborigines from having anything to do with settlers in the Parramatta area

and encouraged the settlers to take action if Aborigines were found there. He sent detachments of soldiers to protect the remote settlements (p.107). The situation became so serious that well-known Aborigines around Parramatta and Prospect found it necessary to have themselves placed under the protection of Parramatta magistrates in order to return to Parramatta and Sydney (p.108).

Governor Macquarie wanted to control, 'pacify' and 'civilise' not only the Aborigines but also the colonists. His policies were pervaded by a humanitarian desire to see all colonists and Aborigines treated equally and fairly. He wanted the inhabitants of NSW to live safely under the legal protection of his governorship. However, following the establishment of settlements west of the Blue Mountains, beginning in 1815, he was faced with hostility on the part of the "interior" Aborigines, caused by the bitter conflicts which had occurred not only between Aborigines and colonists but also between coastal and interior Aborigines.

By 1816, Macquarie had moved against the actively hostile Aborigines:

> The Aborigines, or Native Blacks of this Country having for the last three years manifested a strong sanguinary hostile spirit, in repeated instances of Murders, outrages, and deprecations of all descriptions against the settlers and other white inhabitants...[he sent] three separate military detachments to march into the interior and remote parts of the Colony for the purpose of Punishing the Hostile Natives by clearing the country of them entirely, and driving them across the mountains, as well as if possible to apprehend the Natives who have committed the late murders and outrages, with view of their being made dreadful and severe examples of, if taken alive. (Macquarie 1816-1818:238-240)

Under Macquarie's orders, Lt. Dawes, Capt. Wallis and Capt. Shan led detachments to the Cow Pastures, Windsor and Liverpool taking friendly Aborigines with them as guides (Macquarie 1816-1818:240). They captured some of the "Hostile Natives" and took them to Sydney as prisoners (Macquarie 1816-1818:247).

One of Macquarie's policies was to encourage Aborigines to be farmers. He offered them land grants and technical assistance, setting aside five areas as agricultural reserves for the settlement of Aborigines in the Sydney area (p.110). After it was proved that his Native Institution was no longer viable he wanted to replace it with an Aboriginal settlement. The settlement was to contain the necessary buildings for a village situated on a reserve of 10,000 acres near Moss Vale. He regarded it as a means for protecting Aborigines against the "demoralising influences of some colonists" (Rowley 1983:90). Following Macquarie's return to England in 1822 his plan was abandoned (Rowley 1983:90). However, he had managed to create a fishing village for some of the Sydney Aborigines, called "Elizabeth Village" at Elizabeth Bay, and equipped them with a boat and fishing gear (Rowley 1983:93). Macquarie also established King Bungaree amid the remnants of the Broken Bay Aboriginal group on a reserve of land at George's Head on the northern side of the harbour (p.109). He had originally believed in assimilation of Aborigines into colonial society. However, he gradually changed his policy to one of separation, noticing that Aborigines and colonists were not a happy combination. Hopes of the Aborigines becoming 'civilised' through contact with colonists were dashed by the mutual antipathy of the two groups. Therefore, the majority of Macquarie's unrealised plans were devised to make the Aborigines sedentary and independent of the colonists.

Governor Brisbane, who succeeded Macquarie, converted Elizabeth Village into a lunatic asylum and the land was eventually given to settlers (p.109). Cunningham (1827:2/18-19) said that even while Macquarie was still in the colony the village "was soon suffered to fall into decay", claiming

that the Aborigines let it decay because they thought "very lightly of the governor's judgement in providing such a hamlet" and only used the dwellings in case of rain.

Macquarie also introduced the annual feast and blanket distribution at Parramatta. This came to be considered by the Aborigines as extremely important. It was a tangible sign of acknowledgement of their importance to the colonial government, and the Governor who represented it. In 1824 Windradyne, a guerilla leader of the Bathurst Wiradhuri, attended the feast to acknowledge his defeat in the warfare that had erupted as a result of martial law having been declared in the area (Salisbury and Gresser 1971:37).

ABORIGINES AND LAND

The official policy toward land was based on the assumption held by the British government that they owned all the land in Australia because they were the colonisers and the Aborigines were not using the land for cultivation. Therefore, the British government never officially acknowledged any Aboriginal rights to land. Aborigines were commonly regarded as trespassers if found on land that had not been granted to them or to Aboriginal missions. In addition, Aborigines were required to use the land granted to them for agriculture or it was resumed by the Crown. When they understood it, the Aborigines regarded the colonists' official policy on land to be ludicrous. It often happened that warfare between Aborigines and colonists was the result of official colonial policies on land, those policies being completely at odds with the Aborigines' own perceptions of their relationship to the land. Aborigines pursued their own 'policies' for resuming land which involved retaliation towards the colonists by killing their stock, stealing their crops, raiding settlements and the dwellings of individuals, and occasionally by murdering colonists. The colonists always reacted to the Aboriginal attacks by organising revenge killings, which were generally massacres involving whole communities of Aborigines. In 1824, for example, following the declaration of martial law in the Bathurst district, Aborigines were slaughtered indiscriminately (Salisbury and Gresser 1971:30). That situation arose because, although Macquarie had attempted to prevent hostility developing between Aborigines and colonists in that area by slowly opening up access to the land, Brisbane had made the land readily available. By 1822 severe conflict between Aborigines and settlers had begun which led to the declaration of martial law.

Governor Darling also attempted to deal with the Aborigines by using military force, especially in cases where Aborigines were shown to be obstructing the advancement of settlement frontiers or interfering with the colonists. Numerous cases of murder of Aborigines by colonists went unpunished while Darling was governor (pp.13-15). On that subject, Attorney General Saxe Bannister (1830) concluded:

> The English rules of evidence, the absence of interpreters, and the ill-conduct of the people (both settlers and convicts, with special exceptions) render it exceedingly difficult to cause the law to be put in force against murderers and other heinous wrong-doers towards the natives; and when, by any concurrence of favourable circumstances, conviction has been obtained, the government has sympathized too much with the oppressed, to permit justice to have its course."

In July 1825, the *Instructions* to Darling contained "a new requirement that special provision be made for the Christianisation and civilization of Aborigines" (Reece 1974:116). Darling gave Archdeacon Scott that responsibility and he employed Richard Sadleir to survey the Aboriginal

situation in Argyle County south-west of Bathurst. Sadleir discovered the Aborigines were receptive to being given presents but mostly requested to be left alone.

In 1834, Spring Rice informed Governor Bourke the next governor, of a House of Commons address requesting governors to secure the legal and moral rights of Aborigines in order to facilitate their 'civilisation' and Christianisation. Through the ensuing investigation it was found that the English legal system prevailed in all cases relating to Aborigines, including those involving only Aborigines (Spring Rice 1834:119). A period of serious investigation into killing of Aborigines was also initiated. Surveyor General Mitchell even had his actions investigated as he was known for killing Aborigines on his expeditions. His killings were explained as a panacea to his fears – he was supposed to be "dreadfully frightened of the blacks" (*Sydney Gazette* 14.1.1837, quoted in Reece 1974:120).

Governor Bourke was responsible for making it quite clear that Aborigines had no legal claim to land tenure in the colony, unless the land was granted by the colonial government. Bourke was not actually trying to prevent Aborigines claiming land rights. His purpose was to prevent them alienating land to colonists without government involvement, because several colonists had been making contracts with Aborigines for land tenure. In August 1835 Bourke (1835) issued a proclamation:

> Every such treaty, bargain and contract with the Aboriginal Natives...for the possession, title or claim to any Lands, lying... within the limits of the Government of the Colony of New South Wales...is void and of no effect against the rights of the Crown...

The Secretary of State for the Colonies, Lord Glenelg (1836) stated:

> ...we should consult very ill for the real welfare of that hapless and unfortunate Race by recognising in them any right to alienate to private adventurers the Land of the Colony...

In 1835, Bourke abolished the annual Parramatta feast, as attendances had been dwindling and drunken, disorderly behaviour after the feast was offensive to Parramatta citizens. However, he continued blanket distributions in the interior of the colony. This meant that from 1833 onwards annual returns of Aborigines were taken, in order to judge the number of blankets required. The blanket distribution continued to serve as a regular endorsement of the connection between the colonial government and the Aborigines (pp.124-126).

Bourke was interested in protecting Aborigines from the 'vices' of colonists. (In 1837, he issued a short statement that anyone involved in the forceful detention of Aboriginal women would "be prosecuted under the 1836 Act as an illegal occupant of Crown land" (Bourke 1837)). Taking advantage of Bourke's interest in Aboriginal welfare, Thomas Buxton in July 1835, "secured the establishment of a Select Committee of the House of Commons to consider how justice and Christianity could be brought to the indigenous peoples of the colonies" (p.129). A large amount of information about the Aborigines was supplied to the committee by another of their supporters, J.D. Lang. Buxton also organised the British and Foreign Aborigines Protection Society which hoped to influence official policy, especially in relation to future colonisation efforts.

The *Report* of the Committee recommended segregating Aborigines and colonists and recognised the Aborigines' right to land ownership in Australia. It stated that colonial legislatures were representative of interests which clashed with those of the Aborigines (p.132). The *Report* had indirect effects, such as the above noted concern with the legal rights of Aborigines during Bourke's

governorship. It was also proposed that Protectors of Aborigines be appointed, and from 1837 to 1841 government money was provided to create Protectorships (pp.136-138).

After Bourke, Governor Gipps' attempts to put into effect Glenelg's rulings on the status of Aborigines as British subjects were frequently thwarted by squatter opposition (p.143). Aborigines, especially in southern NSW, were aggressively defending their land. Colonists and Aborigines were killing each other in a warlike situation that was outside official control. The 1838 execution of seven stockmen involved in the Myall Creek Massacre at Liverpool Plains proved that the government was attempting to keep legal control of relations between Aborigines and colonists. Popular opinion amongst the colonists was that the government had no control over the Aborigines, so it was the duty of the colonists to take control outside the legal boundaries.

Corruption was entrenched in colonial society. Officials, magistrates and police were generally self-interested and did not like the government's policies for protecting Aborigines. The first police were emancipated convicts and with such a foundation the police force tended to attract the worst moral characters and rougher men in the colony (Crowley 1980:17). Positions of authority, such as magistracies, were also given to emancipists, and they tended to abuse their authority and mistreat convicts and no doubt Aborigines if they had the opportunity (Crowley 1980:257, 297). Many officials in positions to police Aboriginal-to-colonist interactions were not humanitarian philanthropists interested in Aboriginal welfare, but hardened men pursuing personal gain in any situation. An example of this is the massacre of Aborigines of the Namoi and Gwydir Rivers, led by Major Nunn of the mounted police in January 1838. He escaped prosecution because he was too deeply embedded in the official establishment to be tried by that establishment. In fact, as he and one of his officers were magistrates, it was really his duty to immediately perform autopsies on the Aborigines for whose deaths he was responsible (p.177). It was a frequent occurrence that government officers were not investigated for killing Aborigines (p.178).

The official policies towards Aborigines went from assimilation to separation, and from a vague attempt at undefined humanitarian recognition of the rights of Aborigines to defined sets of investigated legal parameters within which the Aborigines were to be protected from the effects of British colonisation – protected in terms of what the British saw as the areas in which the Aborigines needed protection. The initial policies were aimed at assimilation and co-habitation, even though Aborigines were being dispossessed of their land and were not asked for their opinions on sharing land and assimilation. 'Sharing' with the British was especially difficult for the Aborigines as the British expected them to co-exist on agriculturally developed land. The Aborigines were ignorant of the lifestyle needed in order to use land for agriculture, and the British did not effectively explain to them how they should adapt. The Aborigines could not maintain their traditional lifestyle, if only because their traditional food supplies were destroyed.

Assimilation was found to be a disaster, and it was replaced with policies of paternalism and segregation. Those policies grew out of the observed deterioration in the health of Aborigines, in the maintenance of their traditional lifestyle and in their general population density. The demise of the Aborigines was seen by colonial officials to be the direct result of the expansion of settlement. From about 1836 onwards, increasingly narrow legal documents were used to 'protect' the Aborigines from the colonists and to keep the colonists and Aborigines physically apart.

Throughout the period under discussion, official policies provided direct and indirect encouragement to Aborigines of different language groups to mingle freely and regularly. Some groups, before British colonisation, would have had very little, if any contact with each other. The

government did not try to keep groups of potentially hostile Aborigines apart. Often, the officials ignored the fact that Aborigines of one area might not be able to verbally communicate with Aborigines of a different area. They would take Aboriginal guides and interpreters to areas in which the latter had no knowledge of the language, or amongst groups that were potentially hostile to them. It was not ignorance of the existence of traditional hostility between groups of Aborigines that prompted government policy. The Native Police were employed because their effectiveness depended in substantial part upon the very fact of inter-group hostility which prompted Aborigines to be ruthless with other Aborigines. For this reason, inter-group hostility was actively fostered (Broome 1982:44-46). It was convenient for the government if Aborigines could be made to reside in areas reserved for them alone. The indiscriminate grouping of Aborigines began with Macquarie's Native Institution and the creation of farm areas set aside for Aborigines. Pastoral care, and responsibility for keeping Aborigines apart from the colonists, was passed on to the Aboriginal Protectors and more significantly to the missionaries from the 1830s. The missionaries encouraged the Aborigines to group together around the missions.

Sociolinguistically, the result of government policies was that pressure was exerted on Aborigines to have new linguistic experiences, even from as early as 1788. Aborigines were exposed to English through being forced into contact with colonists. In addition, they were forced into unprecedented, overt contact with other groups of Aborigines and the languages which they spoke. Occasionally the colonial government initiated social gatherings that encouraged Aborigines into contact with previously uncontacted groups. For example, the annual feast held at Parramatta encouraged Aborigines from language groups as far away as Wellington and Bathurst to mix with the coastal Aborigines. Prior contacts between these groups may have only been through distant, traditional trade connections. Colonial policy was often the progenitor of new input into the Aborigines' world view and as such provided stimulus for NSW Pidgin as the language in which Aborigines attempted to explain to themselves the actions of the colonists. Furthermore, NSW Pidgin would have been encouraged to develop as a means of communication between colonists and Aborigines as they were forced to deal with each other in a wide variety of situations.

3.6. FRONTIER ADVANCEMENT

"The whole of the inland journeys of exploration in Australian history are connected with the practical problem of land settlement, except those which have had also a scientific interest, such as was the case to some extent with Leichhardt's, and to a lesser degree with Mitchell's and Alan Cunningham's" (Roberts 1968:xi[9]). By 1835 all of present day NSW had been explored.

3.6.1 1788 TO EXPANSION OVER THE BLUE MOUNTAINS

In 1788, Phillip pushed settlement out to the upper reaches of Parramatta (then called Rose Hill). He was motivated by the desire to supply the colony with an adequate food supply from local resources. Expansion of the settlement was necessary as the immediate coastal land had no great arable value. It was imperative the colony be "pushed beyond the barren girdle of coast land and through the ten-mile stretch of thick forest, [to]...country without any stamp of barrenness. Parramatta formed the centre of agricultural operations and was soon surrounded by five lesser districts. The poor land between Sydney and Parramatta was settled when the officers received permission to hold farms" (p.28). A government farm was established at Rose Hill and by 1792 the Parramatta settlers had seventeen hundred acres under cultivation (p.6).

"In 1794, Ruse and Williams sold their Parramatta holdings and forced a way through the threatening circle of natives to the Hawkesbury. A little later when the frequent submergence of the river lands led to a search in other directions, Hunter settled some disgruntled Tahitian missionaries[10] in the district north of Parramatta where the land was 'superior to any that had yet been seen'" (p.28). In Grose's governorship (1792-1795), Grose and Paterson granted 15,639 acres in the County of Cumberland. Hence the land in a rough line from Sydney to Parramatta was settled as crop farms.

Governor King organised a concentration of labour on a large government farm at Castle Hill. By 1802, the cropping of the colony was so extensive that self-sufficiency was achieved by the colonists (p.10). King also developed new policies for organising the economics of the colony. These included a policy on settlement patterns which affected the advancement of frontiers:

> The new policy of 1804 meant a rational and progressive control of land policy, allowance for the first time being made for expansion. The Government desired to group settlers in 'townships' or shires of up to thirty thousand acres with the farms radiating around centrally placed 'towns'. In this way there would be gradual conquest of the interior. Further, to provide for cases in which the reckless granting of the past had hemmed in settlers, commons were demarcated, the first at Hawkesbury in 1804. These lands were not retained by the government but vested in certain 'Resident Trustees' (chosen by the settlers and other cultivators of the district). Seven more were at once proclaimed, the needs of development were coming to be stressed that, in short, an evolutionary was replacing a static viewpoint. (p.13)

Under King "the settled districts had increased to below Windsor and the intervening country had in general been occupied" (p.13). Until Macquarie's governorship "settlement remained confined to the narrow strip between the Hawkesbury and the sea...The Nepean, which was ascertained to be the same river as the Hawkesbury, was the boundary, save for the cedar-cutters of the Illawarra and a few convict coalminers on the Hunter" (p.28).

3.6.2 EXPANSION BEYOND THE BLUE MOUNTAINS TO 1818

Macquarie arrived in 1809 and immediately faced a pressing demand for land. The Government was forced to open the coastal land between the rivers and the mountains for settlement. Therefore, the Cow Pastures and grassed lands beyond were settled. By 1813, even those lands were insufficient, which prompted the expedition by Blaxland, Wentworth and Lawson in May 1813, in which they forced their way over the mountains (p.30). Surveyor Evans found a practicable route from the mountains to the Bathurst Plains and then Cox was sent to survey and build a road to the Macquarie River which he completed in 1815 – an incredible feat accomplished in six months (Crowley 1980:204). Although government policy was to open the land slowly, several large stockholders managed to open cattle runs almost immediately. A provisions depot and a small garrison were established to supply and protect the stockholders from Aborigines (p.30).

Macquarie opened up the country west of the Blue Mountains in 1815 and proceeded to collaborate with Lord Bathurst, the Colonial Secretary, in an experiment based on a comparison between conditions in Australia and those in Canada. They evolved a "real system based on no encouragements 'beyond a Grant of Land and Some assistance of Convict Labour'" (Macquarie, quoted in Roberts 1968:22). Grants were made proportionate to the amount of capital held by the settler receiving the grant. Macquarie hoped to replace the previous system of "favouritism and influence" with "a strictly mathematical apportionment" (p.22). However, Macquarie also approved

permissive occupancies and allowed people to improve and sell land without any title. Hence, even thirty years after their inception Macquarie's land promises were causing trouble (p.22).

By the early 1820s, 324,251 acres had been granted in the colony and emancipated convicts held more than one quarter of this (Bigge 1823). Many "blocks in the country and houses in Parramatta and Sydney were held without title" (p.23). In a bid to gain land, settlers had preceded surveyors into new frontiers and others were continuing to do so. Macquarie's policies were the foundation for the rapid expansion of settlement beyond the mountains in the 1820s. He had "laid out townships, and, in addition to crossing the mountains, encircled Sydney for fifty miles with serviceable roads" (p.25). Macquarie wished to see emancipists farming the colony, but instead working class free immigrants soon became the major settlers.

3.6.3 FRONTIER ADVANCEMENT FROM 1818

In 1818 expansion to the south began with Charles Throsby and Hamilton Hume progressing from Cumberland to Jervis Bay, and with Meehan continuing down to Lake Bathurst and the Goulburn Plains (p.30). The counties of Argyle and West-more-land were declared and Macquarie sent the first small settlers to Bathurst in 1818. The expansion had been controlled by the Government, but by 1819 two roads led to Bathurst, one from Richmond and one from the south. The arrival of significant numbers of free immigrants in the 1820s encouraged settlement expansion, so that by 1823 there were out-settlements even in the Wellington Valley (p.31). By 1822 settlement had passed the cattle station outpost "Arthursleigh", reaching Lake Bathurst. In 1823 it passed the County of Murray and went as far as the Lachlan River. Macquarie had been freely granting land (p.31) between Illawarra and Jervis Bay until his governorship ended in 1821.

By the 1820s land in the north, especially the Hunter River, was also opening for settlement. It had been a penal area since 1804. "In 1822 both the banks of the river were thrown open for selection, and within four years 372,141 acres were appropriated, so that by 1827 the cedar flats grazed 25,000 cattle and 80,000 sheep" (p.31). Stockowners were also illegally moving into the Murrumbidgee on the south, and the Macleay on the north. It was the beginning of the squatting movement . By 1828 the settlement covered twelve counties, a total of nearly three million acres. The Surveyor General, Major Thomas Mitchell, laid down the principal roads, especially the Great South and the Great North Tracks and an improved road over the western mountains. "His three great routes directed the course of agricultural settlement for decades" (p.31). "At the dawn of the thirties, NSW was occupied from Bateman's Bay to the Manning and the emphasis was wholly on expansion. In the early thirties the farmers were seeking the county of Argyle and, in later years of the decade, Murray County and even the lands around Yass, outside of the Nineteen Counties" (p.33).

THE AUSTRALIAN AGRICULTURAL COMPANY

"Since 1824, there had been great companies exercising a most important influence on Australian settlement...[In 1824] the Australian Agricultural Company had charters and powers defined by special Acts of Parliament" (p.56). From 1827, the Australian Agricultural Company opened up large tracts of land in northern NSW. It "experimented with indentured and convict labour and aided free emigration" (p.56) and "provided an impetus to the pastoral expansion of the thirties" (p.57). The Company established a colony in Gloucester County which was not particularly successful and was

frequently attacked by Aborigines (pp.58-59). In 1833, the Company put sheep on their 313,298 acre grant on the Peel River and cattle on the Liverpool Plains Warrah Lands (249,600 acres). For communications they brought mules and asses from South America and the wool-laden asses were led by Peruvian and convict muleteers (p.61). While the Peruvians were Spanish speakers and there is a little evidence of input from Spanish or Portugese to NSW Pidgin, there does not seem to be any evidence to suggest the Peruvians were responsible for this input. The input is confined to lexicon such as *picaninny* from *pequeniño* which is more likely to have been introduced to NSW Pidgin via the jargon of sailors, in which it was already embedded.

PENAL SETTLEMENTS

Free settlements were usually preceeded by penal settlements, with convict labour used to open up the land. "Brisbane said in 1825, it was 'always the preferable mode to form a Penal Settlement in the first instance, in order to pave the way for the free settler, who could never venture so far amongst Savage Tribes, until Government had preceded them'" (p.123). "Convicts had thus done yeoman service in the early days and had helped to open up the land" (p.127).

THE 1830S AND THE RISE OF SQUATTING

In 1829 the Nineteen Counties were marked out and later confirmed in 1835. The Government insisted that settlement was not to proceed beyond their boundaries (p.165). However, this was the time of the wool boom, and squatter pastoralists sought land for their flocks far beyond State control. "By the end of the twenties there were three classes of graziers – those who had a yearly license within the same lands, those who were illicitly occupying the same lands, and lastly those who had crossed the boundary and whose settlement was, if not illegal, at least outside the law" (p.166). By this time it was clear that settlement in Australia could not be confined within any boundary. The squatters followed in the tracks of the explorers, and by 1839 there were 694 stations or squatters' holdings (p.166).

Squatters took land, often "in the face of native attacks. It was by no means uncommon to see the different coloured smoke signals on the horizon gathering the tribes; and such massacres as those of the Faithfulls on the Ovens (1838) or the Wills in the Comet country or the still more famous Frazers on Dawson River took place" (p.178).

3.6.4 ROUTES OF FRONTIER ADVANCEMENT

"There were two main routes, north to the Hunter and south to the Darling"[11] (p.166). The northern settlement was slow, impeded by the Liverpool Ranges. It was confined along the Hunter and Goulburn Rivers towards Port Macquarie. However, the south-west expansion was continuous. "There was a rapid wave of settlement down the Murrumbidgee in 1829 to 1830, past Yass to Jugiong and Gundagai. By 1830, there were from 12,000 to 15,000 sheep grazing on the river and, within the next three years, all the frontage from Gundagai to below Wagga was split up among the stockholders" (p.168). Mitchell opened a track from Sydney to Portland and by the 1840s pastoralists were densely settled from the coast to central western NSW and down into Victoria.

In 1827 Cunningham and the Australian Agricultural Company had opened a line across the Liverpool Ranges and from 1832 "the passage of stock from the low-country estates to New England

commence[d] in earnest...There remained only the interior of NSW the arid saltbush lands, the ever-grey country, which although it lacked the appeal of the 'North countree', was gradually occupied in the fifties" (p.171). In the forties, the plains of the Riverina were settled; the country between the Darling River and the Lachlan and Murrumbidgee Rivers was first taken up by Hobler, and expeditions followed in spite of Aboriginal hostility. "The great tracks of the squatters were thus to the south in the early thirties , then north beyond New England for two decades, and lastly in the filling of the land between the Lachlan and St. Vincent's Gulf" (p.173).

By 1845 most of NSW had been at least explored and much of the coast, central western slopes, New England district and Riverina was settled. Therefore, by 1845 most Aborigines in NSW knew of the colonists and many had first-hand experience of them. Aboriginal life was significantly interrupted by the usurption of their traditional areas of occupation. The areas settled by colonists became crop land or grazing land and Aborigines were prevented from interfering with those agricultural enterprises. In 1791 Hunter expressed the fear that in granting all the crown land and in the subsequent clearing of the land the governor would be leaving no shelter for the Aborigines (Hunter 1968:538). This is a rare comment on Aboriginal land rights or concern for their future welfare.

Aborigines were forced to leave their traditional areas of occupation, unless they adapted to the colonists' use of the land. They became fringe dwellers on land occupied by colonists or were forced into areas they had never before lived in but which were not occupied by colonists. The Wellington and Lake Macquarie missions were the only reserves in areas settled by colonists on which Aborigines could live without being regarded as interfering with colonists' interests.

The colonists' occupation of Aboriginal land and the subsequent reorganisation of traditional Aboriginal land occupancy had a very significant effect on the Aboriginal linguistic situation. From 1788 to 1845, Aborigines who wished to live apart from colonists had to retreat from the advancement of colonial frontiers. They were forced onto land occupied by Aboriginal groups with whom they were quite likely to have had no previous overt contact and about whose language they may have had little or no previous knowledge. In that way Aborigines of different language groups were forced to overcome language boundaries actualised by this unprecedented contact. Aborigines who continued to occupy their traditional lands in spite of colonial advancement were forced to become co-occupants with the English-speaking colonists (and in some cases non-English speaking), and were therefore exposed to contact with English (and other languages of the settlers).

Furthermore, as Aboriginal communities were destroyed, languages were also destroyed, creating a need for the 'last speakers' to communicate with the wider community in languages other than their mother tongue. New living patterns were likely to have created new avenues for linguistic input amongst Aboriginal communities. Aborigines needed to overcome linguistic barriers that were created in a very short space of time. This situation was likely to have promoted the development and maintenance of NSW Pidgin. Aborigines had very limited access to formal education in English, although they did have access to spoken English in communications with the colonists when the colonists chose or were forced by circumstance to communicate with the Aborigines. However, the colonists were also likely to have used any incipient contact language (or their interlanguage variety of it) in communicating with the Aborigines. As NSW Pidgin developed it is likely that it would have spread throughout the NSW Aboriginal communities as settlement forced them into the situations described above where new linguistic and social barriers existed. NSW Pidgin may also have helped the Aborigines rationalise amongst themselves the motives for British colonial advancement in NSW.

NOTES

1. For an understanding of the use of the word 'colonist' in this book refer to the list of categories in section 3.2.

2. The Aborigines' attitude towards the land on which they lived, their concept of land ownership – 'their land' – was quite different from that of the British. Efforts to negotiate for the 'return of their land' were prompted by the obvious desire (demonstrated by the Aborigines since the British settlement) to remain in their traditional areas of habitation. 'Negotiations for compensation' refers to the Aborigines' attempts to apply and explain their traditional communal sharing system by making use of the colonists' property and resources (for example the destruction and consumption of sheep and cattle, or asking for food and blankets from the colonists) in exchange for land use. When peaceful negotiations failed, the Aborigines, where possible, offered violent resistance to the colonists' use of Aboriginal land.

3. Clark, ed. 1980 vol.1:1-23 is the principal source of information for section 3.2.1.

4. Barcan (1980) is the principal source referred to in this work for information about education in Australia.

5. Writing was not emphasised in educating colonists' children and the education system for Aboriginal children was derived directly from that applied to the colonists' children, which explains the lack of emphasis on writing as a skill to be taught to Aboriginal children.

6. The LMS was founded in London in 1795 to "save the Tahitians from immorality and the Australians from Ignorance" (quoted in White 1981:141).

7. See 3.5 for an elaboration of the changes in official policy toward the Aborigines, 1788-1860.

8. Reece (1974) is the principal source of information for section 3.5. Where no author or date is given, the page number/s in brackets refer to this work.

9. Roberts (1968) is the principal source of information for section 3.6. Where no author or date is given the page number/s in brackets refer to this work.

10. It is not clear whether Roberts means missionaries who were Tahitian or missionaries who had worked in Tahiti.

11. The Darling is in fact west. Roberts is probably describing the route as south because the route to the Darling was south-west of Sydney to Yass and Gundagai and then west along the Murrumbidgee toward the Darling.

4. ANALYSIS OF DATA

4.0 INTRODUCTION

In order to analyse the data collected for Aboriginal contact with English, they were first organised into lists which appear as appendices at the end of the text. Within this chapter consideration of the data is presented in terms of six broad time periods, each corresponding to a major period of frontier advancement, from 1788 to 1845. In section 7 summary lists are provided for the salient features of NSW Pidgin, and for some general features of Aboriginal languages which are similar to those found for NSW Pidgin and which may have provided input to the Pidgin.

Within each of the diachronic divisions, the data have been analysed and discussed under the following headings:

(.1) INTRODUCTION: provides a background to the linguistic and social contexts that created the input for any developing contact languages.

(.2) THE SOURCES AND THEIR RELIABILITY: examines the data sources and discusses their reliability in providing evidence of Aboriginal contact with English and the accuracy of their transcriptions.

(.3) DISCUSSION OF DATA: provides a broad analysis of the data for the period, using the data as evidence for the kinds of linguistic results observed by the sources which are attributable to Aboriginal contact with English.

(.4) LEXICAL INVENTORY: the items represent innovations in the speech of Aborigines which are the result of Aboriginal contact with English. The innovations do not include items from the data which are demonstrably unmodified English, even though it is recognised that any use of English was an innovation in the speech of Aborigines who did not have effective control of English as a system. The reason why unmodified English items are not included is that it cannot be established to whom the English should be attributed, the Aboriginal speaker or the colonist observer. Items included in the inventory which appear to have English forms are those which are demonstrably part of a contact language complex.

In the case of items from Aboriginal languages they are innovations in the sense that they are used as part of the lexicon for contact language and in being so used may have had altered syntactic and semantic value. In addition, any Aboriginal language items were necessarily contact items for the non-Aborigine recording the data. Certainly the linguistic context of the use of Aboriginal language items – as contact language lexicon – was innovative. Some of them were also innovations in the speech of the colonists. The very fact that they were recorded by colonists would suggest that they had currency at least as understood items amongst the colonists.

The numbers given in the last column all refer to Appendix 1 references.

(.5) PHONOLOGY: provides a list of the phonological innovations in English as spoken by Aborigines. This shows some of the phonological characteristics of Aboriginal languages. However, in the data used as evidence in this study, the phonological features are part of a contact language complex and in that sense are innovations. In transcribing the phonological data it is

recognised that precise phonetic values cannot be given to the symbols found in the data, hence the changes represented are treated as orthographic.

(.6) SYNTAX: discusses features in the data which are noteworthy as possible elements in the development of contact language from 1788 to 1845. The features are listed under the heading of Points to note. Some of the lexical or syntactic elements are in fact the same as those evidenced in Aboriginal languages. However, in the context of a contact language complex, their use is innovative.

In order to determine whether any lexical item or syntactic feature is NSW Jargon or NSW Pidgin, its degree of consistency of use within the data of any time period and/or throughout the data in its entirety is considered. In addition the similarity of features to those established or suggested for other pidgin or creole languages in Australia and the Pacific is considered in determining whether or not a feature is NSW Pidgin.

4.1 1788 TO 1794: ARRIVAL OF THE FIRST BRITISH COLONISTS TO THE EXTENSION OF SETTLEMENT TO PARRAMATTA

4.1.1 INTRODUCTION

As already indicated, during this period settlement was extended in a rough line from Sydney to Rosehill. The majority of colonists were convicts and emancipated convicts, and members of the navy. Also, at the end of the eighteenth century whaling began in the south-west Pacific and this was the beginning of concerted European economic interest in the area (Mühlhäusler 1985a:37). It is likely that any of the traders drawn to the Pacific by the whaling trade also visited Australia during this period. Traders usually spoke English as a first language and probably PJE in the south-west Pacific context. The colonists were, with a very few exceptions, first language speakers of English. The Aborigines in the settled areas were speakers of Iyora, Guringgai, Dharuk, Dharawal and Gundungura, and it is possible that the colonists also had some contact with speakers of Awabakal. Hence the input to contact language in this period came from English, possibly PJE (although this is only implied by historical evidence, not supported by language data) and Aboriginal languages.

The contact between Aborigines and colonists was generally amicable although incidences of violence and hostility did occur. A few Aborigines lived in the homes of free colonists and some were captured and detained by the naval officials for the purposes of training them to speak English and through them effecting communications with other Aborigines. There is only one recorded incident of a colonist living or attempting to live amongst the Aborigines. This was Black Caesar, a convict who wanted to live as an Aborigine but was always "repulsed" by them (4:1).

Most of the data for this period refers to 'conversation' or 'intercourse' between the Aborigines and the colonists. Transcriptions of single or occasionally paired lexical items have been found. However the data do evidence linguistic observations, especially about Aborigines borrowing lexical items from English and about the phonetic features of Aboriginal speech. Most importantly, one datum (1:47.3) is the first NSW Pidgin-like example because it contains features which in later periods were relatively consistent and were likely to be features of a more stabilised NSW Pidgin. The example is attributed to Bennelong, who throughout his adult life had free access to both the colonists and the Aborigines. It is likely that he had an important role in the development and dissemination of contact language amongst both the colonists and Aborigines. Amongst the colonists he was an informant for people such as Dawes (1790a, b) who were recording Aboriginal languages,

and in addition informally helped various colonists acquire in part (probably individual lexical items rather than an interlanguage) some of his own language/s. Bennelong disseminated amongst the Aborigines the linguistic results of his own contact with the colonists.

It is extremely significant for theories about the speed of pidgin genesis that forms which were to become NSW Pidgin should have appeared in the first few years of British settlement in NSW.

4.1.2 THE WRITTEN SOURCES AND THEIR RELIABILITY

WILLIAM BRADLEY: probably came from Portsmouth. He was a lieutenant, R.N., on the HMS *Sirius* (Bradley 1969).

DAVID COLLINS: was a naval officer whose account of the Aborigines remained the most thorough for forty years – "he seems to have spent some considerable time observing and conversing with the native peoples...one of their number assumed his name" (Mulvaney and Lampert, in Collins 1/1975:xix).

WILLIAM DAWES: was a soldier and scientist, the son of an admiralty official at Portsmouth. He was attached to the Marines on the HMS *Sirius* (Chisholm 1958:3/212). He used his knowledge of ancient Greek and Latin in transcribing a vocabulary and grammar of *The language of N.S.Wales, in the Vicinity of Sydney* (Dawes 1790a, b). His notes were made using a few Aboriginal assistants and in the material he named Abooroo, Nanbarry and Bennelong as informants.

JOHN HUNTER: was a post captain in His Majesty's Navy (Hunter 1968).

ARTHUR PHILLIP: was first governor of Australia and a captain in His Majesty's Navy. Phillip's father was a German and had earned a living teaching languages, which may account for Phillip's emphasis on colonists learning Aboriginal languages and Aborigines learning English (1:34) (Phillip 1968).

DR. DANIEL SOUTHWELL: was a medical doctor (Southwell 1790).

WATKIN TENCH: was a captain in His Majesty's Navy and the son of a 'gentleman' (Tench 1979).

REVEREND RICHARD JOHNSON: was the first clergyman in NSW (Woolmington 1973).

GEORGE WORGAN: was a surgeon on the First Fleet Ship *Sirius* (Worgan 1978).

MAJOR THOMAS MITCHELL: was born 3rd October 1807 at Tiverton, Devon, the son of a surgeon (Govett 1977). He was an ex-army major, a free settler (grazier) and surveyor (Ramson 1970:123). His data refer to this period although he was not in NSW at the time the material was first transcribed.

Each of these men was a naval officer or civilian official in the colony. They were accustomed to writing reports and were required to supply to the government or clerical hierarchy accounts and reports of their experiences and observations in NSW. Their styles of writing were not literary although they were prolix when compared to contemporary report-writing styles. The important points are that they wrote very descriptively and in great detail, and their data are likely to be relatively accurate as a record of their observations, by virtue of the fact that they were report writers rather than literary authors. The linguistic value of sources referred to in this work is determined by the degree to which the observers allowed their own linguistic conditioning to affect their observations of Aboriginal linguistic output.

The Dawes material has been used in this work in determining the etymology of forms within the data. Dawes' material is extensive and concerned with the Aboriginal language/s or dialect/s of language/s he was recording. It is the earliest known attempt at description of an Aboriginal language or dialect.

4.1.3 DISCUSSION OF DATA

4.1.3.1 'INTERVIEWS', 'COMMUNICATION', 'CONVERSATION' AND 'INTERCOURSE' BETWEEN COLONISTS AND ABORIGINES

The initial efforts at communication between Aborigines and colonists were recorded in terms such as "a friendly intercourse directly took place" (1:5, 31.3, 43). This is a nice contrast to the fact that the spearing of Phillip was the incentive for "the opening of a communication between the natives of this country and the settlement" (1:7.1). It is likely that such 'communication' or 'intercourse' was effected largely using gestural and extra-linguistic methods, given the short period in which colonists and Aborigines had had exposure to each other's languages. In some cases the communication was described as 'conversation', for example "we did not see more than twenty natives, some of whom came and conversed with us" (1:19). 'Friendly' was a loosely used description, as for example when the "friendly conversation" was followed by an Aborigine throwing a lance at the explorers (1:17). However, it does seem that the Aborigines and colonists did achieve amicable communications, as when "some hours were passed with them in a peaceful and friendly manner" (1:33). Another common way to describe communication with the Aborigines was that an 'interview' had taken place. One such 'interview' occurred in July 1788 when Phillip decided to tell a large group of Aborigines that "the conduct of the assailants...[who had killed convicts] was unwarranted" (1:32). Occasionally the content of the communication was alluded to, for example when a man and a boy "brought fire and seemed willing to render any service in their power" to the colonists (1:31.2).

Such vagaries explain nothing about any contact language that may have resulted from initial contacts between colonists and Aborigines. However, some observers included in their accounts data that provide hints about some possible beginnings of NSW Jargon and the incipient stage of NSW Pidgin. Worgan early noted that the Aborigines mimicked the colonists' English – "They...Repeated many words and Phrases after Us" (1:54). He also noted that the Aborigines learnt "Good Bye" and that the sailors taught them to swear and they laughed when they saw the colonists laugh (1:55.1). The Aborigines also learnt songs from the colonists "any of the words of which they will very readily repeat" (1:39) and made "grunting" sounds to keep time with the tunes (1:55.2). This indicates that Aborigines were at least acquiring English lexical items as early as the initial contacts of 1788. Aborigines even acquired at least one lexical item from the Guugu Yimidhirr word list Cook collected in the Endeavour River area, which was provided for Phillip to use in NSW (Dixon 1980; Haviland 1974). This word was *kanguroo*, which the colonists used for 'kangaroo', while the Aborigines used it for all animals brought to Australia by the settlers except dogs (1:40.1,40.2).

4.1.3.2 ARABANOO

Arabanoo (2:2) was the first Aborigine captured and detained by the colonists. Capture and detention of Aborigines was resorted to because Phillip desired to have verbal communication with the Aborigines and he "despaired of getting any of them to remain among his people, long enough for either to acquire the language of each other, except by constraint" (1:34). Arabanoo received formal

tutoring in English (1:41), although we are not told by whom he was taught or what methods may have been used. However, there are comments about his progress in acquiring English – the naval officers were quite disappointed with his lack of speed in acquiring English, in spite of their efforts to teach him (1:44). He also helped colonists acquire some of his own language (1:1). He was described in the records as good-natured and talkative (1:18.3) which is likely to have contributed to his communicative ease with the colonists.

As part of the input to his NSW Jargon, Arabanoo early acquired some English lexical items such as "the names of different gentlemen" (1:18.2). He also acquired *woman*, which he used in reference to a "large handsome print of H.R.H. the Duchess of Cumberland" (1:41.2). The colonists told Arabanoo that his iron leg shackle was a *bang-ally*, which Hunter reported as an Aboriginal word meaning 'decoration' (1:18.1). Tench (1979:141) recorded a similar form for this item – *Ben-gàd-ee* – glossed by him as 'ornament'. This item may well have come from the English 'bangle' which, when used by Aborigines, the colonists mistook for an Aboriginal language lexical item rather than a contact language lexical item borrowed in the very earliest contacts. No item was discovered in Dawes (1790a, b) which agrees phonologically or semantically with *bang-ally* or *ben-gàd-ee*. Collins (1975) noted the form *beng-al-le* for 'basket'.

Arabanoo's phonetic performance was described: "he readily pronounced with tolerable accuracy the names of things which were taught him" (1:41.1). He also liked the colonists' music and may have acquired English in part by learning the words to songs – he showed "pleasure and readiness in imitating our tunes" (1:41.3).

Arabanoo's exposure to English was brief as he spent less than five months with the colonists (2:1). It is very likely that he spoke NSW Jargon developed from the little interlanguage English he had been able to acquire and the Aboriginal language/s and/or dialect/s of language/s he spoke. From the evidence we know that he acquired some English lexical items and was using at least one Aboriginal lexical item – *nowee* – understood by the colonists. Therefore, it is likely that Arabanoo spoke NSW Jargon with the colonists, in a form synthesised from his knowledge of English and any Aboriginal language features understood by the colonists. Arabanoo never returned to his people, so it is difficult to assess whether his contact with English had any impact on other Aborigines.

4.1.3.3 THE SMALLPOX PLAGUE ORPHANS

In 1789, a smallpox plague broke out amongst the Aborigines (2:7) and free colonists took in survivors who were weakened and sick, especially children. (I have no evidence to suggest that very young children were taken in, because writers had no way of being certain about the ages of any Aborigines to whom they referred.) All would have been exposed to English as a target language whilst living with the colonists, and children could have acquired English as a second language or even one of several first languages if they were very young. There is a possibility of genuine bilingualism in some cases.

4.1.3.4 ABOOROO

Abooroo (2:3) was a thirteen year old girl who lived with the Johnsons, and was taken care of by Rev. Johnson's wife, for about one to one and a half years. Her communications with the colonists are referred to indirectly. For example, she is recorded as imparting information that certain Aborigines were her relatives (1:3). Johnson noted that he taught her the Lord's Prayer and to read

and speak a little English (1:52). It was recorded that she could understand almost everything said to her and that she was able to make herself understood (1:20). Abooroo is likely to have contributed to the diffusion of any developing contact language because she was used as an interpreter between colonists and Aborigines local to Sydney (1:3). Also, after returning to her people and marrying she could have passed on to them any linguistic innovations she may have acquired as a result of her contact with English. Given the Aborigines' fascination with language (multilingualism is a highly regarded facility in Aboriginal society) it is likely that she was required to share her linguistic experiences.

Abooroo's linguistic output was regarded by the colonists as more closely approximating English than that of Arabanoo. However, when she wanted to return to her people and marry, Rev. Johnson was not pleased as he did not think she had learnt enough English to enable her to "explain their [the colonists'] intentions to the natives" (1:26) and thus continue as an interpretor.

Abooroo's exposure to English was brief, and after she returned to the environment where her first language was spoken it is likely that her first language provided much interference in her interlanguage English. It is likely that she contributed to the development of NSW Jargon and incipient NSW Pidgin. After her return to the Aborigines her opportunities to maintain her English were likely to have been few, access to English being limited. In communicating with the colonists she probably used any English lexicon or syntax she could remember and which was reinforced in her communications with the colonists. Therefore it is likely that after her return to the Aborigines Abooroo spoke an Aboriginal first language, and NSW Jargon or possibly incipient NSW Pidgin as her second language rather than English, which she never fully acquired and would have had difficulty maintaining.

4.1.3.5 NANBARRY

Nanbarry (2:4) was between seven and nine years old when he was taken into the family of Surgeon White and there is no record of him ever leaving them. Similarly to Abooroo, it was noted that Nanbarry within the first year of his exposure to English was able to understand everything said to him and was capable of making himself well understood (1:20). When Colbey (2:5) was captured Nanbarry was able to tell the colonists that Colbey was a great warrior (1:4). Both Nanbarry and Abooroo were used as interpreters for Bennelong and Colbey to assure them "of their perfect safety...[in the colonists'] possession" (1:6). Nanbarry was often used as an interpreter between colonists and Aborigines (1:47.4).

Given that Nanbarry may never have returned to living with Aborigines, the linguistic results of his contact with English would have been imparted to Aborigines who lived in proximity to the colonial settlements, or those Aborigines he met while travelling with the colonists. Nanbarry probably spoke one or more Aboriginal languages as his first languages. However, as he spent more time with colonists than with Aborigines it is likely that his second languages were an interlanguage variety of English that closely approximated to the English he most frequently heard and NSW Jargon or maybe incipient NSW Pidgin.

Both Nanbarry and Abooroo were used by Dawes (1790a, b) as informants in his collection of Sydney Aboriginal language material and which thereafter formed the basis for other collections of Aboriginal languages. The material was also used by colonists in communicating with Aborigines. Therefore, Nanbarry and Abooroo had an important role in the colonists' acquisition of items from Aboriginal languages.

4.1.3.6 BENNELONG AND COLBEY

Bennelong and Colbey (2:5) were captured together, but Colbey escaped two weeks later. It is unlikely that Colbey's exposure to English in that period was significant beyond acquisition of a few English lexical items. Bennelong escaped less than five months after capture. However, he became fascinated with the colonists and returned frequently to the settlement. Eventually he became part of the colonial society and was used by Aborigines and colonists as an interpreter and mediator. Bennelong's interest in the colonists was expressed very early as he became renowned as a mimic of their language and actions (1:45.1).

Bennelong and Colbey were to be taught English in order to become interpreters between the colonists and Aborigines (1:21). This implies that generally the colonists were unable to acquire Aboriginal languages. It also implies that they were not aware of the existence of multiple Aboriginal languages and dialects of languages which would make interpreting difficult unless the Aboriginal interpreter was a speaker of the languages beyond the areas he usually ventured into.

The initial communications between the colonists and Bennelong and Colbey were effected through the children Nanbarry and Abooroo (1:6). Bennelong's first efforts at communication with the colonists are recorded as mainly non-verbal. For example, he related the story of his capture "chiefly by Gestures and Signs", the only verbalisation being *beial, beial,* glossed by Southwell as 'very good, very good' (1:35); Hunter (1968) provided *beal* or *bidgeree* for 'good'. *beial* or *beal* are possibly wrong as Dawes (1790b) identified *bial* as 'no'. If this was *bial* 'no' it would be the first instance of this form which became part of NSW Pidgin (usually *bail* or *bel*) and later Queensland Pidgin (usually *bael* – Dutton 1983). *bidgeree* 'good' also became part of the lexicon of NSW Pidgin although the only evidence for its use in this period is as an item collected on word lists from Aboriginal languages and is therefore not included in the lexical inventory for this section. Collins (1975 vol.2) noted *bood-je-re* as 'good' and *wee-re* as 'bad'.

Fortunately for this study, there is a significant amount of data evidencing the linguistic results of Bennelong's contact with English. Most of the data refers to lexical borrowing, as Bennelong acquired English items and imparted Aboriginal items to the colonists. In the pidginisation process the superstrate language generally supplies the bulk of the lexical inventory (Bickerton 1975, 1981) which might lead us to expect in this case that English as the superstrate was supplying lexical input for the incipient NSW Pidgin. We can gain some insight into the ways in which some English items took on new semantic values through Bennelong's usage. For example "the King" was given the value "wine" by Bennelong who had first acquired "the King" in association with toasts for after dinner drinks with the naval officers and assumed that it was the name for the drinks (1:24). Later, according to Tench, Bennelong was taught that "the King" was a toast (1:47.9).

However, as Dutton (1983) noticed for incipient and early Queensland Pidgin, the lexical input from Aboriginal languages to emerging NSW Pidgin was perhaps equal to or greater than the input from English (see section 4.1.4 and notice that about half the items are Aboriginal). Tench referred to Bennelong as speaking "broken English" (1:47.1). His transcription of Bennelong's statement in item 1:47.3 supports the notion that Bennelong was probably an important catalyst in the development and dissemination of developing contact language. In order to establish its status as Pidgin-like this example – *"Bul-la Mur-ee Dee-in"* – can be compared with a much later example, from the period when a more stabilised NSW Pidgin existed (see section 4.5) – *"bulla jin"* (1:123). *bulla* is a dual number marker which seems to be the same item as *bóola* 'two' collected by Dawes (1790b) for a Sydney language (he also noted *blo´wree* for 'two'.). *bulla* is a common root form throughout

Australia (Rumsey 1985, personal communication). *bulla* only occurs twice in the data, however its occurrence with the same semantic value in widely separated time periods and without any varient forms indicates it was likely to have been a stable Pidgin form. *mur-ee* is an intensifier, glossed by the observer of Bennelong's exemplified utterance as 'large', which frequently appears in the later data glossed as 'very'. Dawes (1790b) noted *múry* 'very' and Collins (1975 vol.1) noted *mur-ray* 'great'. Dawes (1790b) noted *dee-in*, Collins (1975 vol.1) *din* and Hunter (1968) *din* and *din aillon* for 'wife' or 'woman', which in the later data is usually *jin* or *gin* and is a noun unmarked for number. The consistency throughout the later data of the forms in Bennelong's transcribed utterance indicates that item 1:47.3 is likely to have been an emerging form of NSW Pidgin.

One datum (1:27) provides another tantalising glimpse at incipient NSW Pidgin. It describes an incident where Bennelong beat his wife and threatened to kill another woman. It is possible that Bennelong used the item *kill* as a transitive verb, *killim* meaning 'to hit' and which is common in Pacific pidgins. *kilim* is also an item in Kriol and means 'to hit or kill' (Sandefur and Sandefur 1979:67). It may be a very early example of PJE input. *killim* and *kill* being semantically identical to a non-speaker of pidgin, the transcriber could easily have misunderstood Bennelong's utterance. Bennelong usually said he had beaten women he was abducting or angry with (1:45.2,48). However, Bennelong was given to fighting (1:28,29) and it is also possible he intended to kill the woman.

That semantic confusion and subsequent mixing of forms from English and Aboriginal languages occurred both for Bennelong in his attempts to acquire English and for the colonists in their interpretation of Bennelong's speech is evidenced early in the data. For example, when in the first days of Bennelong's capture he tried to explain that the Cammeraygal would knock out a young man's front tooth in his initiation, the colonists misinterpreted his explanation as meaning a man called Cammeraygal wore all the teeth around his neck (1:13).

In addition to being the first documented speaker of a NSW Pidgin-like utterance, Bennelong is the first Aborigine recorded as using contact language knowledge in order to communicate with other Aborigines. For example, he explained to other Aborigines "the use and nature of those things which were new to them....[such as] Nuffer for candle [referring to a pair of candle snuffers]" (1:42.1). After his escape, Bennelong is likely to have indirectly helped promote the development of contact language amongst the Aborigines he lived with by sharing with them the linguistic experiences he had with the colonists. For example, when Phillip rediscovered Bennelong with a group of Aborigines he held up a bottle of wine and one of the Aborigines "call'd out wine and repeated several English words" (1:2.2). It is possible that the English lexical items were acquired from Bennelong.

During the same encounter Phillip is recorded as having asked in an Aboriginal language where Bennelong was, which elicited a reply from Bennelong (1:23). The implication is that a NSW Jargon was used by Bennelong and Phillip and that it was a synthesis of English and one or more Aboriginal languages. At the time of this encounter Nanbarry was with the colonists as an interpreter (1:47.4). Tench recorded that through Nanbarry the Aborigines explained several things to the colonists, including how they cut up whales, and then 'demanded' hatchets (1:47.5). The Aborigines gave chunks of whale to the colonists and Bennelong "expressly requested" that the largest chunk be given to Phillip in his name (1:47.6).

Bennelong and Phillip were a combination of personalities that tended to promote the development of NSW Jargon and NSW Pidgin. They were friends who had an interest in each other's culture and language. Whenever they met lengthy conversations proceeded. Tench, for example recorded one

meeting where Phillip and Bennelong "discoursed for some time", Bennelong asking after all the people "he could recollect at Sydney" – he particularly asked after a French cook in Phillip's service "whom he had constantly made the butt of his ridicule, by mimicking his voice, gait, and other pecularities" (1:47.7). That Bennelong and Phillip were friends is evidenced in Bennelong bestowing a name on Phillip and taking his name in return (1:2.1,23, 46) and in Bennelong's obvious concern when Phillip was speared (1:7.2,7.3).

We even have some insights into Bennelong's phonetic output. For example, the colonists attempted to modify his voice tone from his "native vociferation" to a "soft, gentle tone of voice" (1:42.2). "The letters "s" and "v" they never could pronounce: the latter became invariably "w" and the former mocked all their efforts, which in the instance of Baneelon has been noticed; and a more unfortunate defect in learning our language could not easily be pointed out" (1:51). After a fight with Colbey in which Bennelong split his lip, it was noted that "his pronunciation was much altered" (1:11).

Given his outgoing nature, interest in communication and observed facility with language acquisition, it is possible that Bennelong was a major catalyst in the development and diffusion amongst the Aborigines of contact language. Bennelong became a well-known personality amongst the Aborigines as well as the colonists. Southwell evidenced that fact: "We sometimes see a few Natives and I have known them to laugh heartily At our calling out after the above mentioned hero [Bennelong] – and it is more than probable they have understood us" (1:37). Colbey's role in the development of contact language is unclear although there is an interesting datum that indicates Colbey may also have been a catalyst for contact language development: – the datum being his utterance, *"Governor 'nangorar'"* (1:25). The example means 'the Governor is asleep' (1:25) and Colbey synthesised English and his first language, creating NSW Jargon, in order to convey that meaning. Dawes (1790b) noted *nanga*, Collins (1975 vol.1) *nan-ger-ra* and Hunter (1968) *nan-ga-ra* for 'sleep'. Much later, Govett recorded *nangaree* (1977:44) as the word for 'sleep', which seems to indicate this was a contact language item. This seems to be an example of a lexical item from a Sydney Aboriginal language which was understood by colonists but did not necessarily become part of NSW Pidgin.

Bennelong was an informant for Dawes' (1790a,b) transcription of some of the lexicon and grammar of Aboriginal languages in the Sydney area. Many of the items which are later identified as features of NSW Pidgin are included in these manuscripts. All considered it seems that Bennelong was likely to have had a major role in the early development of contact language in NSW.

4.1.3.7 BONDEL

Bondel (2:10) was a young boy when he went to live with Captain Hill and was taken to Norfolk Island. He was described as having "gained some smattering of our language [English], certain words of which he occasionally blended with his own" (1:8). This seems to indicate that language synthesising occurred even with children's speech, creating NSW Jargon rather than English interlanguage.

4.1.3.8 GENERAL CONTEXT

In this period when a number of Aborigines were living in the homes of colonists it was not unnatural that the relatives and friends of those Aborigines were drawn to the settlement. Collins

observed that on their visits the friends and relatives attempted to converse with the colonists "in a mutilated and incorrect language formed entirely on our imperfect knowledge and improper application of their words" (1:9). The latter is a very astute observation which indicates that the colonists' linguistic output was also involved in the development of NSW Pidgin. A few colonists were attempting to acquire some of an Aboriginal language or languages just as a few Aborigines were attempting to acquire English. However, the majority of both colonists and Aborigines were simply attempting to communicate using any linguistic or extra-linguistic means they could. It is likely that items acquired would have been pronounced according to the phonological system of the speaker's first language, and morpheme units or clusters would have been accorded semantic values that did not necessarily agree with the languages from which they were borrowed. Those synthesising processes were part of the input for the developing NSW Pidgin.

Considering the depopulation of Aborigines which occurred as a result of the smallpox plague (1:56) and the displacement of Aborigines as the settlement encroached on their traditional lands, it is not unlikely that NSW Pidgin would have developed amongst the Aborigines as a lingua franca for use with the colonists and amongst themselves as a language for rationalising the changes they were experiencing. It is commonly held (although this is now tentatively being questioned) that Aborigines did not use lingua francas. Therefore, a lingua franca was a new linguistic concept amongst Aborigines. Ordinarily, Aborigines acquired the language of the people they wished to communicate with. However, acquisition of English was never an option open to most Aborigines, while acquisition of the contact languages was. NSW Pidgin was a product of the Aborigines' contact with English speakers and as such was available to them, and it was expanded by them as their contact with English speakers became more intensive. NSW Pidgin was never purely for communications between Aborigines and colonists. It was used by the Aborigines as a means of rationalising their contact with English speakers and conveying amongst themselves information about the contact and how to deal with it at all levels, social and linguistic. This is why Pidgin developed amongst the Aborigines rather than between Aborigines and colonists. NSW Pidgin may well have been an expression of an Aboriginal answer to an Aboriginal problem, that of how to cope with the colonists.

In addition to developing contact languages and borrowing lexical items from English, Aborigines used their own languages to explain to themselves various aspects of the new input to their post-contact world. A quote from Tench best evidences the last contention:

> Their translation of our words into their language are always opposite [sic], comprehensive, and drawn from images familiar to them: a gun, for instance, they call "Gooreebeera", that is – "a stick of fire". – Sometimes also by license of language, they call those who carry guns by the same name. But the appellation by which they generally distinguish us was that of Bèreewolgal, meaning – "men come from afar". (1:50)

Aborigines did not flee from their land in the face of colonial settlement; rather, they stayed and attempted to live with the colonists or resisted their invasions. For most colonists NSW Jargon or English sufficed in their dealings with Aborigines. Only colonists who were forced to cope socially with Aborigines were likely to have become speakers of Pidgin.

The literate colonists who kept the records from which my data derive were the colonists with the most choices available to them. This is possibly one reason for their lack of serious attention to the developing Pidgin. In this period, as in later periods, it seems that most linguistic data which are evidence for NSW Pidgin are likely to have been subject to interference from the linguistic output of

the transcribers of the data, who were unlikely to have beeen speakers with a high degree of facility with Pidgin.

From 1790 onwards there are more accounts of Aborigines who lived in the homes of colonists within the settlement (1:35) "acquiring our [the colonists'] language [English]" (1:12). Aborigines became very much a part of the settlement (2:6,8,9,11,14,18). This meant the Aborigines had access to English on a regular basis, depending on the colonists' desire to speak to them. The Aborigines who were being taught English by the colonists had their progress monitored and it was not considered good – "their progress in attaining English is but slow, but their parts are tolerable and understanding by no means despicable" (1:35). The children of Aborigines living in or near the settlement are likely to have used NSW Jargon or acquired some incipient NSW Pidgin, for example "Now the little children had learnt the words, "hungry, bread"; and would to show that they were hungry, draw in their belly, so as to make it appear quite empty"[1] (1:22). Some Aborigines comprehended "a great deal more than...[they] could find words to express" (1:10), while others spoke incipient NSW Pidgin with the colonists. The language used by Aborigines was described as a "barbarous mixture" (1:12). The frequent references to language mixing reinforces the contention that NSW Pidgin had its genesis in this period. For the reason that many Aborigines were speaking 'mixed' language it is likely some systematisation was occurring, which is a prerequisite for pidginisation.

4.1.4 LEXICAL INVENTORY

all	p3 Pn PL	'all'; like Kriol *alabat* 'all' (Sandefur and Sandefur 1979:3).	(56)
bang-ally	N	'body decoration', 'iron leg shackle'; possibly derived from the English 'bangle'. *Bangle* is a Kriol item (Rumsey 1985, personal communication).	(18.1)
Been-èn-a	N	'father'; used by Bennelong to refer to Phillip. *Bìana* 'father', Sydney area (Dawes 1790b).	(46)
beial, beial	Adj Ints Redup	'very good, very good'; i.e. extremely good. *beal* 'good', Sydney area (Hunter 1968).	(35)
bèreewolgal	1. N PL	'colonists'; from an Aboriginal language close to the settlement.	(50)
	2. Adj	'men come from afar'; literal meaning from which the first meaning was derived. *Berwal* 'England', Sydney area (Dawes 1790b).	
bul-la	Dual Num M	'two'; also 4.5.4 *bulla*. *bula*, *bóola*, *blówree* 'two', Sydney area (Dawes 1790b).	(47.3)
candle	N	'candle'.	(42.1)
coè	Intj	'come hither'; commonly used by colonists, but from an Aboriginal language or languages	(38)

near the Port Jackson settlement. Forms like this are found in Aboriginal languages throughout Australia (Blake 1981:90-91).
cow-ee 'come', Sydney area (Hunter 1968).

dead	Adj	'dead'.	(56)
dee-in	N	'wife/wives' or 'woman/women' also 4.4.4, *gin(s), jins,* 4.6.4 *gin.* *din* 'women' Sydney area (Collins 1975 vol.1; Hunter 1968); *dee-yin* 'woman', Sydney area (Dawes 1790b).	(47.3)
Father	N	'Governor Phillip'; Bennelong's terms.	(2.1)
for	Prep	'for'.	(42.1)
good bye	Intj	'good bye'.	(5.1)
gooreebeera	1. N	'gun'; Aboriginal word from a language in the vicinity of the settlement.	(50)
	2. N	'someone who carries guns'; *gooreebeera* may be a borrowing from 'gun-bearer'. *Ger-rub-ber* 'anything that gives fire, as a gun etc.', Sydney area (Hunter 1968).	
	3. NP	'stick of fire'; literal meaning from which the first two meanings were derived.	
Governor	N	'Governor Phillip'; used by both Bennelong and Colbey.	(25)
kangaroo	N	'kangaroo'. Guugu Yimidhir *kanguroo* from the Endeavour River area, introduced into the NSW contact language lexicon by colonists using Cook's word list for communication with Port Jackson Aborigines (Haviland 1974).	(40.2)
Midjer Bool	NP	'Mister Ball'.	(14)
mur-ee	Adj Ints	'large'; also 4.4.4 *merry, murry,* 4.5.4 *murry,* 4.6.4 *marry, murray.* *murry* 'large', Sydney area (Dawes 1790b; Collins 1975 vol.1; Hunter 1968).	(47.3)
nangorar	Adj	'asleep'. *nanga* 'sleep', Sydney area (Dawes 1790b).	(25)
nowee	N	'boat', 'water vessel'; from an Aboriginal language near the settlement of Port Jackson.	(18.2)
nuffer	N PL	'a pair of snuffers'.	(42.1)
talt	N	'salt'.	(42.1)

the King	NP	'wine'; the first term learnt by Bennelong for wine.	(21)
tun	N	'sun'.	(42.1)
werie, werie	AdjP	'it's bad'. *wèrè* 'bad' (Hunter 1968); *wee-ree* 'bad' (Collins 1975 vol.1).	(36)
Wil-lam-an-nan	N	'William and Ann'; name taken by an Aborigine after a ship of the same name.	(15)
wine	N	'a bottle of wine'.	(2.2)
woman	N	'woman'.	(41.2)

4.1.5 PHONOLOGY

1. Absence of <s> (1:16,42.1,51). Word initially, <s> is dropped before a consonant, while before a vowel <s> becomes <t> (1:42.1). This is consistent with the fact that the phonological inventories of Aboriginal languages do not contain /s/.

2. Word medially, <st> becomes <dj> (1:14).

3. In 1:14 <er> may actually represent <a> because word final rhotics preceded by a vowel, which were written as <er> in early transcriptions of Aboriginal languages, are retranscribed by Dixon (1980:149) as <a> because of the lack of word final rhotics in Aboriginal languages.

4. <v> was used instead of <w> (1:51).

5. In 1:14 *Bool* was transcribed rather than 'Ball'.

6. *dee-in* (1:47.3) is the first transcription in the data of what was later *jin* or *gin*. Dixon (1980:150) notes that in early transcriptions of Aboriginal languages /j/ may be represented by <d>.

7. *mur-ee* (1:47.3) is the first transcription of what was later usually transcribed as *murry* or *merry* (for example 4.4.4, 4.5.4).

4.1.6 SYNTAX

1. Item 1:25

"Governor 'nangorar'" = 'Governor asleep'.

Points to note:

The innovation in this example is the combination of English and Aboriginal lexicon which indicates it is contact language – either NSW Jargon or early unstabilised NSW Pidgin.

2. Item 1:22

"hungry, bread" = 'We are hungry and want bread.'

Points to note:

This example is likely to be NSW Jargon because it shows minimal syntactic elaboration. However as it is attributed to the speech of Aboriginal children it could also represent English child language.

3. Items 1:35, 36, 56

"beial, beial" = ' good, very good' (1:35)

"werie, werie" = 'it's bad' [probably 'bad, bad'] (1:36)

"All dead, All dead" = 'Everyone is dead.' (1:56)

Points to note:

The innovation in these examples is the use of reduplication as an intensifier. This is a feature of both NSW Pidgin and Aboriginal languages (Dawes 1790a, b) – (see 4.7.1 and 4.7.2).

4. Item 1:42.1

"Nuffer for candle" = 'a pair of candle snuffers'

Points to Note:

nuffer is a noun not marked for number even though it refers to a pair of snuffers. Non-occurrence of any articles is one feature which syntactically distinguishes this example from English. Both points are features of later more stabilised NSW Pidgin (see 4.7.1).

5. Item 1:47.3

"I have got *Bul-la Mur-ee Dee-in* ('two large women') to compensate for her loss."

Points to Note:

(i) *dee-in* 'woman' or 'wife' is a noun not marked by an affix for number and is an item that came into incipient NSW Pidgin from an Aboriginal language near the Port Jackson settlement (Dawes 1790b; Hunter 1968; Collins 1975); later commonly used as a NSW Pidgin item, usually *gin* or *jin* (see 4.4.4, 4.5.4, 4.6.4).

(ii) *mur-ee* was used as an intensifier 'very' in later periods (see 4.4.4, 4.5.4, 4.6.4), while in this case it was glossed by the transcriber as meaning 'large'. This item came into incipient NSW Pidgin from an Aboriginal language near the Port Jackson settlement (Dawes 1790b). However, it is (perhaps coincidentally) homophonous to English 'merry' and was in fact later used in connection with 'merry' drunkenness (1:86).

(iii) *bul-la* 'two' is an item from an Aboriginal language near the Port Jackson settlement (Dawes 1790b); it re-occurs in example 1:123 (see 4.5.4). On the grounds of its recurrence in the later more stabilised NSW Pidgin it is posited as a feature of incipient NSW Pidgin.

The combination of English with elements from an Aboriginal language in this example indicates it to be some kind of contact language. The complex nature of the English lexicon used indicates that the whole example is likely to be NSW Jargon created by the transcriber. However, a section of the example, *"Bul-la Mur-ee Dee-in"*, is likely to be incipient NSW Pidgin. It is not likely to be simply an utterance in an Aboriginal language that happened to be understood by the colonist observer, because the items are part of what became typical of the more stabilised NSW Pidgin lexicon and the word order is typical of English which is also a feature of NSW Pidgin.

6. Item 1:56

"All dead, all dead" = 'Everyone is dead.'

Points to Note:

(i) The use of reduplication as an intensifier (see 3. above)

(ii) *all* is a NSW Pidgin plural pronoun and is also a feature of Kriol – *alabat* (Sandefur and Sandefur 1979:3).

4.2 1794 TO 1813: PERIOD OF EXPANSION TO THE BLUE MOUNTAINS

4.2.1 INTRODUCTION

As previously outlined in 1794 the first farmers moved into the Hawkesbury area and by 1813 all the land from Sydney to the Blue Mountains was settled. Some land south, in the Illawarra, was occupied by cedar-getters and in the Hunter a few convicts were mining coal. The colonists were still mostly convicts, emancipists and naval and military personnel, although the number of free settlers was increasing. It is likely the traders drawn to the Pacific for the whaling trade were also visiting Sydney, and whaling had begun in Australian waters. The Aborigines in the settled areas were speakers of Dharuk, Iyora, Guringgai, Dharawal, Gundungura, Darkinyung and Awabakal. During this period many more Aborigines became familiar with the settlement and colonists, and conflict between colonists and Aborigines became a problem for both (1:66.1). More Aborigines were living in the homes of colonists or spending time with particular colonists (2:20-25). In addition, four convicts had escaped and were living with Aborigines, and had learnt some of an Aboriginal language (4:2). A female colonist, Mary Morgan, was reported to have lived with Aborigines north of Broken Bay for two or three years (4:5). A famous story of the period concerned the convicts Wilson and Knight who lived with the Hawkesbury Aborigines and helped them organise attacks on settlers in the area (4:4). Some Aborigines in the Lane Cove area even held a group of settlers captive as a result of the growing hostility between colonists and Aborigines (4:6).

The linguistic input for contact language in this period was the colonists' English, Aboriginal languages and possibly the PJE of the whalers and maritime traders. It was demonstrated that from 1788 to 1794 an unstabilised form of NSW Pidgin was probably beginning to be spoken by the Aborigines around the settlement, and NSW Jargon was likely to have emerged as a contact language from the earliest days of settlement.

The linguistic data for the period 1795-1813 are scant and primarily inferential; observers tended to describe rather than transcribe the linguistic output of Aborigines. The reasons are not clear, however it could be that most people were occupied with economic rather than philanthropic concerns and that the novelty of first contact with the Aborigines had begun to pall, especially as many Aborigines around the colony had become a nuisance to the colonists.

4.2.2 THE WRITTEN SOURCES AND THEIR RELIABILITY

DAVID COLLINS: see 4.1.2

REVEREND RICHARD JOHNSON: see 4.1.2

The Sydney Gazette and NSW Advertiser : early newspaper of the colony of NSW.

LACHLAN MACQUARIE: was a major general and was Governor of NSW from 1809 to 1822 (Chisholm 1958:5/451-452).

Macquarie was a report-writing military officer not a literary author. This means his data were collected and transcribed with a view to providing information rather than amusement. Thus, Macquarie's data are likely to represent an accurate record of his observations and any inconsistencies or inaccuracies are the result of his conditioning rather than creative inventions. In contrast to Macquarie's data, the newspaper's accounts are likely to be distorted by the creative efforts of the authors. The newspaper was obliged to appeal to its readers and its content reflects this obligation, embellishing or deleting observations according to their potentially sensational appeal.

4.2.3 DISCUSSION OF DATA

By 1794, Aborigines from Broken Bay to Botany Bay and out to the Hawkesbury had contact with English, NSW Jargon and incipient NSW Pidgin. The evidence for the diffusion of contact languages is limited by the lack of data. However there are hints which seem to indicate that Aboriginal contact with English was being increased as colonists travelled outside the limits of settlement and made new contacts with Aborigines. Each of the new contacts added English input to the traditional Aboriginal linguistic context because the colonists and newly contacted Aborigines generally attempted to communicate with each other. It is likely that the information and linguistic input the newly contacted Aborigines acquired was transferred to groups who had not had overt contact with the colonists. There seem to be some consistent features in the Aborigines' reaction to English and their linguistic output resulting from exposure to English. For example, Collins noted that the Aborigines from an area north of Port Jackson had similar phonetic features when pronouncing English (1:16) which is not unlikely given the probable similarity of the phonological systems of Aboriginal languages in the areas contacted by colonists in this period.

A number of Aboriginal children were living in the homes of free colonists and had access to English either as a second language or, if they had been very young children when adopted, as one of their first languages. There are two pieces of evidence that indicate some Aborigines were first language speakers of English. The first is an obituary to an Aboriginal who was raised by colonists and who "spoke none but our language" (1:58 and 2:24). The second is evidence that a small child of two or three years old was being raised by a colonist (2:23). A child exposed to English at that early age would no doubt acquire English as one of its first languages – 'one of' rather than 'its only' (first language) – because it is not proved that the child did not have access to Aboriginal languages or contact languages as well as English. Colonists who had Aboriginal children living with them tended to teach the children to speak English and at least to read. For example, Marsden's adopted Aboriginal boy was described as speaking English well and beginning to read (1:53).

The Sydney Gazette and NSW Advertiser noted that "by long intercourse many of them [the Aborigines] have acquired so much of our language as to understand and be understood" (1:58). Because the English was described as enough for understanding to be achieved and was therefore unlikely to be consistent, it could be considered that this is evidence that NSW Jargon or even NSW Pidgin was spoken between Aborigines and colonists. There is plenty of evidence to corroborate the contention that Aborigines and colonists from all the settled areas were communicating with each other (1:57-59,61-66,68). One observer described how the Aborigines "in plain English abused and threatened" a colonist who went to the assistance of a woman being worried by them (1:66.1). The communications often involved colonists interrogating hostile Aborigines as to their motives and they

usually received answers to the effect that the Aborigines wanted goods from the colonists (for example 1:57). Aborigines used their ability to communicate with the colonists in order to 'deceive' or 'trick' them (1:58,64,66.2) and to obtain goods. At other times Aborigines and colonists traded or bartered with each other for desired goods (1:59).

For this period there is only one transcription of an Aborigine's utterance (1:62) and it was written in the third person, in unmodified English. Therefore, as there is no data on which to make remarks about syntax, that section is omitted.

4.2.3.1 CONCLUSIONS

This section demonstrates that Aborigines from an increasingly wide area around the colony were coming into direct contact with colonists. It seems likely that the linguistic results of Aboriginal contact with English would have been disseminating especially along the traditional trade routes. It was recorded that Aborigines as far away from Sydney as Jervis Bay were speaking with colonists and using English lexical items as a consequence of that contact (1:65). It is also likely that incipient NSW Pidgin was spreading amongst the Aborigines encouraged by its use as a medium in which they could rationalise their increasing contacts with colonists.

In the development of south-west Pacific contact languages, during this period and up until the beginning of the plantation systems in the Pacific, the degree of mistrust between the indigenous peoples and the itinerant traders tended to keep them apart. Any developing contact languages were maintained as a means of achieving communication between the groups purely for trade purposes (Mühlhäusler 1985a:37). The indigenes and traders could remain socially separate because they usually did not physically live together. However, in the development of contact languages in NSW the Aborigines and colonists could not avoid living in close physical proximity to each other, which meant contact languages needed to fulfil communication requirements at all levels of intimacy. In addition, the contact languages would have aided the Aborigines in their rationalisation of the new social and linguistic input to which they were subject.

4.2.4 LEXICAL INVENTORY

caw-be	N	'coffee'.	(1:16)
Damwel	N	'Samuel'.	(1:16)
Mid-ger Bool	NP	'Mister Ball'.	(1:16)
Midger Plindah	NP	'Mister Flinders'.	(1:16)
white man	NP	'non-Aborigine'; not marked for number.	(1:62)

4.2.5 PHONOLOGY

1. Word initially, <s> becomes <d> (1:16) – see also section 4.1.5:1.

2. Word medially, <st> becomes <dg> (1:16).

(In 1:14 *Midger* was recorded as *Midjer* – section 4.1.5:2.) Dixon (1980:150) noted that the laminal stop /j/ was often represented in early transcriptions of Aboriginal languages by <g>, <j>, <ch>, <d>, <dy>, <dj>, <t> or <ty>.

3. Word initially, <f> becomes <p> or <b> (1:16).

4. It was noted that Aborigines could not "ever pronounce the letters 'f' or 's'" (1:16) probably because the phonological inventories of Aboriginal languages do not contain those sounds.

4.3 1813 TO 1818: PERIOD OF EXPANSION BEYOND THE BLUE MOUNTAINS

4.3.1 INTRODUCTION

As previously detailed, in 1813 the first explorers crossed the Blue Mountains and by 1815 the land as far as Bathurst was officially opened for settlement. This meant the beginning of direct colonial contact with and displacement of Aborigines in the interior of NSW. The government attempted to control expansion, but by 1818 explorers had pushed south to Goulburn and the government was being pressured to open up more land for settlement.

The colonists were still largely convicts, emancipists and naval and military officials, although the numbers of free immigrants were increasing more than ever. The first colonists in the areas over the mountains were convicts, followed by a minority of wealthy free settlers who were given large choice land grants, and by a majority of poorer free immigrants who were given small land grants, especially around Bathurst. The Aborigines in direct contact with these new settlers were likely to have been speakers of Wiradhuri in the Bathurst area, and of Dhurga and Yuin in the Goulburn area.

Hostility between Aborigines and colonists in the heavily settled areas from Sydney to the Blue Mountains was causing problems for the colonial administration. Conflicts led to the capture and imprisonment of some Aborigines from the Cow Pastures area and division amongst the Aborigines into those friendly and helpful to the colonists and those against them (2:26). The Aborigines living within the settlement were regarded by the colonists as being degraded by the contact – "their manners are very much corrupted by the Europeans whose vices they copy" (2:27).

In this period it is likely that the colonists spoke English and NSW Jargon and that the Aborigines spoke Aboriginal languages, NSW Jargon and early unstabilised NSW Pidgin. Some of the incipient Pidgin forms appeared to be stabilising, and new forms appeared (see 4.3.3) which were to become more stabilised in later periods. Also during this period is the first evidence of PJE input to the contact languages in NSW (1:67), probably brought by the whalers.

4.3.2 THE WRITTEN SOURCES AND THEIR RELIABILITY

LACHLAN MACQUARIE: see 4.2.2.

"GOVERNOR DAVEY'S PROCLAMATION TO THE ABORIGINES, 1816; WITH CAPTION BY BLACK JACK": appears to have a complex provenance and is included here with reservations about whether or not it is truly representative of NSW Pidgin of this period. However, the proclamation is very important because it contains evidence of forms which are relexifications of those apparent in the incipient NSW Pidgin of the earlier periods and which new forms became features of the later more stabilised NSW Pidgin. Certainly it does not date to an earlier period and at the latest it may be a

product of the late 1820s. As for the accuracy of the observer's transcription, their identity being unknown we can only rely on the fact that the datum contains reliable NSW Pidgin-like forms.

Governor Davey was governor of Van Diemen's Land in 1816 (Clark 1979:1/284-285), however the proclamation was issued from Hobart by Lieutenant Governor Arthur in 1830. On 30 August 1830, the commandant at Launceston, Major Abbott, wrote to the Colonial Secretary: "I endeavoured to explain to the natives the figures on the boards, which you forwarded to me; and shook hands with them on parting; they appeared all well disposed and friendly" (quoted in G. Dutton 1974:154). The attribution of the boards to Governor Davey was made by the Commission arranging Tasmania's contribution to the Inter-Colonial Exhibition, Melbourne 1866-67. The Commission sent "the Proclamation of Governor Davey" to the Surveyor General's to be copied in lithographic form, the copies to be sold as souvenirs of the Exhibition.

Black Jack was a Tasmanian Aborigine and an accomplice of the more widely-known Musquito who was transported from Sydney to Tasmania. Musquito and Black Jack led raids on the settlers during the time of Governor Arthur. The raids were skilfully organised and lasted for a period of some two years, until the leaders were caught and sentenced to be hanged. Black Jack was hanged on 25 February 1825 in Hobart. At the time it was noted "the Old Hands are fond of telling the story that, upon the clergyman exhorting Jack to pray he exclaimed 'You pray yourself; I too b----y frightened to pray'" (Bonwick 1870). "Boxall, the historian of bushranging, stated that the only English known by Black Jack was of the 'old hands' [convicts] oath brand" (Fearn-Wannan 1970:67). The most likely source of the datum is an undated conversation reported by John West (1852) between an Aborigine, Tom, and Governor Arthur, where Tom reportedly told the Governor: "You been make a proflamation – I never see dat foolish. When he see dat? He can't read; who tell him?"

REVERENDS SAMUEL LEIGH, JAMES HASSALL AND WALTER LAWRY: were CMS missionaries who were likely to have been accustomed to report-style writing, and as their data came from their reports they are likely to be accurate accounts of their observations.

4.3.3 DISCUSSION OF DATA

The first evidences of what became features of the later relatively stabilised NSW Pidgin occur in 1:67. This is a transcription of a communication between the Aboriginal speaker Black Jack and Governor Davey and is therefore an indication that while colonists may not necessarily have spoken NSW Pidgin they probably understood it. In this example the form *fellow* is used for the first time instead of the form *man*. T.E. Dutton (1983) noted the form *fellow* in the early Queensland Aboriginal Pidgin English and described it as an adjective and pronoun marker. In Kriol *-bala* is an adjective suffix, a nominaliser which allows an adjective to function as a noun (Sandefur and Sandefur 1979:7). *Fellow* appears with more consistency in the later periods, in the data used in this thesis. In this period both *black man* and *blackfellow* are evidenced and therefore appear to be unstable forms. *Fellow* seems to have become a relatively stable relexification of *man* by 1845, although even for the final period under discussion there is an example of the use of *white man* (1:153).

Example 1:67 also evidences the first use of the NSW Pidgin suffixing transitivity marker *-im* which was more consistently used in the following periods. It is significant for theories about the stabilisation process of NSW Pidgin that it is this period in which the first indication of a degree of stabilisation occurs. Furthermore, almost all the lexical items recorded for this period are from

English source forms whereas in the earliest data at least half the items were from the lexicon of Sydney Aboriginal languages. One item which originally had a Sydney Aboriginal language form *bèreewolgal* (see 4.1.4) was relexified in this period to *Engla man,* which seems to be derived from 'Englishman'.

Example 1:67 possibly evidences the first south-west Pacific PJE input to NSW Pidgin – the lexical item *massa* (Mühlhäusler 1985a:37). As stated earlier PJE had its genesis in language contact during the period of the whaling trade in the south-west Pacific and was probably brought to Australia via whalers and maritime traders. While NSW Pidgin forms were probably disseminated into the Pacific through the sea trade and through Aborigines taken into the Pacific. The term 'master' may have been introduced into the south-west Pacific by Europeans who wished to impress their superiority upon Pacific islanders and create dominance relations. Such relations did not exist between Aborigines and colonists in NSW during this period. For this reason and the fact that Aboriginal languages did not have sibilants in their phonological systems, it may have been that *massa* was an item used by colonists rather than Aborigines, which occurs in transcriptions because it was part of the observers' lexical inventory. *massa* may have been a relexification of the previously identified item *Midger/Midjer* (see 4.1.4 and 4.2.4). *Midger/Midjer* occurred before a colonist's surname as Mister would in English. *Midger/Midjer* did not occur before the item *governor*. However, as *Massa* occurred in that position in 1:67 it probably had a more general semantic value than *Midger/Midjer* – possibly a general form for 'non-Aboriginal males'. The use of the item *Massa* before 'governor' indicates it had a more general semantic value than *Midger/Midjer* – it was probably used as a general term for non-Aborigines. Although the item *massa* does not occur again in this period (colonists are referred to as *white man,* 1:70), it is common in the later periods and seems to be in keeping with the glosses 'mister' or 'non-Aboriginal male' (see 4.4.4, 4.5.4, 4.6.4).

During this period there is further evidence of what were to become NSW Pidgin features. For example, the data contain the first use of *gammon* (1:67) and *devil* (1:72.4), (which later became *Devil, devil, dibble* or *Dibble, dibble* (1:94,120,122.1) and was also noted for Queensland Aboriginal Pidgin English by Dutton (1983). However, this period is basically characterised by inconsistency in the use of forms and therefore is evidence of the continuing significant instability of developing NSW Pidgin. An example of inconsistency is the form *all* which occurred in the first period as the third person plural pronoun and in this period as an adjective.

It is possible that some of the instability or inconsistencies observed in features of incipient NSW Pidgin are due to some interference in the transcribed data from the observers' own linguistic conditioning. In the cases of Lawry and Leigh they were both quite new in the colony and it is likely that they had not had much experience of speaking with Aborigines. However, Lawry attempted to understand the nature of aspects of Aboriginal linguistic output which were the results of contact with the colonists. This is expressed in his note of speculation about the possible English provenance of various lexical items in Aboriginal speech (1:72.4). That he was able to communicate with the Aborigines in some form of contact language, or thought he was able to, is evidenced in his attempts to teach them about Christianity (1:72.3).

In this period, the progress of Aboriginal children at the Native Institution was being reported. At one stage it was reported that the seventeen children enrolled could "read their testament or Bible" (1:71). This is evidence that for some Aborigines English was a target language and they were acquiring it as a second language probably in an interlanguage form.

4.3.4 LEXICAL INVENTORY

all	Adj	'all'. Note: this is not a Pn as it is in 4.1.4, because it qualifies the noun *gammon* , i.e. *all gammon.*	(67)
be	V	'be/become'	(70.4)
black	N S/PL	'Aborigine/s'.	(70.4)
blackfellow	N S/PL	'Aborigine/s'; also 4.4.4, 4.5.4, 4.6.4.	(67)
black man *black men*	NP S/PL	'Aborigine/s'.	(70.4,.7, 72.2)
book	N S/PL	'book/s'.	(67)
devil	N	'devil'; see 4.4.4 *devil-devil,* 4.5.4 *dibble, dibble-dibble.* *debul* 'devil', Kriol (Sandefur and Sandefur 1979:27).	(72.4)
die	VI	'dies'.	(72.2)
down	Adv	'down'.	(70.4,.7)
drink	V	'drinks'.	(70.4)
eh	Intj	'eh'.	(67)
Engla	N	'England'.	(70.7)
Engla man	NP	'Englishman'; see 4.1.4 *bèreewolgal*	(70.7)
fight	V	'fights'.	(70.4,.7)
gammon	N	'nonsense'; from a nineteenth century English colloquialism of the same form; *gammon*, Queensland Aboriginal Pidgin English (Dutton 1983).	(67)
Gubernor	N	'Governor'; also 4.1.4 *Governor*	(67)
he	p3 Pn	'he'; *he* Queensland Aboriginal Pidgin English (Dutton 1983).	(67)
him	1. p3 Pn	'it'; *im* 'it', Kriol (Sandefur and Sandefur 1979:54).	(67)
	2. TransM	'*-im*'; *-im* Trans M, Kriol (Sandefur 1979:177) and Queensland Aboriginal Pidgin English (Dutton 1983).	
how	Adv	'how'.	(67)
learnt him	VT	learn; *le:nim* 'teach' VT, Kriol (Sandefur and Sandefur 1979:75).	(67)
like	VT	'likes'.	(70.7)

Massa	N	'master', 'mister' or non-Aboriginal male; PJE; also 4.4.4, 4.5.4 *master*, 4.6.4.	(67)
never no more	Neg	'nevermore'.	(72.2)
no	Neg	'not'; Queensland Aboriginal Pidgin English (Dutton 1983), *no* Neg, Kriol (Sandefur and Sandefur 1979:90).	(67,70.5, .6,.7)
one	Adv	'once'; *wan* 'when', Kriol (Sandefur and Sandefur 1979:128).	(70.4)
proflamation	N	'proclamation'.	(67)
quick	Adv	'quickly'; *kwik* 'quick', Kriol (Sandefur and Sandefur 1979:71).	(70.7)
read	V	'read'.	(67)
read him	VT	'read'; *ridim* 'read' VT, Kriol (Sandefur and Sandefur 1979:103).	(67)
rum	N	'rum'.	(70.4,.5,.6)
up	Adv	'up'; this form is similar to the Kriol verb suffix *-ap* which is the directional 'up' (Sandefur and Sandefur 1979:4)	(70.4)
Whehill	N	'creator of the world', 'God', 'father'.	(70.1,.2,.3)
when	Adv	'when'; also 4.4.4.	(72.2)
white man *white men*	NP S/PL	'non-Aborigine/s'.	(70.2,.4)
why	Intj	'why'.	(67)
you	p2 Poss Pn	'your'; *yu* 'you' Pn, Kriol (Sandefur and Sandefur 1979:135).	(67)

4.3.5 PHONOLOGY

1. <v> becomes <b> word medially (1:67).

2. <o> becomes <u > (1:67).

4.3.6 SYNTAX

1. Item 1:67

"*Why massa Gubernor   You Proflamation all gammon - how blackfellow read him? eh!   He no learnt him read Book.*"

= 'Why Governor, your proclamation is all nonsense. How {is an Aborigine} ~ {are Aborigines} to read it? eh! as {he/she} ~ {they} ~ {has} ~ {have} not learnt to read books.'

Points to Note:

(i) *massa* is a relexification from PJE of the earlier incipient NSW Pidgin item *midger/midjer.*

(ii) *Gubernor* is inconsistent with the earlier form *Governor* (see 4.1.4).

(iii) use of *him* as a transitive marker and as a third person pronoun object marker. This is the first occurrence of this item in the data.

(iv) use of *no* as a general negator.

This utterance has a number of features which are consistent with forms that appear in later data. They first appear here and could therefore be considered features of a developing NSW Pidgin.

2. Item 1:70.2

"Who is Whehill - my father - white man calls God."

= 'Who is Whehill? He is my father, whom the {non-Aborigine calls} ~ {non-Aborigines call} God.'

Points to Note:

Use of *white man,* a noun not marked for number. Absence of number marking on nouns was first noted in 4.2.4 and is consistent with most nouns in this period. *Whehill* is an item with unresolved etymology and could be an item from an Aboriginal language.

3. Item 1:70.4

"Where will Black man go to when he is dead – Black man drink rum – fight go down -...Black men go up – be white men – white men one Black."

= 'Where will an Aborigine go to when he is dead? If an Aborigine drinks rum and fights he will go down [descend]. If Aborigines go up [rise] they become non-Aborgines, non-Aborigines were once Aborigines.'

Points to note:

(i) the lexical items *black man, black, black men, white men* combine an adjective with the noun *man,* which in later periods was usually consistently relexified as *fellow.*

(ii) *Black men* and *white men* are marked for number which is inconsistent with the general feature of nouns, since the previous period, to be unmarked.

(iv) use of *one* for 'once'.

(v) use of *up* as the directional adverb 'up', which is similar to the Kriol form *-ap* (Sandefur and Sandefur 1979:4).

4. Items 1:70.5, 170.6

"- no much" = 'not much'.

"- a little no much" = 'a little, not much'

Points to Note:

Use of the item *no* for 'not'.

5. Item 1:70.7

"I am Engla man – Engla man get drunk – fight – Engla man drunk a fool – Black man no fool – Black man drunk very quick – go ly down – be still – Black man like tobacco."

= 'I am an English man. When an English man gets drunk he fights. An Englishman drunk is a fool. An Aborigine is no fool. When an Aborigine is drunk he very quickly goes and lies down and is still. {An Aborigine likes tobacco} ~ {Aborigines like tobacco}.'

Points to Note:

i) *Black man, Engla man* are nouns unmarked for number.

ii) Inconsistency in the occurrence of conjunctions, articles, adverbs and occasionally the auxiliary verb 'to be'. The non-occurrence of conjunctions, articles and the verb 'to be' are NSW Pidgin features. Of the adverbs used in this example *down* is a NSW Pidgin feature.

6. Item 1:72.2

"When Black man die, never no more, 'never no more'."

= 'When an Aborigine dies he is definitely finished.'

Points to Note:

(i) reduplication as an intensifier.

(ii) *never no more* with *no* as the negator. English of the same period may well have evidenced the same construction. Colonial songs often contain a construction such as "no no, never, no never no more". Given the Aborigines' observed interest in the songs of the colonists they could also have acquired the construction from song refrains.

4.4 1818 TO 1827: PERIOD OF EXPANSION TO THE OPENING OF A PASSAGE ACROSS THE LIVERPOOL RANGES

4.4.1 INTRODUCTION

From 1818, as noted earlier, frontier expansion south and west meant colonists were contacting Aboriginal groups with whom no previous overt contact had been made. The colonists to 1827 were still largely convicts, emancipists and naval and military officials, but increasing numbers of free immigrants were arriving in the colony and the 'currency' population was growing. It is likely that news of the colonists and information about contact language had reached the Aborigines in the new frontier areas via the Aboriginal trade routes. The Aborigines were curious about the colonists, and in some cases organised themselves to meet them. They especially made an effort to meet the governor when he was travelling. For example, when Macquarie visited the Illawarra he was met by about one hundred Aborigines of various tribes, some "all the way from Jervis' Bay [sic]...[and] they all knew who I [Macquarie] was and pronounced my name very distinctly" (1:69). The Aborigines in the Illawarra and Jervis Bay area had their lands invaded by colonists in the early 1820s when Macquarie

was freely granting land. However, it is evident that they already had information about the colonists and their language.

It is important to note that, since most of the free settlements were preceded by penal settlements, the first English to which Aborigines had access was often the English spoken by convicts.

The Australian Agricultural Company may have added Spanish to the linguistic input for any developing contact languages when they brought Peruvian muleteers to drive their South American mules and asses.

Further contact was made with speakers of the languages already encountered. Contact was also made with the Yuin of Jervis Bay, Guyinbaraay of the Liverpool Ranges, Gadang Birbay of Port Macquarie, probably Dyangadi if the speakers came near Port Macquarie and through those speakers perhaps Nganyaywana and possibly Gamilaraay of the Liverpool Ranges. The Aborigines around the Sydney area were speaking NSW Jargon and unstabilised NSW Pidgin that evidenced some input from PJE. It is likely that knowledge of NSW Jargon and NSW Pidgin was travelling along the Aboriginal trade routes.

During this period there is only one instance of a colonist living with Aborigines and that was the escaped convict John Graham, who lived with Aborigines beyond Parramatta for six years (4:7). However, there were increasing instances of Aborigines living amongst colonists. Aboriginal children in the Native Institution and in other schools, or living in the homes of colonists and around missions had access to English as a target language and some spoke it as one of their second languages or one of their first languages. Aborigines known to the settlers were used as guides by colonists exploring beyond the limits of settlement (2:28, 29).

On Threlkeld's mission at Lake Macquarie Aborigines were "employed" in work to help make the mission self supporting. Threlkeld even had ten acres cleared for a plantation (2:30). One Aborigine who proved invaluable to Threlkeld, especially as an informant in his linguistic work, was M'Gill an Aborigine who had grown up in the Sydney Barracks and who spoke English as one of his first languages (1:30). Several of the wealthy free colonists had Aborigines living with them (2:31,35). Marsden even took his English-speaking 'protege' Samuel Christian with him to England and Rio de Janeiro (2:31).

By the mid 1820s, the Aborigines in Sydney and the Cumberland area were described as very reliant on the colonists for their livelihood. Most writers further noted that the Aborigines had become 'degraded' as a result of this reliance through their increasing dependence on alcohol (2:32,33,34). Aborigines traded with the colonists and the Aboriginal women were used as prostitutes as part of that trade in exchange for goods such as bread, rum, old clothes and tobacco (2:33). It was reported that children produced by Aboriginal women and fathered by non-Aborigines were habitually killed by the Aborigines (2:33)[2].

Aborigines around Sydney were described as speaking English "remarkably well" (2:32), which was likely to have been due to the extensive contact they had with colonists, especially the convicts, on all social levels. The Aborigines did not confine their attentions to the convicts though they were usually the colonists most accessible to them . They never considered themselves as similar in status to the convicts; on the contrary, some Aborigines equated themselves in status with the Governor, even though the Aborigines had no system of rule by a chief. One Aborigine, Kogee, provides a good example of the ease with which some Aborigines became familiar with governors and high colonial officials. Kogee took his wives to government house, "caused himself to be announced", and was invited to drink wine with Macquarie and his guests (2:36).

During this period it was also reported that Aborigines had direct contact with whalers who traded in the Pacific and it is likely that the increase in PJE input in this period can be attributed at least in part to this contact.

4.4.2 THE WRITTEN SOURCES AND THEIR RELIABILITY

LACHLAN MACQUARIE: see 4.2.2.

ELIZABETH SHELLEY: was a teacher at the Native Asylum, known also, at the time, as the Native Institution (Shelley 1838).

REVEREND RALPH MANSFIELD: clergyman (in Gunson 1974:1/74).

BARRON FIELD: was a philanthropist and writer (Reece 1974:75).

REVEREND LANCELOT THRELKELD: was a missionary with the LMS (Threlkeld 1974).

PETER CUNNINGHAM: was a surgeon in His Majesty's Navy (Cunningham 1827).

Cunningham was another report-writing official; however, his data derive from his published narrative account. The account has all the detail of description typical of a report, but it is written in a more literary style. Nevertherless, his observations of Aboriginal utterances are likely to be relatively reliable, given the consistency in his transcriptions that reveals a knowledge of his subject. Barron Field was a writer by profession, and tended to write as an observer of social and environmental details, using a prolix but semi-scientific style. Elizabeth Shelley's data refers to the progress of the children in the institution in which she was a teacher, which means her observations were first-hand. Mansfield and Threlkeld were both missionaries who had much experience working with the Aborigines. Their style of writing varies according to the purpose of the work, Threlkeld's especially. The variation in styles provides a useful check on the data presented.

4.4.3 DISCUSSION OF DATA

While the data for this period primarily evidence the continuing use of NSW Jargon by both colonists and Aborigines, there are data for stable NSW Pidgin used amongst the Aborigines. There is also evidence which suggests that colonists were using NSW Pidgin with Aborigines. The main sources are Cunningham and Threlkeld, who used NSW Pidgin lexical items as part of their own output. This indicates that some of the NSW Pidgin lexicon may have been entering colloquial English speech for example *whitey* and *blackey* as terms for colonist and Aborigine respectively. The data evidence the instability in the contact speech used by Aborigines, because there is frequently a variety of forms for any one item. This instability makes it difficult to tightly define NSW Jargon as opposed to NSW Pidgin. However, some features of the speech are more stable than others and are therefore identifiable as features of emerging NSW Pidgin. The instability could also be partly attributable to input from the observers' linguistic conditioning.

English as a target language was still available to the few Aborigines who attended the Native Institution and later to those who were in close proximity to missions. In 1820, Mrs. Shelley reported that the children in the Native Institution were showing good progress in literacy (1:73). It is likely, therefore, that some Aborigines spoke English as a second language acquired through a formal education process, and some probably spoke English interlanguage with colonists, rather than NSW Jargon. Cunningham observed that some Aborigines were "found to acquire the knowledge of

reading, writing, &c., almost as expertly as Europeans" (1:11 4). One way in which Aborigines had access to English was through acquiring the colonists' songs, which they had been doing since the first months of British settlement. One Aborigine knew and understood "Johnny Stays Long at the Fair" well enough to substitute lexical items within the song (1:111).

In this period there are instances of colonists using NSW Jargon or Pidgin to communicate with the Aborigines. Mansfield, Cunningham and Threlkeld all did so. A good example of this is Mansfield's *"What for you make fire?"* (1:74). This is an example which contains some possible new forms in NSW Pidgin. These forms are (a) the interrogative *what for* (now a feature of Kriol – *wotpo* – Sandefur and Sandefur 1979:133) which appears again in the next period, and (b) the pronoun form *you* (also a Kriol form – *yu* Sandefur and Sandefur 1979:135) which occurs in all the periods from 1813 onward. However, the example also evidences the relative instability of NSW Pidgin because it contains the transitive verb *make* without the NSW Pidgin transitivity markers *him* or *it*. *Him* first appeared in the previous period but does not appear at all in this period. In the data for this period a new transitivity marker *it* appears and it is used again in the following periods (-*it* is a transitive marker sometimes replacing -*im* in Kriol – Sandefur and Sandefur 1979:55). This kind of instability of forms hinders classification of examples into NSW Pidgin or NSW Jargon.

Mansfield's data also evidence this instability of forms. It is also possible that the unstable utterances are evidencing the linguistic conditioning of the observer. That is, the observer may have had some facility with the emerging Pidgin but added idiosyncratic innovations to their transcriptions, thereby jargonising the transcribed utterances. This is not to say that there was a stable NSW Pidgin and that the observers were unable to gain adequate access to it in order to acquire it as a full system. Rather, it is to say that NSW Pidgin was unstable and that its instability increased the likelihood of jargonisation in any utterance because a rigid system did not exist which would have its rules defied in so doing. For example, in the same item Mansfield used the noun *Black men* which is marked for number and *Black man* which, typically of nouns in the emerging NSW Pidgin, is unmarked for number (1:74).

In this period two more items from Aboriginal languages, which came to be used with a degree of consistency, appear in the data – *bel* and *boodgeree*. Both forms are from a Sydney language, as Dawes (1790b) recorded *bial* or *beeal* for 'no', 'not' and *budyeri* for 'good', 'well'. The items also appear in the following periods as *bail* and *budjerry* (see 4.5.4), and as *bail/bel/bale* and *budgeree/budgerry* (see 4.6.4).

The influence of PJE on the emergent NSW Pidgin is made questionable by a piece of evidence from Barron Field in which he observed that Aborigines spoke with a "perfect English accent, undebased by the Massa's and Missies, and me-no's of West Indian slavery" (1:75). However there is evidence for the use of *massa* in the previous period (1:67) and also in this period in the observations of Cunningham (1:104, 105) and Threlkeld (1:84,88,89,96.1). Field observed that the Aborigines had no feelings of inferiority towards the colonists, even though he indicates a dominance relationship in his writings in using the word 'master' to refer to colonists. For example, "with us masters, all he [the Aborigine] contends for nevertheless is equality" (1:75). Field's use of master in referring to non-Aborigines indicates that *massa* may have been used by some colonists who wished to promote a relationship of dominance by the convicts over the Aborigines. As noted in section 4.3.3, it is unlikely that /s/ was evident in the linguistic output of Aborigines. *massa* may appear in the transcriptions because the colonists generally used the item.

Threlkeld was the first source to observe that *pickaninney* had been introduced into Aboriginal speech, and probably by Europeans (1:90). Cunningham also noted its use (1:103). *pickaninney* was probably part of the PJE lexicon as it is an old item common to some of the earliest pidgins and jargons known. It derives from Portugese *pequenino* [3] (*Macquarie Dictionary* 1982:1305) and its use in contact language contexts dates to the early explorations and trading ventures by Europeans.

During this period there is further evidence of the dissemination of contact language amongst the Aborigines. For example Threlkeld observed that "a little of broken English" was spoken by a few Aborigines in the Lake Macquarie area (1:78). The speakers were four or five adults and a boy six or seven years old. It could be that what Threlkeld observed was NSW Jargon or an unstable form of NSW Pidgin. The diffusion of contact language is further evidenced in item 1:86 in which Threlkeld observed his son speaking to an Aborigine and the transcription he offers for the interchange contains some NSW Pidgin features. The Aborigine was a stranger to Lake Macquarie, having come from the Liverpool Ranges, which indicates that some emergent NSW Pidgin items must have spread along Aboriginal communication networks.

Given Threlkeld's interest in recording and acquiring Aboriginal languages it is likely that he was a good observer of the contact languages spoken in the Lake Macquarie area. In Threlkeld's data there are examples of virtually unmodified English containing only the odd lexical item which is from contact language (1:81-83,95,97) and there are examples which contain many NSW Pidgin features (1:79,84,86-89,93). This contrast means that items of Threlkeld's data can productively be compared with each other, with the conclusion that he was aware of the difference between the contact languages and English. Compare for example 1:84 where he transcribes Aboriginal speech that shows distinct NSW Pidgin input with 1:85 or 1:99 which are clearly literary English. Threlkeld spent a few years in Tahiti before arriving in Australia and it is likely he acquired items such as 'master' from PJE in Tahiti. The fact that he noted *pickaninney* and *Yarhoo* as items in Aboriginal speech which were introduced through contact with the speech of colonists (1:90) indicates his awareness of the various inputs in contact languages.

Threlkeld made an observation which demonstrates that most Aborigines did not have access to English and possibly considered the contact language spoken between themselves and the colonists to be the language of the colonists: "pickaninney, another barbarism, has been introduced by Europeans amongst the aborigines, for a little child, or infant in arms, which term the blacks often use under the impression that they are speaking elegantly and correctly, unconscious that they are murdering the Queen's English" (1:90).

There are differences between the speech Threlkeld recorded and that recorded by Cunningham. The differences could mean that there was more than one pidgin, or that there were dialects of one pidgin (possibly even dialects of more than one pidgin) – one pidgin or dialect of a pidgin being spoken in the Lake Macquarie area near Threlkeld's mission and another being spoken in the Port Jackson area. However, the differences are more likely to indicate the unstable nature of NSW Pidgin.

The Aborigines in Sydney were often described as 'hearers' of English, able to "understand English well...speak it too, so as to be understood by residents [colonists]" (1:104). In addition Aborigines were 'borrowing' colloquial lexicon from the colonists' English and using it with their own devised semantic value. For example the item *croppy,* which originally referred to Irish convicts, was applied by the Aborigines as a general term for convicts (1:76). Cunningham noted that the Aborigines in Sydney excelled in their acquisition of "Billingsgate slang" (1:104), which was

"the kind of language heard at "Billingsgate", a fish market in London", coarse, abusive language (Grose 1981, *Macquarie Dictionary* 1982:206). Within Cunningham's data there are also a few more instances of lexical borrowing from PJE and relexification of existing items using PJE items. *Midjer/Midger* has definitely been relexified by the PJE item *massa* (which first appeared in the previous period) and the former is not used again. For example, what would have previously been *Midjer/Midger Wenta* in this period was *Massa Wenta* (1:104). In this period *massa* also appears in the data as a general term for a non-Aborigine[4]. Cunningham used *blacky* and *whitey* to mean Aborigine and non-Aborigine respectively (1:104), but only as his own referents. He does not attribute these items to the speech of Aborigines, instead using *black fellow* and *white fellow* (1:112) in utterances by Aborigines. It is possible *blacky* and *whitey* are Cunningham's borrowings from PJE

Some of Cunningham's data seem to provide evidence for Aborigines speaking English with the only innovations being phonetic ones. For example, in item 1:105 an Aborigine is recorded as having said "Good morning, sir, good morning" which shows no innovation, and "Top, sir, I want to peak to you" in which the only innovation is phonetic – *top* and *peak* as opposed to 'stop' and 'speak'. Assuming Cunningham's observation is accurate, it seems that some Aborigines, at least in Sydney, were speaking phonologically modified English as a second language, probably in addition to NSW Pidgin.

As well as borrowing English lexicon for describing the new input into their world as a result of contact with the colonists, Aborigines borrowed personal names. Aborigines liked to acquire an English name given to them by a colonist (1:106). In Aboriginal society, names are very important in forming social bonds and establishing social identification, and are considered sacred (1:100). Hence, it is hardly surprising that Aborigines, especially those living in close proximity to colonists, desired to have English names in order to form social and perhaps sacred bonds with the colonists. Aborigines also gave various colonists Aboriginal language nicknames, based on the colonists' physical features, for example *Wully wully* or 'wry mouth' after a shrivelled looking fruit, *Coorakabundy* or 'the frog' because that particular colonist had a "peculiar articulation", and *Parembang* or 'emu' for a colonist who had an emu-like walk (1:107).

A very unusual piece of data is 1:109. It may reflect influence from the phonological inventory of the Irish colonists, in the use of *de* rather than 'the' and *fader* rather than 'father' (D.S. Walsh 1985, personal communication).

4.4.3.1 CONCLUSIONS

During this period the input from PJE to NSW Jargon and Pidgin was more marked, and the role of the colonists in introducing this input is clearly evidenced. Also the use of Pidgin forms amongst the Aborigines is demonstrated for the Lake Macquarie area in addition to Sydney. Within NSW Pidgin the influence of Aboriginal lexicon is once again significantly evidenced. The variations in the speech recorded may indicate the lack of stability of NSW Pidgin, and the regularities may indicate the stabilisation of some features. It is remotely possible that varieties were showing regional variation, especially Lake Macquarie area versus Sydney.

4.4.4 LEXICAL INVENTORY

ah   Intj   'ah! '.   (109)

all	Adj	'only'; see 4.3.4.	(74)
all the same as	Prep	'like'; *all same as* Queensland Aboriginal Pidgin English (Dutton 1983), *alasem*, Kriol (Rumsey 1985, personal communication).	(87)
at	Loc	'at'.	(96.1)
bel	Neg	'not'; also 4.6.4. *bial/beeal* 'no', 'not' Sydney area (Dawes 1790b) .	(103)
black	N	'Aborigine'.	(76)
black fellow	NP S/PL	'Aborigine/s'; also 4.3.4, 4.5.4, 4.6.4.	(101,112)
blackman	N	'Aborigine'; unmarked for number	(74)
blacky	N	'Aborigine'; word used by a non-Aborigine, possibly from PJE	(104)
boodgeree	Adj	'good'; also 4.5.4 *budjerry*, 4.6.4 *budgerry*. *budyeri* 'good', Sydney area (Dawes 1790b).	(102,103)
cheese	N	'cheese'.	(88)
cobawn	Adj	'big'; probably from an Aboriginal language	(107)
cobra	N	'witchity grub'; probably from an Aboriginal language.	(87)
come	1. V	'comes'.	(113)
	2. VI	'coming'.	(93,96.1)
croppy	N	'convict'; originally used only in reference to Irish convicts.	(76)
cudgel	N	'tobacco'; *cud-yal* ' smoak' [sic] Sydney area (Hunter 1968).	(110)
de	DefArt	'the'.	(109)
devil-devil	N	'the great devil' or 'Potoyan' an Aboriginal spirit ; also 4.3.4 *devil,* 4.5.4 *dibble-dibble*.	(94,113)
drunk	Adj	'drunk'.	(86)
dum'	N	'dump'; "formerly a round piece cut out from the centre of a silver dollar and used as a coin" *(Macquarie Dictionary* 1982:562), fifteen shillings.	(105)
eat	VT	'eat'; exists as a transitive verb without a transitive marker.	(101,88)
eatit	VT	'ate'; *-it* is the transitivity marker, see below.	(108)
fader	N	'father'.	(109)

gammon	N	'falsehood'; see 4.3.4.	(96.1)
gemmen	N	'gentleman'.	(86)
gim	VT	'give'.	(105)
gin	N	'wife'; also 4.1.4 *dee-in.*	(108)
gins	N PL	'wives'.	(111)
gobernor	N	'governor'; also 4.1.4 *Governor*, 4.3.4.*Gubernor*	(107)
good	Adj	'good'.	(86)
he	p3 Pn S	'it'; *he*, Queensland Aboriginal Pidgin English (Dutton 1983).	(102)
I	p1 Pn S	'I'.	(109)
in	Loc	'in'.	(88)
it	1.TransM	*-it*; *-it* Trans M, Kriol (Sandefur and Sandefur 1979:55).	(103)
	2. Poss	possibly indicates possession of the object by the subject; also 4.5.4, 4.6.4	
jins	N PL	'wives'; also *gins*	(97)
jirrand	Adj	'afraid'; *jee-run* 'coward' Sydney area (Collins 1975 vol.1).	(112)
kill	V	'kill'; verb becomes *kill it* VT. Exists as a transitive verb without a marker, *kilim* 'kill', 'hit' Kriol (Sandefur and Sandefur 1979:67).	(103) (101).
like	Prep	'like'.	(86,98)
maggots	N PL	'maggots'.	(88)
make	V	'makes'.	(86)
massa	1. N	'non-Aborigine'; see 4.3.4, 4.5.4 *master,* 4.6.4	(84,86,88, 89,93,96, 102,105)
	2. N	'mister'; relexification of *Midger/Midjer* see 4.1.4, 4.2.4.	(104)
Massa Wenta	NP	'Mister Wentworth'.	(104)
Massa William	NP	'Mister/Master William'.	(109)
me	1. p1 Pn	'me'; *mi* 'me', 'I', Kriol (Sandefur and Sandefur 1979:82), *me* 'I' Queensland Aboriginal Pidgin English (Dutton 1983).	(105)
	2. p1 Pn	'I'.	(86,98)

merry	Adj Ints	'very'; see *murry* below.	(86)
moons	N PL	'months'.	(93,96.1)
mout	N	'mouth'.	(107)
murry	Adj Ints	'very'; see 4.1.4 *mur-ee,* also 4.5.4, 4.6.4 *marry, murray.*	(102)
narang	Adj	little; *narang* 'little' Sydney area (Dawes 1790b).	(107)
no	Neg	'not'; see 4.3.4, also 4.6.4.	(84,96.1, 112)
oh	Intj	'oh'.	(86,87)
'peak	V	'speak'	(105)
pickaninney	N	'baby', "a little child or infant in arms"; PJE.	(90,103)
plenty	Adj	'many'; *plenty* pluraliser, Queensland Aboriginal Pidgin English (Dutton 1983).	(88)
'pose	Fut Cond Conj	'supposing'; in Kriol this form is *buji* 'if' but not always a Fut Cond (Sandefur and Sandefur 1979:23).	(102)
rain	VI	'rain'.	(102)
redbill	N	'redbill (bird)'.	(109)
rum	N	'rum'.	(86)
shoot	Past VT	'shot'.	(109)
sit down	VI	'to remain for a long time'; *sit down ,* Queensland Aboriginal Pidgin English (Dutton 1983).	(96.1)
stop	VI	'to remain for a short time'; *stop,* Queensland Aboriginal Pidgin English (Dutton 1983).	(93)
stupid fellow/s	NP S/PL	"all...persons who have not implicit faith in, and do not hold the tradition of, their fathers" (1:91). *Stupid* always refers to people who were considered foolish by the Aborigines.	(79,91)
tell	VT	'tell'.	(109)
that	Dem p3 Pn	'that'.	(86)
the bush	NP	'the bush'.	(98)
to	Prep	'to'.	(87)

top	Intj	stop.	(105)
too much	Adj	'a lot of'.	(108)
very hungry	metaphor	"excuse for declining to engage in any enterprise whatsoever".	(77)
walk	Vp3	'walks'.	(74)
what for	Interr Adv.	'why'; also 4.5.4; similar to the Kriol form *wotpo* (Sandefur and Sandefur 1979:133), *what for* Queensland Aboriginal Pidgin English (Dutton 1983).	(74,79,80, 84)
when	Adv	'when'; also 4.3.4.	(93,96.1)
white bread	NP	metaphor for a non-Aboriginal person.	(108)
white fellow	NP	'light-skinned Aborigine/s'; unmarked for number; used by Aborigines in the Bathurst district, not the usual usage, which was in reference to colonists.	(101)
white fellow/s	NP S/PL	'non-Aborigine/s';	(81,89, 104,112)
whiteman	N	'non-Aborigine/s'; unmarked for number.	(74)
whitey	N	'non-Aborigine'; word used by a non-Aborigine, possibly from PJE.	(104)
who	Interr Pn	'who'.	(109)
why	Intj	'why!'.	(88)
wickeye	N	'bread'.	(110)
Yarhoo	N	NSW Pidgin name for Kurriwilbán, an Aboriginal mythological female Threlkeld (1974) says "Deamoness", "bad spirit or 'Bugaboo'...loan from Dean Swift" (Travels of Gulliver); also 4.6.4 *Yahoo*.	(90)
you	1. p2 Pn S Poss	'your'.	(109)
	2. p2 Pn S	'you'.	(79,80,87, 88,93, 96.1)

4.4.5 PHONOLOGY

　　1. Non-occurrence of <s> word initially before <p>, <t> (1:102 and 1:105).

　　2. Non-occurrence of <p> word finally (1:105).

3. Non-occurrence of <t> word medially (1:86).

4. <th> becomes <t> word finally (1:107).

5. <th> becomes <d> word initially and word medially (1:109).

4.4.6 SYNTAX

1. Item 1:101

"White fellow kill and eat black fellow."

= 'Light-skinned Aborigines who kill and eat other Aborigines.'

Points to note:

The use of *white fellow* and *black fellow*, which are nouns unmarked for number.

This example contains NSW Pidgin features, however there are also inconsistencies with what are taken to be salient features of NSW Pidgin. For example, the transitive verb *kill* is not marked with the NSW Pidgin transitive markers *him* or *it*. Also, a coordinate verb construction *and* is unlikely to be a NSW Pidgin feature and could be evidence of input from the observer's linguistic conditioning. Both features are most likely to be indicators of NSW Pidgin's continuing instability. As this example is from the Bathurst area it is further evidence for the spread of contact language amongst Aborigines.

2. Item 1:102

"Murry boodgeree (very good), massa, 'pose he rain."

= '{It's very good, mister, if it rains}' ~ '{It would be very good if it were to rain}'

Points to note:

(i) use of PJE *massa* which by this period is a relatively stabilised form in NSW Pidgin.

(ii) use of the conditional conjunction *'pose*.

(iii) use of *he* as a third person pronoun unmarked for gender.

(iv) use of lexical items from a Sydney Aboriginal language – *murry boodgeree* (Dawes 1790b; Hunter 1968; Collins 1975). This is the first occurrence of the NSW Pidgin item *boodgeree*.

This example contains mostly NSW Pidgin items. *he* seems to be a variation of the usual NSW Pidgin forms *it* or *him*. *massa* is a relatively stabilised form in NSW Pidgin item, but as noted in the previous period, it is possible that this item was only used by colonists.

3. Item 1:103

"Bel boodgeree (not good) kill it pickaninny."

= 'It is not good to kill babies.'

maybe: 'It is not good to kill one's own baby.'

(See this item in appendix for contextual evidence which indicates that infanticide was being referred to.)

Points to note:

(i) use of lexical items from an Aboriginal language – *bel boodgeree* – as likely NSW Pidgin items. This is the first use of *bel*, which is an item from a Sydney language (Dawes 1790b; Hunter 1968; Collins 1975). The negator *bel* is used example initially which is a typical feature of Aboriginal languages, however, it is also a common English construction (Rumsey 1985, personal communication).

(ii) use of the transitive marker *it*.

(iv) use of the PJE item *pickaninney*.

This example contains all NSW Pidgin features and may be an example of the existence of a more stabilised form of Pidgin by this period.

4. Item 1:105

(a) *"Massa, gim me a dum'. Massa gim me a dum!"*

= 'Mister, give me a dump. Mister give me a dump.'

Points to note:

(i) use of the item *massa*.

(ii) use of *gim me.*

(iii) use of reduplication to indicate insistence; however, this is not an unusual feature of spoken English.

This example has some possible NSW Pidgin features, however, it could also be posited as NSW Jargon as none of the features is conclusively NSW Pidgin. *Massa* was noted above as a relatively stabilised NSW Pidgin form by this period but this does not preclude its use in NSW Jargon constructions. In addition, *gim me* lacks a NSW Pidgin transitive marker.

(b) *"...dont I top about Massa---'s"*

= '...don't I stay around Massa's.'

Points to note:

(i) use of *top [stop] about*.

(ii) use of the item *Massa* .

This example combines NSW Pidgin and non-NSW Pidgin elements. Sandefur and Sandefur (1979:2,10) note *abat* and *-bat* where *-bat* is the continuitive aspect verbal suffix in Kriol.

5. Item 1:74.

(a) *"When anybody walk over him."*

= 'When anybody walks over him.'

Point to note:

The only innovation in this example is the lack of inflection of the third person verb *walk*.

(b) *"What for you make fire?"*

= 'Why are you making fire?'

Points to note:

(i) use of *what for* as the interrogative. This is a NSW Pidgin feature and is consistent with the Kriol form *wotpo* (Sandefur and Sandefur 1979:133).

(ii) lack of transitivity marker on the verb *make*.

This example demonstrates the difficulty in separating NSW Pidgin and NSW Jargon items as the content is mainly NSW Pidgin but the verb lacks a NSW Pidgin transitivity marker.

(c) *"To keep poor dead black man warm."*

= 'To keep the poor dead Aborigine warm.'

Points to note:

The use of *black man* and the non-occurrence of the definite article.

(d) *"Black men nigh all gone. Soon no blackman, all whiteman."*

= 'The Aborigines are nigh all gone. Soon there will be no more Aborigines, only non-Aborigines.'

Points to note:

The use of *blackman* and *whiteman* which are unmarked for number. However, the use of the plural noun *Black men* is an inconsistency.

6. Items 1:79 and 1:80

"What for you so stupid, you very stupid fellow." (1:79)

= 'Why are you so stupid? You are a very stupid man.'

"What for you so stupid, look at the blood!" (1:80)

= 'Why are you so foolish? Look at the blood.'

Points to note:

(i) use of *what for* the NSW Pidgin interrogative adverb used in place of the standard English *why*, as noted above in 5(b).

(ii) use of *stupid* and *fellow*, which are items that recur in the data as meaning 'foolish' and 'person' respectively (see 4.4.4).

These two examples show NSW pidgin features mixed with English and NSW Jargon.

7. Item 1:81

"...white fellow should come and take the head away."

= '...non-Aborigine/colonist should come and take the head away.'

Points to note:

The only innovation in this example is the use of *white fellow* which was a NSW Pidgin term.

8. Item 1:84

(a) *"Well massa, you no believe, what for you so stupid, you come and see, and then you know all about it."*

= 'Well mister, you don't believe it. Why are you so foolish? You should come and see, and then you would know all about it.'

Points to note:

(i) use of *massa*.

(ii) use of *no,* a NSW Pidgin negator.

(iii) the clauses are connected contextually rather than by the use of relators or conjugations.

(iv) use of *it*, a NSW Pidgin transitive marker.

This is largely a NSW pidgin example, however there are some variants from typical NSW Pidgin features, especially use of *and* as a verb-coordinating conjunction.

(b) *"now massa the bone coming out of him."*

= 'now mister the bone is coming out of him.'

Points to note:

The use of *massa* and the absence of the auxiliary verb before *coming*.

9. Item 1:86

(a) *"Massa, that Rum."*

= 'Mister, is that rum?'

Points to note:

The use of *massa*, absence of the copula, and syntactic simplification, all of which are NSW Pidgin features.

(b) *"Rum merry good, me mer[r]y drunk...Oh! merry good merry good, make me merry drunk, me drunk like a gemmen!"*

= 'Rum is very good, it makes me very drunk...Oh! very good, very good, makes me very drunk, I am drunk like a gentleman.'

Points to note:

(i) use of an Aboriginal intensifier *merry/mery*, as a NSW Pidgin item and which also resembles the English item 'merry'.

(ii) omission of the verb 'to be', which is a NSW Pidgin feature.

(iii) use of *me* as the nominative first person pronoun, instead of 'I'.

(iv) use of the variant item *good* instead of the usual NSW Pidgin item *boodgeree* (see 4.4.4).

(v) absence of a transitive marker on the verb *make*.

10. Item 1:87

"Oh, all the same as oyster to you, and just as nice!"

= 'Oh, it is all the same as an oyster to you, and just as nice.'

Points to note:

The use of *all the same as* and the syntactic simplicity of the example. This was probably a NSW Pidgin item as it is very similar to the Kriol item *olaseim* 'just like' (Sandefur 1984:97).

11. Item 1:88

"Why massa you eat plenty maggots in cheese."

= 'Why mister, you eat many maggots in cheese.'

Points to note:

(i) use of *massa*.

(ii) use of the pluraliser *plenty*, this is the first use of *plenty* in the data analysed to this period. *plendi* is a Kriol quantifier 'plenty' (Sandefur and Sandefur 1979:97).

This example contains both NSW Pidgin and non-NSW Pidgin elements. For example the pidgin pluraliser *plenty* is used, but with an English plural noun *maggots* which creates a redundancy that is uncharacteristic of NSW Pidgin.

12. Item 1:89

"Massa! Massa! white fellows here!"

= 'Mister! Mister! Colonists/non-Aborigines are here!'

Points to note:

(i) use of *massa*, a PJE and NSW Pidgin item.

(ii) use of *white fellows*.

This is an example that shows input from NSW Pidgin and from English or NSW Jargon in the use of the English plural form *white fellows* .

13. Item 1:93

"Massa when you come? how many moons?"

= 'Mister, when will you come, in/after how many months?'

Points to note:

(i) use of *massa* .

(ii) use of *moons*, an item first used in this context and not evidenced again.

(iii) absence of the auxiliary verb before *come*.

14. Item 1:96

"Massa when you come sit down at Reid's mistake."

= 'Mister, when will you come and stay at Reid's mistake?'

Points to note:

(i) use of *massa*.

(ii) use of *sit down*. This is the first example of this form. It is similar to the Kriol form *sidan* (Sandefur and Sandefur 1979:110).

(iii) absence of the auxiliary verb before *come*.

15. Item 1:98

"Me like the bush best."

= 'I like the bush best.'

Points to note:

The use of *me* instead of 'I' as the first person nominative pronoun.

16. Item 1:107

"Cowbawn (big) gobernor, had no mout so...like the narang (little) gobernor."

= 'The big governor, he had no mouth like so...like the little governor's.'

Points to note:

(i) use of lexical items from an Aboriginal language – *cowbawn* and *narang*. Dawes (1790b) noted *narang* meaning 'little' in a Sydney language.

(ii) use of *gobernor* for 'governor'.

(iv) use of *no,* the NSW Pidgin negator.

17. Item 1:108

"Oh yes! my gin eatit too much white bread!"

= 'Oh yes! my wife ate too much white bread!'

Points to note:

(i) use of the NSW Pidgin item *gin*, which derives from a Sydney language.

(ii) use of the NSW Pidgin transitive marker *-it* to mark the transitivity of *eat* and perhaps in addition to indicate some strong possession relationship between the subject and the object, that is the *gin* possesses the *white bread* (a metaphor for the non-Aboriginal men she had been involved with). Compare this example with 1:123, 124 and 130.2 where this possession relationship also appears to be supported.

This example is part of the evidence for an increasing stability in NSW Pidgin forms such as *gin* and the transitive marker *-it* .

18. Item 1:109

"Ah Massa William, <u>who shoot de redbill</u>? I tell you fader."

= 'Ah, Mister/Master [refers to a child so could be master] William, who shot the redbill? I will tell your father.'

Points to Note:

(i) use of *massa*.

(ii) use of *shoot* as the past tense transitive verb 'shot', but without a NSW Pidgin transitive marker.

(iii) use of *de* as the definite article *the*.

(iv) use of *you* as the second person possessive pronoun 'your'.

(v) use of *fader* as 'father'.

(vi) absence of the auxiliary verb before *tell*.

In this example features (iii) and (v) are possibly input from Irish phonology, and items (i) and (ii) from PJE. This is the only instance of (iii) and (v) in the data.

19. Item 1:112

"Come on, white fellow – black fellow no jirrand."

= 'Come on non-Aborigine/colonist – Aborigines are not afraid.'

Points to Note:

(i) use of the NSW pidgin items *white fellow* and *black fellow*.

(ii) use of the negator *no*.

(iii) use of a lexical item from an Aboriginal language – *jirrand*.

This is an example with NSW Pidgin features. However, *come on* may be NSW Jargon input.

4.5 1827 TO 1835: BEGINNING OF THE PERIOD OF PASTORALISATION

4.5.1 INTRODUCTION

Although settlers had moved large numbers of stock into the New England district by 1832, settlement in the north was still slow compared to the south-west expansion in which a rapid wave of settlement swept down the Murrumbidgee in 1829 to 1830. Settlers went past Yass to Jugiong and Gundagai taking large numbers of stock with them. In the early 1830s all the river frontage from Gundagai to below Wagga was taken.

The 1830s saw the beginning of the wool boom and the rise of squatting as well as legal land settlement. During this period free immigrants and currency people were beginning to equal the numbers of convicts and emancipists.

The Aborigines contacted were speakers of Ngunawal near Yass and possibly Walgalu in the Snowy Mountains, Dyangadi and Ngambaa Ngagu on the north coast, and Nganyaywana in the New England area.

As discussed previously, Aborigines lived within the settlements and occasionally in the homes of colonists. However, there is only one specific datum for this period evidencing Aborigines living in the homes of colonists (2:35), and no evidence for colonists living amongst Aborigines.

The languages spoken in the colony were English, NSW Jargon and NSW Pidgin. The degree of stabilisation for NSW Pidgin probably varied for different groups of speakers and may have been geographically determined, with the more stable varieties spoken in areas most in contact with colonists. This defies the orthodox view that pidgins arise amongst the 'natives', however, it seems that NSW was a very different context to any other in the Pacific and requires a reappraisal of the orthodox views of pidginisation. NSW Pidgin seems to have developed as a product of the Aborigines contact with colonists, and the more intense the contact the greater the need for NSW Pidgin to fulfil a variety of functions. During this period, colonists spoke English and probably

NSW Jargon and a more stabilised NSW Pidgin than existed in previous periods, if they had enough access to speaking with Aborigines in NSW Pidgin (see 1:124 which is an example of the speech of a stockman who had a fair command of NSW Pidgin). The Aborigines in settled areas spoke several Aboriginal languages, and probably NSW Pidgin and NSW Jargon. A few Aborigines spoke English or interlanguage English as a result of the language education they had received from colonists and missionaries, although by 1829 the Native Institution had ceased to exist.

The data for this period evidence an increase in the stability of certain features of a generally unstable NSW Pidgin, which is still, in many cases, difficult to distinguish from NSW Jargon.

4.5.2 THE SOURCES AND THEIR RELIABILITY

REV. CHARLES P.N. WILTON: was a clergyman with the LMS (Gunson 1974:1/115).

DR. ROGER OLDFIELD: was a medical doctor (Gunson 1974:1/116).

The Sydney Gazette: was a colonial newspaper (Dixon 1980:70)

THOMAS L. MITCHELL: see 4.1.2.

All the individual sources were people accustomed to writing reports and this is reflected in their data. They made their observations with attention to detail and did not use a literary style, and for those reasons they are likely to have been relatively reliable observers of Aboriginal utterances. *The Sydney Gazette* datum is evidence of relatively stable NSW Pidgin and as such is very important. However, evidence from newspapers is always subject to the reservation that the main purpose of articles is to interest the reader. In this case the datum evidences either a significantly accurate transcription of an Aboriginal utterance, or a transcript contrived by a literate person with a high degree of facility in NSW Pidgin. Either way it is evidence of NSW Pidgin.

4.5.3 DISCUSSION OF DATA.

It was noted that the Aborigines in the Port Jackson area were very reduced in population at the beginning of this period, and were able to understand English, which meant the church saw no necessity for making "a written language of their own dialects"[5] (1:115.2). By this time NSW Pidgin in varying degrees of stability was spoken by Aborigines (see 1:119 which contains less stabilised forms than 1:123) and possibly by colonists (1:124, the reported output of a stockman, contains many relatively stable NSW Pidgin forms). NSW Jargon was also spoken (1:125) and it is still difficult to distinguish NSW Jargon clearly from NSW Pidgin because of the continuing lack of stability in NSW Pidgin (see 1:118).

Bungaree was an Aborigine who, like Bennelong, became a famous identity around Sydney. He must have spoken English as one of his second languages with a high degree of control, because he was awarded prizes in Sydney College and spoke good Latin (1:157). He was known for 'borrowing' money from passing colonists and for having his ways of begging from colonists followed by other Aborigines (1:117.1,2). It could be that, in the same way that Bennelong influenced contact language development during the early period, Bungaree had an effect on the linguistic conditioning of other Aborigines. Certainly his confidence with colonists added to the confidence of many other Aborigines who became so bold that they acquired "abusive epithets" from the colonists and then used them to revile colonists, especially when begging (1:117.2).

The Aborigines around Sydney were recorded in the sources for this period as being a 'degraded' group of people, particularly affected by alcohol abuse. It was observed that Aborgines when drunk would sing, dance and quarrel. Their linguistic output was also regarded as having been debased through contact with colonists. Evidence of this is provided in 1:117.3 where the observer, Oldfield, noted that Aborigines used a "confused utterance of English vulgarisms, mingled with the sweet reiterations of the mother tongue" and went on to transcribe a sample of the Aboriginal language element in the observed speech: "Ah, ah-wah, allah allah, wah-gha ghoo ghoo! gha ghoo ghoo!" (1:117.3).

Most sources attempted to transcribe Aboriginal utterances in reporting of events involving Aborigines which they had witnessed. Therefore, in this period there are more extensive and longer examples of NSW Jargon and Pidgin because most people attempted to include a few examples of contact language. They probably did so in order to express the differences they observed between English and the kinds of contact language used by colonists for communicating with Aborigines and used by Aborigines to communicate with colonists or with other Aborigines. Items in 1:118 exemplify an observer's use of NSW Jargon in his attempt to convey a sense of what he saw as the linguistic reality of communication with Aborigines. The Aborigines he referred to were from the Blue Mountains, which indicates the dissemination of contact language amongst Aborigines of the mountains near Sydney. Item 1:118.4 shows that information about the behaviour of colonists was also dispersed with contact language – when a small boy at Hunter's River spoke to Oldfield's party using some NSW Pidgin lexical items they replied to him in NSW Pidgin. The boy then demonstrated to them his own interpretation of the difference between Aboriginal dances and those of the colonists.

In referring to the Aborigines beyond the Blue Mountains, Oldfield was not as disdainful as he was in referring to the Sydney Aborigines. He noted that "several of them [the Aborigines from beyond the mountains] can speak English fluently, and pronounce the "th", which more polished foreigners find so difficult (1:121). Whether he meant Aborigines could speak English 'fluently' in the sense that they had a high level of control over the syntax or whether he meant they had little difficulty in pronouncing English words, is not clear. For he goes on to say the Aborigines "could be taught good English; but as the prisoners and remote settlers with whom they generally come in contact, accost them with the common elipsis of negroes[6] and mounseers[7], mixed with slang, they form a "patois" between them of which it is at length difficult for either to get rid" (1:121). It seems from this evidence that Aborigines over the Blue Mountains were speaking NSW Jargon and NSW Pidgin rather than English. This would mean that the "patois" spoken by Aborigines and the colonists with whom they were associating was contact language – NSW Jargon and NSW Pidgin (NSW Pidgin was probably in varieties of varying degrees of stabilisation), comparable to the ones spoken on the coast.

It seems that contact languages had disseminated to Aborigines in most but not all of the areas contacted by colonists. Mitchell noted that the contact language spoken by Dawkins, which contained a significant amount of NSW Pidgin, was not understood by the Liverpool Plains Aborigines in 1832 (1:124 and see section 4.5.6:5 for a syntactic analysis of Dawkins' speech).

Mitchell provided an insight into the language variety spoken between Aborigines and colonists in grazing areas near the Port Jackson colony – "the string of low slang words which the natives nearer the colony supposed to be our language, while our stockmen believe they speak theirs, was of no use here" (1:124). This indicates that Aborigines and stockmen used contact language composed of elements from English and Aboriginal languages in their communications. Given the separate

linguistic conditioning on Aborigines and stockmen it is likely the contact language output was different for each, conditioned by the speakers' own linguistic experiences. The example, given by Mitchell, of Dawkins' speech (1:124) indicates that the stockmen[8] spoke jargonised NSW Pidgin. Dawkins' transcribed utterance contains mainly NSW Pidgin features, but it also contains evidence of instability – use of a redundant possessive marker, "belongit to". This is an interesting item which occurs for the first time here. Its strong resemblance to the Kriol possessive preposition form *blanga* (Sandefur and Sandefur 1979:16) indicates that it is likely to be an emergent NSW Pidgin form. It is also likely to have been an item derived from the English form 'belong'. However there is an interesting comparison to be made with the items *birong* and *mirong* which were noted and glossed by Dawes (1790b) as items from a Sydney language, meaning 'belonging'.

During this period it seems that the lexical inventory of NSW Pidgin was continuing to expand, deriving forms from both English and Aboriginal languages. The data in this period also help to confirm the NSW Pidgin-like status of some of the earlier data, the status of which was unclear in the earlier analyses. For example the item *Bul-la Mur-ee Dee-in* (1:47.3) cited in 4.1 was not clearly recognisable as NSW Pidgin-like if compared with data contemporary to it. However, comparing it with an example from item 1:123 – *bulla jin* – it becomes clear that *bulla* is a NSW Pidgin dual number marker, *mur-ee* is a NSW Pidgin intensifier (also transcribed in previous periods as *murry*, see 4.3.4, 4.4.4), and *dee-in* is NSW Pidgin *jin* 'wives' or 'women' marked for duality by *bulla* (see 4.5.6:6. and 4.1.6:5. for discussions of the syntactic elements). Each of those lexical items was from an Aboriginal language of Port Jackson, Sydney (Dawes 1790b), though the order in which they are combined to form a single noun phrase is likely to have been influenced by English syntax and/or that of incipient NSW Pidgin.

4.5.4 LEXICAL INVENTORY

aye, aye	Affir Redup	'yes, yes'.	(118.3)
bail	Neg	'no', 'not'; see 4.4.4 *bel*, 4.6.4.	(123)
belongit	Poss Prep	'belong'; *-it* may mark possession of the subject by the object. In Tok Pisin *bilong* is a Poss Prep (Wurm and Mühlhäusler 1985), in Kriol *blanga* is a Poss Prep so this example may be *belong* Prep followed by *-it* 3p Pn which is also a Poss M (see 4.7.1(xi)). *birong,* and *mirong* 'belonging', Sydney area (Dawes 1790b).	(124)
black fellow/s	NP S/PL	'Aborigine/s'; see 4.3.4, 4.4.4, 4.6.4.	(116,118.2)
blackfellow	N		(124)
black-fellow	N		(119)
brother	N	'brother'; not necessarily blood kin.	(123,124)
budjerry *budgerry*	Adj	'good'; from an Aboriginal language, in this case used at Hunters Hill; see 4.4.4 *boodgeree,* also 4.6.4.	(118.4) (124)

bulla	Dual Num M	'two'; also 4.1.4 *bul-la*.	(123)
dibble	N	'devil', the notion of an evil spirit; see 4.3.4 *devil*.	(120, 122.2)
dibble-dibble	N	"a malignant apparition which roams abroad after dusk and haunts new graves"; see 4.4.4 *devil-devil*.	(1:121)
fellow	N	'male non-Aboriginal'.	(118.4)
good bye	Intj	'good bye'.	(118.1)
good day	Intj	'good day'.	(118.1,.3)
good morning	Intj	'good morning'.	(118.1)
it	TransM	'it', see *belongit* above,.	(123)
-it		*like it* below	(124)
jerran	Adj	'afraid'; see 4.4.4 *jirrand*.	(124)
jin	N PL	'wives'; see 4.1.4 *dee-in*, 4.4.4 *gin(s)*, *jins*, 4.6.4 *gin*.	(123)
karrady	N	'doctor'; (Dawes 1790b).	(120)
like it	V	'to desire'.	(123)
master	N	'male non-Aboriginal', 'mister'; mister is glossed for this item for reasons outlined in 4.3.	(118.1,3)
me	1. 1p Pn	'I'.	(123)
	2. 1p Pn Poss	'my'.	(123)
murry	Adj Ints	'very'; see 4.1.4 *mur-ee*, also 4.4.4 *merry*, 4.6.4 *marry*, *murray*.	(118.2,.4, 119)
narrawan	N	'the blue sky'; Sydney area.	(120)
pai-alla	VT	'talk to'; Dixon (1980:70) notes that this is from the Port Jackson Aboriginal language item *bayala-*. *Piyi* or *tiati* 'to speak'. *piyeetiate* 'talk', Sydney area (Dawes 1790b).	(123)
patter	V	'eat'; used here by an Aborigine of the Blue Mountains; also 4.6.4 *patta*. *pata* 'eat', Sydney area (Dawes 1790a,b; Collins 1975 vol.1; Hunter 1968).	(119)
set down	VI	'sleep', 'stay'; see 4.4.4 *sit down*.	(118.1,.3)
sit down	VI	'stay'; see 4.4.4.	(123)
sun-down	N	'sunset', 'end of the day'.	(118.1)

to	Prep	'to'.	(124)
tumble down	VT	'kill'.	(123)
Warredya	N	'heaven'; Sydney area.	(120)
what for	Interr Adv	'why', see 4.4.4.	(124)
while	N	'while'.	(118.2)
white fellow/s whitefellow	NP S/PL	'male non-Aborigine/s'; see 4.4.4, also 4.6.4.	(116,118.4 123,124)
you	2p Pn	'you'.	(118.1, 123, 124)

4.5.5 PHONOLOGY

1. Word medially <e> becomes <i>, <v> becomes <bb> and word final <el> becomes <le>. (1:122.1).

2. Occurrence of <th> in the speech of Aborigines recorded as speaking "English fluently" (1:121).

3. *Budjerry* (1:118.4), *budgerry* (1:124) Dixon notes (1980:150) that /j/ was often represented in early descriptions of Aboriginal languages by <dj> or <dg>.

4.5.6 SYNTAX

1. Item 1:117.2

"How do you do, shake hands."

Points to note:

This utterance appears to be a direct borrowing from English, in an unmodified form. However, *shake hands* is likely to have been included because colonists would have asked Aborigines to shake hands (instructing them verbally and gesturally) and the Aborigines adopted the instruction as part of the greeting.

2. Item 1:118.1

(a) *"Good bye master, where you set down (sleep)."*

= 'Good bye mister, where will you {sleep} ~ {stay}.'

Note: utterance 1:118.3 is almost identical to 1:118.1.

Points to note:

(i) use of *master*.

(ii) use of *set down* which is similar to the form *sit down* (see 4.4.4) which means 'to stay' and was a NSW Pidgin form.

(iii) use of *Good bye* could be an innovation in the speech of Aborigines, or it could be unmodified English included as part of this example by the transcriber.

(b) *"You be there before sun-down, good day master."*

= 'You will be there before sun-down, good day mister.'

Most of the utterance is unmodified English so this is a NSW Jargon utterance.

3. Item 1:118.2

"black fellow killed here, murry long while ago"

= 'An Aborigine was killed here a very long {while} ~ {time} ago.'

Points to note:

(i) use of the NSW Pidgin item *black fellow*.

(ii) non-occurrence of *was* – the third person singular past tense indicative of the verb 'to be', which is a pidgin feature.

(iii) use of *murry*, a lexical item from a Sydney Aboriginal language (see 4.1.4).

The use of the adverbs *here* and *ago* is an unmodified English feature, also the use of *while* is likely to be unmodified English, which means this is a NSW Jargon utterance with input from NSW Pidgin or an unstable variety of the Pidgin.

4. Item 1:118.4

"A'n't I a "budjerry" fellow?"

'Aren't I a good person.'

Points to note:

The use of *budjerry fellow* .

5. Item 1:119

"Murry good for "black"-fellow."

= '[They are] very good for {Aborigines} ~ {an Aborigine}.'

Points to note:

(i) use of *murry*, an item from a Sydney Aboriginal language (see 4.1.4)

(ii) use of *black-fellow* (see also 2.(i) above), a noun form without a number marker.

This utterance shows some NSW Pidgin elements, but evidences the use of unmodified English *good* and *for* which indicates it to be a NSW Jargon utterance with significant input from NSW Pidgin. In NSW Pidgin *belongit* or *long* are the forms for *for,* and *budjerry* is the form for *good.* These inconsistencies indicate that NSW Pidgin was still unstable in this period.

6. Item 1:123

"Me like it pai-alla you gentlemen...Bail Saturday tumble down white fellow, bail Jingulo tumble down white fellow, bail me tumble down white fellow – Tommy tumble down white fellow, sit down Palabbala, bulla jin, like it me, brother."

Translated in the source as:

"I would like to speak to you, sir...It wasn't Saturday who killed the white man, it wasn't Jingulo who killed the white man, and it wasn't me who killed the white man – Tommy, who lives at Palabbala, and has two gins (wives) and is as like me as my brother, killed the white man."

= 'I would like to speak to you gentlemen...Saturday did not kill the non-Aborigine/colonist, Jingulo did not kill the non-Aborigine/colonist, I did not kill the non-Aborigine/colonist. Tommy killed the non-Aborigine/colonist, he stays at Palabbala, he has two wives, he is like a brother to me.'

Points to note:

(i) use of *me* as a possessive and nominative first person pronoun.

(ii) use of the transitive marker *-it*.

(iii) use of lexical items from Aboriginal languages – *bulla, jin, bail, pai-alla* – as NSW Pidgin items, *pai-alla* appears first in this period.

(iv) use of *tumble down*, a NSW Pidgin item for 'die' or 'kill' which first appears in this period.

(v) use of *white fellow,* a noun without number marking.

This utterance shows all NSW Pidgin features and is therefore an example of a relatively stable form of NSW Pidgin.

7. Item 1:124

"What for you jerran budgerry whitefellow? Whitefellow brother belongit to blackfellow."

= 'Why are you afraid of good colonists? Colonists are the brothers of Aborigines.'

Points to note:

(i) use of *what for* as the interrogative.

(ii) use of items from Aboriginal languages *jerran* and *budgerry*.

(iii) use of the NSW Pidgin items *whitefellow* and *blackfellow*.

(iv) use of *belongit* which is a possessive form typical of Pacific Pidgins. This form could be a preposition with possessive quality; *belong,* corresponding to the Tok Pisin preposition form *bilong* (Wurm and Mühlhäusler1985:339), followed by the third person pronoun *-it* may mark the form for possession, the subject possessing the object (as noted in the data for earlier periods). This form could also be a verb marked for transitivity by *-it*. This is the first evidence of the use of this form in NSW Pidgin.

(v) *jerran* is a similar form to *jirrand* noted in section 4.4.4 as meaning fear; it is a NSW Pidgin item.

This example is taken as evidence for a relatively stable NSW Pidgin.

4.6 1835 TO 1845: THE PERIOD OF UNCONTROLLED SQUATTER ADVANCEMENT INTO THE INTERIOR, MAJOR IMMIGRANT ARRIVALS AND THE END OF TRANSPORTATION.

4.6.1 INTRODUCTION

As discussed earlier, transportation to NSW ceased in 1840, and non-convicts, principally English-speaking, formed a much higher proportion of the colonists than before. They rapidly expanded the tracts of grazing land for sheep and cattle all over NSW.

The pastoralisation of Aboriginal land, from the coast to the central west, into the Riverina and the New England districts, altered their traditional lifestyle by destroying traditional resources. The result, in many cases, was the physical removal of Aborigines from their land. Conflict between Aborigines and colonists became increasingly warlike.

In this period direct and extended contact was made with speakers of Gumbaynggir, Gambalamam, Baanbay and Yaygir on the north and central north coast, and maybe even Bandjalang on the far north coast. Inland groups were speakers of Yugambal in the Glen Innes area, Wirriyaraay and Northern Gamilaraay near Moree and Mungindi, Wayilwan near Brewarrina, Wangaaybuwan-Ngiyambaa and Ngiyambaa in central and far west NSW and Yitha-Yitha near the south western Lachlan River area.

The languages spoken in the colony during this period were English, NSW Jargon, NSW Pidgin and Aboriginal languages. Some colonists had demonstrable facility with NSW Pidgin as a second language. However, it is likely most colonists used NSW Jargon as a second language, and that Aborigines used NSW Pidgin as one of their second languages. It must, of course, be recognised that NSW Pidgin was still an unstable language and the differences between it and NSW Jargon are not always clear. Certain features of NSW Pidgin were in established use by this period, but they vary according to the examples, and this indicates the continued instability of the language.

4.6.2 THE SOURCES AND THEIR RELIABILITY.

DAVID COATES: was a missionary with the CMS (Coates 1838).

WILLIAM ROMAINE GOVETT: was a surveyor and explorer.

MAJOR THOMAS MITCHELL: see 4.1.2.

THRELKELD see 4.4.2.

HORATIO HALE AND JAMES AGATE: were exploring sections of Australia (Gunson 1974:1/131). Hale was a philologist on the United States Expedition to the Pacific from 1838 to 1842.

JAMES GUNTHER: was a missionary in Wellington Valley with the CMS (Gunther 1843).

W. THOMAS: was Assistant Protector of Aborigines, Merri Marra Creek (Thomas 1843).

LOUISA ANNE MEREDITH: the wife of Charles Meredith, was a resident in NSW from 1839 to 1844, and a resident in Bathurst for part of that time (Meredith 1973). She was born near Birmingham on 20 July 1812. She was educated mainly by her mother.and was the author of several books.

DAVID BUNCE: was a German settler (Bunce 1857).

MAHROOT: was a Botany Bay Aborigine. His utterances were noted by unidentified individuals (Broome 1982:150).

CHARLES HODGKINSON: was a settler (Baker 1966:152).

JAMES MALCOLM: was a grazier who had contact with Goulburn River Aborigines (Malcolm 1845).

DAVID DUNLOP: was a J.P. and a grazier (Dunlop 1845).

HENRY WILSON HUTCHINSON SMYTHE: was a J.P. and the commissioner of Crown Lands for the Murray District (Smythe 1845).

REV. WILLIAM RIDLEY: was a clergyman (Reynolds 1972:157).

JAMES MACARTHUR: was a J.P. and a grazier (Macarthur 1849).

EDWARD MICKLETHWAITE CURR: was a squatter (Clark 1980:168).

Aside from Meredith, the sources were graziers, government officials, explorers or clergymen. Hale was a philologist and for this reason was probably one of the most informed sources used in this thesis. Unfortunately the quantity of examples collected from Hale's writing are only few among the data.

Meredith was a professional writer and her object was to write a book about her experiences in Australia; she therefore adopted a literary style for her writing. However, her observations of Aboriginal utterances appear to be relatively free of influences from her own linguistic conditioning. The other sources are also reasonably free from the effects of creative licence.

The other sources are relatively reliable because they were report-writing officials observing their world with an eye for detail and a desire to record things accurately.

4.6.3 DISCUSSION OF DATA

During this period it seems that NSW Pidgin was continuing to expand as a linguistic medium in which Aborigines, especially those living in close proximity to colonists, were able to rationalise the drastic changes that had happened within their world view since 1788. During this period the 'last' of the Aboriginal traditional occupants of Botany Bay, Mahroot, commented that the Aboriginal population and traditional lifestyle had been destroyed since the arrival of the British colonists (1:150). The utterances attributed to Mahroot are perhaps representative of the contact language which Aborigines, living near to and who had regular access to contact with colonists, may have used in communicating with colonists (1:150, 151)[9]. The transcriptions of his speech evidence use of NSW Pidgin features combined with less stabilised or unstabilised features which jargonise the utterance.

Considering the reduction in the Aboriginal population and the concentration of colonists in the Cumberland area it is possible that NSW Pidgin had become an important medium for communication between the remaining Aborigines in the area. Some of the Aborigines' traditional languages were already extinct or had a very limited number of speakers. In 1839, in the vicinity of Threlkeld's Lake Macquarie mission, Hale and Agate noticed a small group of Aborigines, the "remnant of the tribes which about forty years ago wandered in freedom over the plains of the Hunter and around the borders of Lake Macquarie" (2:38). Threlkeld's mission was forced to close in the 1840s because there were no Awaba speakers left for him to have a mission to. Increasing numbers of Aborigines

were living amongst the colonists and social relations between Aborigines and colonists were at all levels (2:37, 39, 41). Aboriginal women were having children fathered by non-Aborigines and it was reported that the children of such unions sometimes lived "with their non-Aboriginal progenitor" (2:40).

NSW Pidgin being the language which resulted from the new social context, it was likely to have been more relevant to the lifestyle which especially the Sydney Aborigines experienced as a result of the changes. Meredith's data provide much evidence that the lexical inventory of NSW Pidgin was expanding and that the input from English was increasingly evident (1:137 to 1:148). She wrote "As my few examples of their patois will show, the natives who are acquainted with the settlers soon acquire a curiously composite tongue, where English words sometimes masquerade in most novel meanings, but so arranged as to be very soon understood, especially if to beg anything" (1:141). In this statement Meredith has astutely observed aspects of the genesis of NSW Pidgin. In terms pre-dating modern linguistics, she noted some of the basic features of the pidginisation process – language mixing ("a curiously composite tongue"), the imposition of new semantic value on lexical items from different languages ("words sometimes masquerade in most novel meanings") and the less expanded syntax of pidgins which allows for maximum semantic efficiency with minimum syntactic complexities ("so arranged as to be very soon understood").

NSW Jargon was likely to have been a significant second language for some colonists, given the numbers of Aborigines in and around the settled areas. There is a datum which evidences the fact that some Aborigines and some colonists were using contact language for communication with each other – "the jargon which the stockman [sic] and the sawyers suppose to be the language of the natives, whilst they suppose it to be ours, and which is the ordinary medium of communication between the squatters and the tame black-fellows" (1:152). As in the previous period, it is observed that Aborigines and stockmen were communicating with each other. It is here posited that Aborigines were speaking NSW Pidgin as a second language, and that those who had considerable access to English may have spoken a variety of NSW Jargon as another of their second languages, with the input for the jargon determined by their own linguistic conditioning. Furthermore, it is posited that many colonists who communicated with Aborigines did so using NSW Jargon. The NSW Pidgin input into that Jargon would have been determined by the degree of access the speakers had to NSW Pidgin (through Aborigines choosing to speak with them in NSW Pidgin).

In the more remotely settled areas, it is likely the Aborigines spoke a different variety or different varieties of NSW Pidgin, likely to contain more input from Aboriginal languages than from English. There is some evidence which validates the proposal that English input was of a low level as opposed to the high level of Aboriginal language input in remote NSW Pidgin. For example, comments such as "For my part I do not think the Protectors have done much to promote their civilisation; there are very few of them who can speak English, and those only a few words" (1:153) exemplify the lack of access to English by Aborigines in the interior. In some of the previously inaccessible areas, first entered by colonists in this period, it seems that Aborigines had little or no experience of any of the contact languages.

It was noted in 1845 that "younger Aborigines" who had lived in close contact with colonists or in their homes had "in most cases, acquired a good knowledge of our language [English]" (1:155). This comment indicates that, in spite of the closure of schools for Aborigines and the dwindling of the numbers of Aborigines on missions, some Aborigines were still acquiring interlanguage English, probably in addition to NSW Pidgin and perhaps some NSW Jargon – all as second languages. M'Gill, Threlkeld's helper, was an Aborigine who was often referred to as speaking good English

and able to make "intelligent" replies to any questions asked of him (1:131). Gunther, who at one stage ran the CMS mission at Wellington, prophesised that the numbers of Aborigines would eventually decrease to the point where many Aboriginal languages would become redundant as the remaining speakers were bound to "become more conversant with English" (1:133).

The quickness Aborigines exhibited in obtaining facility with contact languages of any description (including English as a linguistic contact medium) was still being commented on in this period – "they catch our language much sooner than we do theirs; and though at first they make a strange confusion and misapplication of words, they are soon able to express themselves, especially to make known their wants" (1:126).

4.6.4 LEXICAL INVENTORY

ay, ay	Affir Redup	'yes, yes'; see 4.5.4 *aye, aye.*	(137,145, 146.1)
ago	Adv	'ago'.	(149)
all	Adj	'all'; see 4.1.4 (3p Pn PL), 4.3.4, also 4.4.4.	(146.1,150)
all same like	Adj	'identical' or 'very similar'; see 4.4.4 *all the same as.*	(154)
along	Prep Poss	'belonging to'; also *long* below.	(146.2)
bacco	N	'tobacco'.	(146.3)
bad	Adj	'bad'.	(126)
bail, bale *bel*	Neg	'no', 'not'; see 4.4.4, also 4.5.4.	(154,130.2 132.2,.3, 137,148)
believe	V	'believe'.	(130.2,140)
bite	V	'bite'.	(129)
black	N	'Aborigine'.	(128.1)
black fellow *blackfellow* *black-fellow*	N	'male Aborigine/s'; noun unmarked for number; also 4.3.4, 4.4.4, 4.5.4.	(145,149 150,154, 157)
black money	N	'coins'.	(153)
boorak	Neg	'no'.	(153)
brother	N	used by an Aborigine to refer to his 'sister'	(126)
budgerry	Adj	'good', 'well'; see 4.4.4 *boodgeree*, 4.5.4. *budjerry*	(128.3,.4) (128.5)
budgeree		'lucky'.	(146.1)
bull	N	'alcohol'.	(132.1)

bury	V Past	'buried'.	(150)
bye and by [sic]	Adv	'soon'; *byamby,* Queensland Aboriginal Pidgin English (Dutton 1983).	(149)
cabou	Ints	'a great deal or very much'; Sydney area.	(142.2)
capital	Adj	'very good'.	(127)
catch	V	'catch'.	(130.1)
catch him	VT	'catch'.	(130.2)
cobberra *cobbra*	N	'head'; item from a Sydney Aboriginal language. Dawes (1790b) noted *kúbera* as 'head'.	(128.1) (140)
come	VI	'come'.	(130.1)
come come	VI Past Redup	'came'.	(149)
come back	VI	'return'.	(149)
come along	VP	'come here'.	(130.1)
coolar	1. N 2. VT	'anger'; from *choler'' 'pick a quarrel', 'make angry'; the transcriber noted that this form resembled an item from an Aboriginal language, in addition, Kriol has the form *gula* for 'angry' (Sandefur and Sandefur 1979).	(139) (144)
corrobbory	N	'corroboree'.	(150)
croppy	N	'convict/s'; noun unmarked for number, came from seventeenth to eighteenth century English. Used to refer to Irish convicts *(Macquarie Dictionary* 1982:446).	(154)
cry	V	'cry'.	(148)
Devil, Devil	NP	see *Yahoo* below.	
dingo	N	'dingo'; Sydney area (Collins 1975 vol.1)	(140,146.2)
direckaly *directly* *direckerly*	Adv	'directly'.	(128.1) (128.2, 130.1,144) (129)
(goot) ebening	Intj	'good evening'.	(126)
-et	TransM	also *-itz* below	(128.4)
fellow	N	'animal' or 'man'.	(129,146.1, 154)
fire	N	'fire'.	(147)

fish	N	'fish'.	(130.2)
gammon	V	'lie'; see 4.3.4, also 4.4.4.	(134)
gin	N	'woman' or 'wife'; see 4.1.4 *dee-in,* also 4.4.4, 4.5.4 *jin.*	(137,150)
give	V	'give'.	(153)
go	V	'go', 'leave'.	(132.2,.3, 149)
good	Ints	'long'.	(149)
goot morning	Intj	'good morning'.	(1:126, 130.2)
gone	Adj	'dead'.	(150)
got	1. VT Past	'caught'; *got him* a VT; *gadim* VT, Kriol (Sandefur and Sandefur 1979:41).	(130.1)
	2. Prep Poss	'have'; *gadim* 'with' Prep, Kriol (Sandefur and Sandefur 1979:41).	(137)
grasse	N	'hair', 'beard' or 'moustache'; this item is likely to have come from PJE as *gras* is the Tok Pisin item hair, fur or feathers (Mühlhäusler 1985c:616).	(142.1)
grind	V	'work'.	(146.1)
gunya *gunyon*	N	Aboriginal makeshift home; an item from an Aboriginal language.	(126) (146.1)
gunyon	N	"house, they [Aborigines] apply [this item] to everything that seems appropriated to contain any article...pipe case...dog kennel".	(146.2)
hang	V	'choke'.	(126)
him	1. TransM	'him'.	(128.1,.2 130.2)
	2. p3 Pn	'he/she/it'; form invariant for case or gender.	(154)
hook him	VT	'hook'.	(130.2)
honey	N	'honey'.	(128.4)
I	1p Pn	'I'.	(130.2,140)
in	Loc	'in'.	(146.1)
it	1. TransM 2. Poss M	'it'; in this context *it* marks the object as being possessed by the subject, i.e. *want it.*	(130.2)
-itz	TransM	also *-et* above.	(128.1)

jump up	VI	'become'; *gulajambap* Kriol (Rumsey 1985, personal communication) is similar to *jump up choler* 'become angry'.	(144)
lady	N	'female colonist'.	(137)
like	Prep	'like'.	(136)
line	N	'line', 'fishing line'.	(130.2)
'long	Prep Poss	'belonging to'; a NSW Pidgin form.	(137,146.2)
'long	PrepPoss /Loc	'belonging to'/'to'.	(147)
look out	Intj	'look out'.	(128.2)
maan	V	'fetch', 'go'; *maan* 'to take', language near Sydney (Dawes 1790b)	(147)
marry		'very'; see *murray* below.	(132.2)
marnameek	Adj	'very good'; an item from an Aboriginal language.	(136)
massa	N	'male non-Aborigine', 'mister'; see 4.3.4, also 4.4.4, 4.5.4 *master*.	(128.2, 130.2)
me	1. p1, Pn	'I'.	(128.1,.2, .4, 130.1,.2, 132.2,.3, 134,149)
	2. p1 pN	'me'.	(150,153)
megalitz *megalet*	VT	'see'; *mega* is an item from an Aboriginal language and *-itz*, *-et* are variations of the NSW Pidgin Trans M *-it* *mi* is a word for 'eye' in a language from the Sydney area (Dawes 1790b; Collins 1975; Hunter 1968); *l* an Australia-wide transitivity marker (Dixon 1980:279). *miga* 'looking for', Sydney area (Dawes 1790b).	(128.1) (128.4)
mither/mitter	N	'mister'.	(150)
mine	p1, PnPoss	'mine'.	(150)
mundoey	N PL	'feet'. *me-noe-wa* 'feet' Sydney area (Hunter 1968).	(140)

murray	Ints	'very'; see 4.1.4 *mur-ee,* also 4.4.4 *merry, murry,* 4.5.4, *marry* above. Sydney area (Dawes 1790b; Collins 1975; Hunter 1968).	(126,130.4)
murray murray	Ints Redup	'very, very' or 'extremely'.	(130.2)
my	p1 Pn Poss	'my'.	(126)
(goot) night	Intj	'(good) night'.	(126)
no	Neg	'no'; see 4.3.4, also 4.4.4.	(126,134, 136,137, 154)
no good	Adj	'bad'; *nogud* 'bad' Kriol (Sandefur and Sandefur 1979).	(136,154)
now	Adv	'now'.	(149)
nyook	N	'knife'.	(146.3)
o'	Prep	'of'.	(146.3)
on	Adv	'on'.	(125)
owrangey bit	Adj	'small quantity', little bit; *owrangey* is probably the Aboriginal item *narang,* see 4.4.4.	(146.3)
patta	N	'food'; see 4.5.4 *patter.*	(128.3,140)
pi him	VT	'strike'; *píyi* 'to beat', Sydney, (Dawes 1790b).	(128.1,.2)
pickaninny	N	'child'; originally from Portuguese, this item was introduced to Australia from PJE.	(150)
plenty	Num M	'many'; see 4.4.4.	(150,153)
poor fellow	CN	'pitiful person'.	(137)
'possum	N	'possum'.	(148)
pyook	N	'pipe'.	(138,146.3)
rascal	N	'rascal'.	(130.1)
rock	N	'rock'.	(130.2)
see	V	'see'.	(128.4,129)
shoot	V	'shoots'.	(125)
sister	N	used by an Aborigine to refer to his 'brother'.	(126)
sit	V	'sit'.	(146.1)

stupid	Adj	'stupid, foolish'.	(130.2)
Sunday	N	'Sunday'.	(125)
that	Dem Pn	'that'.	(126,129, 137)
that's		'that is'.	(137)
that-a-way	Dir/Dem	'that direction', or 'in that way/fashion'.	(140,145)
there is	Dem Pn	'that'.	(125)
there	Dir	'there'.	(137)
tired	V	'tired'.	(132.2)
towsan	Num	"any number over half a dozen".	(158)
tumble down	V	'die'.	(129,150)
uncle	N	used by an Aborigine to refer to his 'mother'.	(126)
waddie	N	'wood'; could be from the English 'woody'. *wadi* 'wood', Sydney, (Dawes 1790b).	(147)
want	V	'want'; *want it* a VT.	(130.2, 132.2)
well	Intj	'well'.	(150)
while	N	'time', 'while'.	(149)
white man	NP	'male non-Aborigine/s'; noun unmarked for number.	(153,157)
white fellow	NP	'male non-Aborigine/s'; noun unmarked for number; also 4.4.4, 4.5.4.	(125,145, 146.1,154)
white money	N	'paper money'.	(153)
work	N	'work'.	(153)
Yahoo	N	'an Aboriginal bad spirit or Bugaboo...a loan from Dean Swift'; see 4.4.4, Yarhoo.	(139)
you	p2 Pn	'you'.	(128.4,129, 130.1,.2, 137,146.1, 147)

4.6.5 PHONOLOGY

1. Word finally <d> becomes <t> (1:125).

2. Word medially <v> becomes <b> (1:125).

3. Word medially, following <c>, <t> becomes <0> and <a> or <er> is inserted between <c> and <ly>. <c> and <ck> are taken to represent the same phonological value (1:128.1, 129).

4. It is possible that <a> and <er> represent the same phonological value (1:127).

5. Word medially <st> becomes <th> (1:150).

6. Word medially <st> becomes <tt> (1:150).

4.6.6 SYNTAX

1. Item 1:125

"there is white fellow, white fellow shoot on Sunday"

= 'That non-Aborigine/colonist, non-Aborigine/colonist shoots on Sunday.'

Points to note:

(i) use of *there is* as the demonstrative pronoun.

(ii) use of *white fellow*.

(iii) use of the root form *shoot*, an intransitive verb. In Aboriginal languages there are about nine or ten 'word classes' and each root belongs to one class; verbs are either transitive or intransitive (Dixon 1980). Since, in NSW Pidgin, intransitive verbs like *shoot* have no marking for intransitivity while transitive verbs like *pi him* (1:127) are marked for transitivity by *him* or *it*, it is possible that the Pidgin may be influenced in this respect by rule of the substrate Aboriginal languages' syntax.

2. Item 1:126

(a) *"No; that my uncle"*; (b) *"No; that my sister"*

= (a) 'No, that is my uncle'; (b) 'No, that is my sister'.

Points to note:

The use of (a) *uncle* by the Aboriginal speaker to mean 'mother' and in (b) *sister* to mean 'brother'.

3. Item 1:128.1

(a) *"Me megalitz, (me see him); Me pi him cobberra direckaly, (me strike him on the head directly)."*

= 'I see him, I will strike him on the head directly/soon.'

Points to note:

(i) use of *me* in place of the first person pronoun 'I'.

(ii) use of the NSW Pidgin transitive verb markers *-it* and *him*. The use of *-itz* rather than *-it* may be attributable to a mistake by the transcriber.

(iii) it is possible this verb is marked twice for transitivity as it has the Aboriginal language marker *l* in addition to the NSW Pidgin marker *it*. Dawes (1790b) identified *miga* as a Sydney language item for 'looking for'.

(iv) the use of *pi, mega-* and *cobberra* which are items from Aboriginal languages and are used here for the first time as NSW Pidgin lexicon.

(v) the use of *direckaly* as an adverb of time which is first used in NSW Pidgin in this period.

This is an utterance with all elements being demonstrably NSW Pidgin, therefore it is an example of relatively stabilised NSW Pidgin.

4. Item 1:128.2

"Look out massa; me pi him directly."

= 'Look out mister, I will strike him directly/soon.'

Points to note:

(i) the use of *directly* as an adverb of time which is first used this period.

(ii) the use of *pi* which is an item from an Aboriginal language (see 4.6.4) and is used here for the first time in the data.

(iii) use of *me* as a case invariant first person pronoun.

(iv) use of the NSW Pidgin transitive verb marker *him*.

(v) use of *massa* which is an item that came from PJE.

This is an utterance with all elements being demonstrably NSW Pidgin.

5. Item 1:128.4

"Me megalet budgerry honey, (I see good honey!). 'You see'."

= 'I see good honey. You see?'

Points to note:

(i) use of *me* as a case-invariant first person pronoun, which is a NSW Pidgin feature; simplification of pronouns is a feature typical of pidgins worldwide.

(ii) use of *megal* and *budgerry* which are items from Aboriginal languages which are used here as NSW Pidgin lexicon. *budgerry* was used in previous periods but *megal* appears for the first time in this period and can be identified as a Pidgin item in this example because it has the Pidgin transitive marker-*it*.

This utterance is mainly constructed with elements which are demonstrably NSW Pidgin, however, the use of the English items *honey* and *you see*, indicates that it may be NSW Jargon.

6. Item 1:129

"There, see that fellow, that bite you, tumble down "direckerly"."

= 'There, see that animal, if that bites you, you will die directly/soon.'

Points to note:

(i) use of *fellow*, a NSW Pidgin item usually used to refer to a man, in this case used to refer to an animal. The similar Kriol form *pala* has a wide range of uses (Rumsey 1985, personal communication).

(ii) use of *tumble down* as the intransitive verb 'die'.

(iii) the use of *direckerly* as an adverb of time which is first used in this period.

(iv) non-occurrence of the auxiliary verb 'will'.

(v) non-occurrence of the conjugation 'if'.

This example has some emergent NSW Pidgin features.

7. Item 1:130.1

"Me catch the rascal directly...Me got him rascal...Come along, you rascal, come, come, come."

= 'I will catch the rascal directly/soon...I caught the rascal...Come along, you rascal, come, come, come.'

Points to note:

(i) use of *me* as the case-invariant first person pronoun.

(ii) the use of *directly* as an adverb of time.

(iii) use of the NSW Pidgin transitive marker *him.*

This example has some features consistent within the data for this period, which may have been features of a stabilising NSW Pidgin.

8. Item 1:130.2

""Goot morning, massa, you catch him fish." "Bale" (no)..."Me want it line"..."I believe you hook him rock," "murray, murray" "(very) stupid you."..."murray stupid me"."

= 'Good morning, mister, did you catch a fish. No...I want my line...I believe you hooked a rock, you are very, very stupid...I am very stupid.'

Points to note:

(i) use of the NSW Pidgin transitive markers *him* and *it.*

(ii) use of *bale* and *murray* which are NSW Pidgin items from Aboriginal languages. By this period they were typical features of NSW Pidgin (for examples see sections 4.4 and 4.5).

(iii) use of *stupid* (already identified in sections 4.4 and 4.5).

(iv) use of reduplication, *murray, murray*, to indicate intensity.

This is a NSW Pidgin utterance. The items fish, hook and rock have not appeared previously in the data for NSW Pidgin, but there is no proof they were not part of NSW Pidgin lexicon by this period.

9. Item 1:132.2

"Bel (not) me want to go...Me marry (very) tired, bel (not) me want to go."

= 'I do not want to go...I am very tired; I do not want to go.'

Points to note:

(i) use of the NSW Pidgin negator *bel* and intensifier *marry*, which are items from an Aboriginal language.

(ii) non-marking for intransitivity of the intransitive verbs *want* and *go.*

(iii) use of *me* as a case-invariant first person pronoun.

Many but not all of the features of this utterance are typical of NSW Pidgin. In addition, the placement of the mode particle *bel* is in keeping with the structure typical of Aboriginal languages and untypical of English. This may be an indicator of substrate influence in the Pidgin from Aboriginal languages.

10. Item 1:134

"me me no gammon"

= 'I, I do not lie.'

Points to note:

(i) use of *me* as a case-invariant first person pronoun form.

(ii) use of the negator *no*. Compare with 9. above where the position of the mode particle may reflect the syntactic structure of Aboriginal languages, while this example reflects English syntax.

(iii) use of *gammon* which first appears in the data for 4.4 period, and is probably an item from PJE.

This example is NSW Pidgin.

11. Item 1:136

"no like this at Nerre Nerre Warren, no good Nerre Nerre Warren, Marnameek (very good) Melbourne."

= 'It is not like this at Nerre Nerre Warren, Nerre Nerre Warren is no good, Melbourne is very good.'

Points to note:

(i) use of the negator *no*.

(ii) use of the intensive adjective *marnameek*, an item from an Aboriginal language.

This item utterance is NSW Jargon because it contains features inconsistent with NSW Pidgin.

12. Item 1:137

"Lady there, that Gin 'long o' you? Ay, Ay?...Bel you got Gin (you have no Gin); poor fellow you – you no Gin!"

= 'The lady over there, is that your wife? Yes, Yes? If you do not have a wife, you are pitiful – if you have no wife!'

Points to note:

(i) use of *gin* and *bel*, items from Aboriginal languages, which are regularly recurrent in the data by this period and are therefore likely to be NSW Pidgin items.

(ii) use of reduplication *ay, ay* for emphasis.

(iii) use of *'long* as an indicator of possession. This is the first instance of this form in the data. Previously *belongit* (see 4.5) was identified.

(iv) use of *fellow* .

(v) use of *ay, ay* as an affirmative, which might be input from the speech of the Irish colonists, or from sea jargon.

This utterance contains English as well as NSW Pidgin elements.

13. Item 1:140

(a) *"I believe Dingo patta!"*

= 'I believe the dingo ate it.'

(b) *"Mundoey that-a-way, cobbra "that"-a-way."*

= 'Feet going that way, and head going that way.'

Points to note:

These utterances are probably unstabilised NSW Pidgin or NSW Jargon because the innovations evidence the use of items from Aboriginal languages – *dingo, patta, mundoey* and *cobbra* – in otherwise English utterances.

14. Item 1:144

"If we keep our weapons, very well, all go right; if we came without, directly they "jump up coolar" (pick a quarrel or get angry)."

= If we bring our weapons, very well, all will go well; if we come without, soon they will pick a quarrel.'

Points to note:

This utterance is essentially English with non-occurrence of auxiliary verbs, use of the item *coolar* (which is likely to be a NSW Pidgin item), occurrence of the NSW Pidgin adverb *directly*, and occurrence of *jump up* which is likely to be a NSW Pidgin verb. In Kriol a similar form exists *gulajambap* (Rumsey 1985, personal communication).

15. Item 1:146.1

""Ay, ay, budgeree fellow you! sit in gunyon all day – white fellow grind for you!" (Ay, ay you're a lucky fellow, can lie in a house all day, whilst a white man grinds for you!)."

Points to note:

(i) use of *ay, ay*, see 10. (v) above.

(ii) use of *budgeree, gunyon* (which first appears in this period and is an item from an Aboriginal language) and *white fellow*.

This example is NSW Pidgin or NSW Jargon with a large amount of input from Pidgin.

16. Item 1:146.2

"gunyon all along of himself" ("pipe-case")

"gunyon 'long of dingo" ("dog-kennel")

Points to note:

These examples combine NSW Pidgin *(gunyon, dingo, all along* and *'long)* and English elements (use of preposition *of*). The use of *all along* and *'long* is important in the development of NSW Pidgin because they are the first examples of this possessive form. In many English-based pidgins *long* is a preposition of location (see for example Tok Pisin, in Wurm and Mühlhäusler 1985; in Queensland Aboriginal Pidgin Englishalso Dutton 1983).

17. Item 1:146.3

""Pyook, nyook, owrangey bit o' bacco." (A pipe, and a knife, and a little bit of tobacco)."

Points to note:

This example contains NSW Pidgin lexicon joined by the English preposition *o'* 'of', and *bit*, which is likely to be English as it has not occurred in the data before, as a quantity specifier. The use of the Aboriginal item *owrangey (narang* 'little', Dawes 1790b) with the English *bit* to make 'little bit' is probably a NSW Jargon construction.

18. Item 1:147

"You maan waddie 'long fire," means "Go and fetch firewood.".

Points to note:

There are two possible interpretations of this sentence given (a) the possessive value attributed to *long* in NSW Pidgin, creating a noun phrase and (b) the locational value attributed to *long* in other pidgins, creating adverbial phrases. There are no elements recognisable as non-NSW Pidgin in this example.

19. Item 1:148

""Bel 'possum cry!" – (opossum don't cry)."

Points to note:

There is no further evidence that *cry* was a NSW Pidgin lexical item. *'possum* may have been a NSW Pidgin item and *bel* was a typical negator.

20. Item 1:149

"now me go" "me bye and by [sic] come back" "blackfellow come come good while ago."

= 'Now I will go, I will come back eventually, Aborigine/s came a good while ago.'

Points to note:

(i) use of the case-invariant first person pronoun form *me*.

(ii) use of *bye and by* as an adverb of time. Dutton (1983) also noted *byamby* for Queensland Aboriginal Pidgin English.

(iii) use of reduplication, *come come,* to create the past tense of 'come'.

(iv) use of the NSW Pidgin item *blackfellow*.

This is a NSW Jargon utterance with much of its input derived from NSW Pidgin, the English items being *now, and* and *good while ago*.

21. Item 1:150

"Well Mither (Mr.)...all black-fellow gone! All this my country! Pretty place Botany! Little Pickaninny, I run about here. Plenty black-fellow then; corrobbory; great fight; all canoe about. Only me left now, Mitter – Poor gin mine tumble down (die). All gone! Bury her like a lady, Mitter –; all put in coffin, English fashion. I feel lump in throat when I talk about her but – I buried her all very genteel, Mitter –"

= 'Well Mister, all the Aborigines are gone! All this is is my country! Its a pretty place Botany! When I was a little child, I ran around here. There were many Aborigines then; there were corroborees; great fights; and canoes everywhere. Now there is only me left – my poor wife died. Dead! I buried her like a lady mister, in a coffin, English fashion. I feel a lump in my throat when I talk about her – I buried her very genteelly, Mister.'

Points to note:

(i) use of *Mither* and *Mitter* for 'mister' which are early NSW Pidgin items (see 4.1 and 4.2, *Midger/Midjer*) which were usually relexified by the PJE *massa* after 1816.

(ii) use of the items *black-fellow, pickaninny, corrobbory, gin, tumble down* and *plenty*.

(iii) non-occurrence of auxiliary verbs and articles, which are also NSW Pidgin features.

This example evidences many NSW Pidgin elements, but much of it is also unmodified English.

22. Item 1:153

"Plenty white man Work – "boorak" (that is "no") work."

Points to note:

(i) use of *plenty* as the pluraliser.

(ii) use of the item *white man*.

(iii) use of *boorak* an item from an Aboriginal language, which may have become one of the negators in NSW Pidgin by this period.

This is a NSW Pidgin utterance. *work* may have been a NSW Pidgin item, but there are no other attested examples of it in my corpus.

23. Item 1:154

(a) *"no good, all same like croppy."*

= 'It's no good, its the same as {a *croppy's* } ~ {*croppies'*}.'

Points to note:

(i) use of the negator *no*.

(ii) use of the NSW Pidgin item *all same*.

(iii) use of the NSW Pidgin item *croppy*.

This is a NSW Pidgin utterance.

(b) *"what we do, bail not fight like New Zealand fellow no! I gave land, and have cold, and very hunger. No, did no bad, we not get blanket! what for?"*

= 'What did we do, we did not fight like the New Zealanders. I gave land, and I am cold, and very hungry. We did no bad, but we don't get blankets. Why?'

Points to note:

This example contains at least one NSW Pidgin item *bail*, but is inconsistent in evidencing NSW Pidgin features, for example *no* and *not* both occur, while *not* is not a NSW Pidgin feature. *bail not* is an example of redundancy.

(c) *"there, look him boy black fellow."*

= 'There, look at the Aboriginal boy.'

Points to note:

This example contains the transitive marker *him* and therefore the transitive verb *look him,* and the interjection *there,* which seems typical of the NSW Pidgin and Jargon for this period. The use of *boy black fellow* instead of Aboriginal boy (as it would be in English) is likely to be a NSW Pidgin feature *(boy* being used as an adjective instead of a noun object*).* The verb *look him* for 'see' is a departure from the verb mentioned above, *megalitz* or *megalet*, but this could be explained as evidence of the existence of dialects of NSW Pidgin or by the continuing instability in some NSW Pidgin forms.

(d) *"day him no work."*

= 'The day he does not go to work.' (i.e. Sunday)

Points to note:

This example contains the typical NSW Pidgin pronoun *him* which is invariant for case and gender.

4.7.1 SOME SALIENT FEATURES OF NSW PIDGIN EVIDENCED IN THE DATA

In each of the features noted below, references to literature indicate that the feature mentioned is discussed within the source cited. References to the data indicate that the feature is exemplified by that particular piece of data. References to the text indicate where a discussion of the feature can be found within this work.

(i) No auxiliary verb 'to be' (Harris 1984:300; .6 subsections throughout this chapter).

(ii) No auxiliary verb 'to do' (Harris 1984:300).

(iii) General absence of auxiliary verbs.

(iv) Use of *no more* or *no* as a negator (Harris 1984:300). In Kriol the auxiliary verbs *nomo* and *numu* 'no', 'not' are recorded by Sandefur and Sandefur (1979:90-91). The mode particle *bail* (or a variety of this form, such as *bel*) is also used as a negator. *bail* is an item from an Aboriginal language (Dawes 1790a,b;, Hunter 1793; Collins 1798); it first occurs (as *bel*) in 1:103, discussed in section 4.4.

(v) Conditional indicated by *'pose* which occurs only in 1:102; this is similar to the Kriol form bu*ji* which has the same value (Sandefur and Sandefur 1979:23).

(vi) Absence of plural markers on nouns (.6 subsections throughout this chapter).

(vii) *him* or *-im* as a transitive marker for verbs.

(viii) *him ,-im* or *he* as the third person pronoun which is unmarked for gender (Hudson 1983:161-176). The first example is 1:67, discussed in section 4.3.

(ix) Use of a limited number of pronoun forms which don't vary for case or gender (Todd 1984:28). *him* occurs as such a pronoun form.

(x) Use of *me* as the case invariant first person pronoun.

(xi) *-it* used as a transitive marker, and possibly also concurrently functioning as a reflexive marker indicating a possessive relationship between subject and object. The latter is suggested by the fact that it always occurs in constructions where the context suggests a strong possessive relationship, the possession being the object and the possessor being the subject. Sandefur (1979) analyses *-it* in Kriol as an allomorph of the transitive suffix *-im,* while Rumsey (1983:177-179) discusses the possibility of *-it* being a marker of ditransitivity or ambitransitivity. The first example is 1:103, (see also 1:123, 124) discussed in section 4.4 .

(xii) Use of *belongit* (first example 1:124) as a preposition of possession. In Kriol, *blanga* is the preposition meaning 'of' or 'for' (Sandefur and Sandefur 1979:16). In Tok Pisin possession is expressed by placing the preposition *bilong* between the thing possessed and the possessor (Dutton 1973:39). An interesting comparison can be made with an item from a Sydney language recorded by Dawes in 1790. He noted (1790b) that *birong* meant 'belonging', which could have been a borrowing from English or it could be a phonological and semantic coincidence.

(xiii) Use of the form *long,* which in NSW Pidgin is a preposition indicating possession (first occurs in 1:146.2). In Tok Pisin (Wurm and Mühlhäusler 1985:339) *long* is a preposition of location, and a comparable form occurs in Kriol (Rumsey 1985, personal communication).

(xiv) *all the same* (1:87) used to mean 'the same as'. Has form plus meaning resemblance to the Kriol form *all same* (Harris 1984:323).

(xv) *plenty* used as a pluraliser, usually for more than three (1:88).

(xvi) Use of *murray* as an intensifier.

(xvii) *bulla,* an item meaning 'two' from a Sydney language, used as a dual number marker (Dawes 1790b), discussed in sections 4.1.4, and 4.5.4).

(xviii) Reduplication used to indicate intensity and insistence (see 4.1.6 and other .6 subsections of this chapter).

(xix) In general, the word order of NSW Pidgin resembles that of English word orderings. See for example the early incipient NSW Pidgin example 1:47.3, discussed in 4.1 (4.1.4, 4.1.6), and the later example, 1:67, discussed in 4.3. An exception is the use of the negator *bail,* always used clause initially which is consistent with the use made of particles, including negators, in Aboriginal languages.

(xx) *what for* is used as the interrogative 'why'. This is similar to the Kriol form *wotpo* 'why' (Sandefur and Sandefur 1979).

(xxi) Use of *direckerly, direkaly, directly* as an adverb of time (1:128.1,.2,129,130.1,144, discussed in section 4.6.4).

(xxii) Absence of definite and indefinite articles.

(xxiii) Use of *tumble down* for 'die'.

(xxiv) Use of *sit down* and *stop* as the intransitive verbs 'remain for a long time' and 'remain for a short time' respectively. Also noted in Queensland Aboriginal Pidgin English by Dutton (1983).

4.7.2 FEATURES OF ABORIGINAL LANGUAGES WHICH ARE SIMILAR TO FEATURES OF NSW PIDGIN

Aboriginal languages were the substrate input for NSW Pidgin. Therefore, it is important to note that the following features of Aboriginal languages are similar to some of the features found to exist in NSW Pidgin. The source for this section is Dixon 1980.

(i) Reduplication (267). Aboriginal languages, like most languages in the world (but not European ones) commonly use reduplication, often to indicate 'many' or 'wide distribution'. In some Aboriginal languages just one or two syllables of the root are reduplicated, in others it is the whole root. Reduplication also turns an adjective into a noun or adverb (73).

(ii) Number is not stated in nouns. Pluralisation is usually specified by reduplication. Dual is often specified "by an affix or by a separate number adjective 'two'...Singularity can be stressed by adding a number adjective 'one' (agreeing with the head noun in case)" (267).

(iii) There are no articles or prepositions in Aboriginal languages (272). "Australian languages seldom have anything that could reasonably be described as 'articles' or 'prepositions'. Definite specification can be achieved by the use of demonstratives, but is often established simply by the context... The semantic load carried by English prepositions is very effectively handled by the case system, in most Australian languages" (272). In NSW Pidgin there are no articles, however there are a limited number of prepositions.

The following is a list of some basic features of Australian languages which may have been part of the input to NSW Pidgin. "Australian languages show around nine or ten distinct 'parts of speech' (or 'word classes'). Each root belongs to a single class...A root in an Australian language will be strictly classed as a noun or as an intransitive verb or as a transitive verb; only in very rare cases can a root belong to more than one class. There are usually ways of deriving verbs from nouns, transitive verbs from intransitive verbs, and so on - but these almost always involve the addition of an explicit derivational suffix" (271).

"The most typical set of word classes required for an Australian language is:

(i) noun, adjective – nominal

(ii) pronoun/demonstrative

(iii) transitive verb, intransitive verb – verb

(iv) adverb

(v) locational qualifier

(vi) time qualifier

(vii) particle

(viii) interjection

Each word has its own set of inflections; it is generally an easy matter to check which class a given root belongs to, simply by examining the endings it can take. (Nouns and adjectives generally take the same inflections.)" (271)

NOTES

1. It is likely in a pre-pidgin context that people would make use of extra-linguistic devices to convey semantic meaning in their utterances.

2. Evidence for infanticide amongst Aborigines of the period of this study comes only from literate colonists, so judgments about the validity of their claims are governed by complex variables. The discussion of this issue is beyond the scope of this study.

3. Unless it was a borrowing from the Spanish or possibly Portugese spoken by the Peruvian muleteers of the Australian Agricultural Company. However, given the fact that other inputs from PJE are in evidence it seems likely that this also is input from PJE, also given the fact the *picaninny* occurs in many pidgins that have developed in contexts involving IE languages.

4. Whether or not this term was used to mean all colonists, including convicts, is not clear. The Aborigines generally used the word *croppy* to mean convict (see 4.4.3). There is no evidence in the data to prove whether or not convicts were also called *massa*.

5. What the colonists considered constituted the difference between Aboriginal languages and dialects of those languages can be guessed at from the freedom with which they used those terms. It is unlikely that they had any conception of the Aboriginal linguistic context as composed of the multitude of varieties that existed (and in fact still exist, though there are not as many as in the 1700s and 1800s). Dialect was often used as a loose term loaded with implications of low status, not referring to the dialectal variations within any given language. 'Language' itself was not a clearly defined term and when colonists referred to Aborigines speaking another language, it could have been a dialect of a language rather than another discrete language to which they were referring. Language has even been defined as "a dialect with an army" (Rumsey 1985, personal communication).

6. "The common elipsis of negroes" is likely to refer to the pidgins or creoles spoken in trade or slavery situations of that time, and before.

7. "*Mounseers* – a Frenchman: mid C.17-20." (Partridge 1984:757).

8. Probably settlers as well, because it was transcribed by the settler Mitchell.

9. 1:151 is a reference to and brief description of a very long interview with Mahroot which has not been included in this work in view of its length and the problems this presents in effectively dealing with it. Therefore it is referred to rather than included. It is a document quite readily available.

5. CONCLUSION

This work has demonstrated that there is significant evidence for the existence in NSW of contact language which had its genesis in Aborginal contact with English, from 1788 to 1845[1]. The two broad categories of contact language identified and named in this book are NSW Jargon and NSW Pidgin. Prior to this study it was often asserted that the historical evidence for contact languages in NSW is scant and unreliable. However, it appears from the research conducted for this work that, on the contrary, it is too voluminous to be fully handled in a short study such as this. In addition it appears that the evidence can be examined for reliability and used accordingly. Certainly the data collected came from a limited sector of colonial society, and access to data produced by Aborigines is unlikely, yet the homogeneity of the data in some ways helps the researcher test its reliablity. If data are consistent across a range of sources they are often more useful than if they are diverse, because the variability factors can be discovered and applied across all the data. The consensus on lexical, phonological and syntactic elements found within the data demonstrates the usefulness of distinguishing analytically between at least the two functioning linguistic systems named above. The points of divergence indicate the possibility of variation in NSW contact languages, including possible dialect differences.

The comparison made between NSW and the general Pacific indicates that NSW presented a very different language contact context from those contexts found in the Pacific. It was noted that in NSW the potential for Aboriginal contact with English was sustained and annually increasing from 1788, while the Pacific went through several language contact phases, each with different characteristics. In the Pacific, PJE lasted until the mid to late 1800s and the beginning of Pacific plantations before any stable pidgin appeared, whereas NSW Jargon and NSW Pidgin appear to have existed concurrently well before the mid 1800s.

Traditionally Aborigines were multilingual and used language as a means for identifying individuals and groups as 'belonging' to certain tracts of land and within certain social classifications. Lingua francas were generally not used by Aborigines. They simply learned each other's languages instead. Language was a means by which individuals could change their positions in society and acquire access to knowledge which was otherwise prohibited (M.Walsh 1985, personal communication). That is, language defined social contexts, and various kinds of knowledge were embedded in specific linguistic systems. The similarity of Aboriginal phonological and semantic systems facilitated the acquistition of new languages, although there were still 'linguistic virtuosos' who controlled more languages than most Aborigines and were held in high regard amongst the Aborigines for their linguistic achievements (M. Walsh 1985, personal communication). If Aborigines usually acquired the languages of the people with whom they came into contact the question is raised. Why did they not acquire English when they first made contact with English speaking colonists?

The reply to this question is of course complex. However, two points seem to be crucial: (a) it is unlikely that colonists provided Aborigines with adequate opportunities for acquiring English, and (b) it is not clear that Aborigines particularly wanted to acquire English. Officials such as Governor Phillip were keen for Aborigines to acquire English in order to supply environmental information to the colonists and to act as mediators between Aborigines and colonists. However, Aborigines had to

be captured in order to make them stay long enough in the settlement to learn significant amounts of English. Forcing Aborigines to acquire English was not particularly successful. Furthermore, once NSW Pidgin was spoken by colonists, it is likely that *they* would have perpetuated it as a system of communication to be used with Aborigines, thereby limiting further the Aborigines' access to English as a system. Within the first ten years of settlement some of them did acquire English, or at least interlanguage English, as one of their first or second languages. The Aborigines identified within this study as having some command of English were usually those who had lived in the homes of colonists or who were exposed to a formal education once the Native Institution was established. However, for the majority of Aborigines, access to English was only available when colonists chose to speak to them in English.

NSW Jargon was probably the first contact language spoken by Aborigines and colonists. NSW Pidgin had its genesis as the Aboriginal varieties of NSW Jargon began to stabilise. NSW Pidgin was an Aboriginal response to contact with English and was in part an attempt to rationalise the profound changes in their world that resulted from its colonisation by the British. Some colonists had a significant degree of facility with NSW Pidgin and their speech may represent varieties similar to the Tok Masta version of Tok Pisin. The colonists' observations of Aboriginal utterances in NSW Pidgin are characterised by an obvious lack of realisation that NSW Pidgin was a language which had to be acquired as all languages must and that in order to do justice to a pidgin when transcribing it, one must consistently use pidgin lexical items and follow pidgin syntactic rules. To some degree the observations reflect an unsophisticated awareness of a NSW Pidgin system in the sense that lexical items were adhered to and some rules of syntax followed with a degree of consistency. It is this degree of consensus within the data which allows the NSW Pidgin features in the transcribed utterances to be identified, either through their repetition within the data or through their similarity to features in Australian and Pacific Pidgins, or both factors.

The colonisation of NSW proceeded in spite of Aboriginal prior occupancy. Initially, colonists and Aborigines had fairly amicable relations. However, the amicability lasted only a short time. Within the first ten years the Aborigines were violently expressing their hostility to the colonists' occupation of the land and their attitudes towards the Aborigines. The colonists reacted by returning the violence, and often initiating it if it was of advantage to them. In the Pacific, until the plantation system began in the mid 1800s, the Islanders were usually able to live in relative isolation from the non-Islander traders. However, in Australia the Aborigines who had strong spiritual and economic ties with their land were forced to live amongst the colonists or leave the land. Many Aborigines opted to stay on their land. In the areas intensively settled or occupied for pastoralism there were problems caused by Aborigines and colonists co-occupying the land. The problems were nearly obviated by 1845 through the drastic reduction in the Aboriginal population as a result of extensive deaths from British introduced diseases, through massacres by colonists (such as in the Bathurst district in the 1820s), from starvation, alcoholism and privation caused by the rapid change in their lifestyle, culture shock and their lack of experience to help them accommodate it, and a host of other reasons. In 1845, Mahroot described himself as the last surviving Botany Bay Aborigine (1:150), and Threlkeld was forced to close his mission to the Lake Macquarie Aborigines because most of them had died.

From 1788 onwards Aborigines were forced to accommodate culture shock of immeasurable significance. For them the experience was unprecedented and their attempts to rationalise it are expressed in the NSW Pidgin that developed from the language contact. Some examples of the use of NSW Pidgin show Aborigines attempting to explain the new input in their world that was the result of

contact with colonists. One of the earliest examples is Bennelong's explanation in 1789, to other Aborigines, of the function of a pair of candle snuffers (1:42). It is possible that he was using incipient NSW Pidgin, as the first identifiable pidgin-like utterance can be attributed to him (1:47.3). Much later, Aborigines were still using NSW Pidgin in explaining aspects of colonist-related matters – as for example, in 1844, when an Aborigine explained in NSW Pidgin a dog-kennel and a silver pipe case (1:146.2).

The interactions between Aborigines and colonists involved a far wider range of social functions than those experienced in the Pacific context. Pidgins in the Pacific were often encouraged by the English-speaking non-indigenes as a means of maintaining the distinction between themselves and the Pacific Islanders (D.S.Walsh 1985, personal communication). Non-indigines spoke to the Islanders in English or perhaps a variety of the local pidgin, like Tok Masta, while the Islanders were expected to speak to them in the local pidgin. In addition, the various pidgins of the Pacific region[2] were the means by which Islanders within a given locale were able to communicate with each other, especially on plantations where a lingua franca was needed, and the Islanders were able to use it as a means of expressing the social changes they experienced as result of contact with English-speaking foreigners. In Australia, Aborigines were always marginal to colonial society and NSW Pidgin was promoted more through the Aborigines' need to explain to themselves the changes they experienced than because the colonists chose to promote differences between themselves and Aborigines. Aborigines, as mentioned above, traditionally used language to distinguish people socially, and it is quite likely that they used NSW Pidgin as the language for rationalising anything associated with colonists. Therefore NSW Pidgin could be regarded as a new language for new knowledge about colonists and about the new Aboriginal lifestyle that was created by the cultural and linguistic contact.

The input for the early period of NSW Pidgin appears to have been significantly Aboriginal-language-based. Many of the lexical items are Aboriginal in origin and many of the syntactic features are comparable to generalisations which can be made about Aboriginal languages. In 1816, the first input from PJE is evident and is likely to have been introduced by maritime traders, particularly whalers. There are a few reports of Aborigines joining the crews of trading and whaling vessels, which indicates the possibility of Aborigines having the input through their own direct contact with PJE. PJE became a significant source for NSW Pidgin features in the following periods. English input to NSW Pidgin is also more evident in the periods from 1816 up to 1845. However, the increased evidence of English input in the data could be attributed to the colonists' facility with a variety of NSW Jargon with significant NSW Pidgin input and their use of that in transcribing Aboriginal utterances. It could also be attributed to a real increase in English input in NSW Pidgin. It would seem that both factors may have equal validity. It is quite possible that NSW Jargon was becoming a relatively stable means of communication, which was used particularly by colonists for communicating with Aborigines, and by literate colonists in transcribing their observations of Aboriginal utterances. It is also highly likely that NSW Pidgin was in different developmental phases in different geographical areas during any given time period – much like Mühlhäusler's developmental sequence for Tok Pisin – so that in areas where English or NSW Jargon was more accessible to Aborigines the English input in NSW Pidgin would have been most noticeable.

It seems that NSW Jargon owes its genesis to mutual attempts by colonists and Aborigines to communicate. In addition the colonists, rather than attempt to acquire a facility with Aboriginal languages, tended to prevail upon the Aborigines to acquire a facility with English. Hence the predominantly English base for NSW Jargon, and its tendency to be used by colonists rather than Aborigines. By contrast, NSW Pidgin began and continued as an Aboriginal response to contact with

English. Aborigines are likely to have used NSW Pidgin amongst themselves and in contacts with the colonists in an attempt to communicate with them (colonists are likely to have spoken to Aborigines in English and NSW Jargon). The fact that NSW Pidgin is likely to have had its genesis as an Aboriginal contact language explains in part why the primary initial input for the Pidgin was from Aboriginal languages rather than from English. In addition, the fact that Aborigines were multilingual often with facility in more than three languages meant that any lexical item drawn from Aboriginal languages within a given area, as input to an incipient NSW Pidgin, was likely to have been widely known (Rumsey 1985, personal communication). NSW Pidgin was established, and certain forms relatively stabilised, within the first fifteen years of British settlement. It is posited that varieties of NSW Pidgin began to develop as the frontiers of contact spread and NSW Pidgin disseminated along Aboriginal networks of trade and communication.

It has been demonstrated in this work that Aboriginal contact with English occurred in a context of a kind that was unprecedented in the Pacific region. Aborigines and colonists co-occupied the land and interacted in a wide range of social contexts that produced a range of linguistic results. NSW Pidgin and NSW Jargon are two languages identified as being the most significant of those linguistic results. NSW Pidgin was an Aboriginal response to cultural and linguistic contact and NSW Jargon was a combined response.

NOTES

1. In providing proof of the existence of specific contact languages in NSW in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries this work has provided a starting point for my further research into the history of Aboriginal contact with English in NSW.

2. The Pacific Pidgins referred to are those of Papua New Guinea, the Solomon Islands and Vanuatu.

APPENDICES

INTRODUCTION TO APPENDICES

All data are from written sources created by a minority within the non-Aboriginal population of NSW – eighteenth and nineteenth century literate colonists or visitors to Australia.

The sets represent material needed for discussion and analysis in the text. Within the sets I have used an inventory number for each datum to facilitate cross-referencing within the text. The bracketed numbers after any item are page numbers referencing to the source in which that item was found.

The names of Aborigines, Aboriginal languages and Aboriginal social groups are often quoted with considerable variation even within any given source. I have quoted names as they appear in the sources.

No appendix is exhaustive of the information available; Appendix 1 provides evidence for discussions of Aborigines' exposure to English and their linguistic reactions to this exposure. Some evidence is inferential and some is direct. Appendix 2 provides evidence for discussions about Aborigines who had extended regular contact with English through living in the homes of colonists, being in some kind of service to the colonists, or living in the colonists' settlements. Appendix 3 is self explanatory – a table of population figures. Appendix 4 gives evidence for discussions about colonists who exposed Aborigines to English through living amongst them as part of an Aboriginal social group or groups.

APPENDIX 1

DATA ON ABORIGINAL CONTACT WITH ENGLISH

Note: Passages of text that are in bold are either statements about, or examples of, language mixing.

WILLIAM BRADLEY (1786-1792, FACS. 1969)

1. 18.5.1789, referring to Arabanoo who died from smallpox:
"He was a great loss being quite familiarised and very happy, quite one of the Governor's family and had got some of our language as well as communicated much of theirs." (163)

2. February 1791, Governor Phillip on meeting with Benallon and Colbey , as related to Bradley by Waterhouse:

2.1 Benallon called Governor Phillip either Father or Governor. (226)

2.2 When the Governor held up a bottle of wine "one of them [Aborigines] call'd out wine and repeated several English words..." (227)

2.3 The Governor had "earnest converstion" with Colbey and Benallon. (228)

3. May 1789, referring to a girl Abooroo who lived with the parson's wife after surviving the smallpox plague. When taken to encourage some Aborigines to come to the settlement she said some of them were her relatives. (163)

4. November 1789, Nanberry said Colbey was a great warrior. (164)

DAVID COLLINS, VOL.1 (1798, REPR. 1975)

5. June 1788, between Port Jackson and Botany Bay, Governor Phillip made contact with two to three hundred Aborigines:
"With these a friendly intercourse directly took place." (25)

6. 25.11.1789, when Bennillong and Cole-be were captured:
"Being well-known to the children, through their means every assurance was given them of their perfect safety in our possession." (71)

7. May 1790, Governor Phillip was speared by a native introduced by Bennillong, and:

7.1 "This accident gave cause to the opening of a communication between the natives of this country and the settlement, which, although attended with such an unpromising beginning it was hoped would be followed with good consequences." (111)

7.2 "A few days after the accident, Bennillong, who certainly had not any culpable share in the transaction, came with his wife and some of his companions to a cove on the north shore not far from the settlement, where, by means of Boo-rong, the female who lived in the clergyman's house, an interview was effected between the natives and some officers, Mr. White, Mr. Palmer, and others, who at some personal risk went over with her." (112)

7.3 Bennillong and Cole-be said they gave Wil-le-me-ring a severe beating for spearing Governor Phillip, and said he had thrown the spear because he was afraid. (112)

8. September 1791, referring to Bondel, an Aboriginal boy who went to Norfolk Island with Captain Hill "to whom he was attached" (147):
"During his residence on the Island, which Mr. Monroe said he quitted reluctantly, he seemed to have gained some smattering of our language, certain words of which he occasionally blended with his own." (147)

9. April 1792, referring to several young Aborigines who lived with the colonists and whose relatives "frequently visited...the different houses in the town" (174):
"Very little information that could be depended upon respecting their manners and customs was obtained through this intercourse; and it was observed that they conversed with us in a mutilated and incorrect language formed entirely on our imperfect knowledge and improper application of their words." (174)

10. April 1794, referring to an Aboriginal who was taken by Lt. Hanson on the "Daedelus" to several Pacific Islands:
"He did not appear to have acquired much of our language during his excursion; but seemed to comprehend a great deal more than he could find words to express." (303)

11. November 1795, after a fight with Cole-be in which Bennillong had his upper lip split and two teeth broken "his pronunciation was much altered". (390)

12. 1795, Collins refers to the Aborigines as living among the colonists and "acquiring our language". **He referred to the "barbarous mixture" language spoken.** (451)

13. 1795, Collins gave an example of the confusion that arose in communications between colonists and Aborigines. When Bennillong was first captured and was being questioned he tried to tell the settlers that the Cammerraygal would knock out the front tooth of young men to initiate them. The settlers at first thought he meant a man called Cammerraygal wore all the teeth around his neck. (485)

14. 1795,
"One native of the tribe of Cammerray, a very fine fellow named Carradah...so he was called among his own people before he knew us; but having exchanged names with Mr. Ball (who commanded the "Supply") he went afterwards by that name, which they had corrupted into Midjer Bool." (275)

COLLINS, VOL.2

15. August 1797, referring to a native known as:
"William and Ann (corrupted by their pronunciation to Wil-lam-an-nan) which he had adopted from a ship of the same name that arrived here in the year 1791." (40-41)

16. August 1799, Mr. Flinders was called "Midger Plindah", Samuel was called "Damwel".
"In these particularities, their [the Aborigines north of Port Jackson] language resembled that of the Port Jackson natives. It may be seen in the former account, that Mr. Ball was named Mid-ger Bool, and that none of them could ever pronounce the letters 'f' or 's'. Even Bennillong, on his return from England, still used caw-

be for coffee. **Many other instances may be adduced."** (Note: Collins vol.1, Midjer Bool, see item 14 above.) (180)

JOHN HUNTER (1793, REPR. 1968)

17. 1788, while exploring the coves Hunter and others met with some Aborigines who encouraged them over to the shore and had:
"Friendly conversation with them....After which the Aborigines fired a lance at the explorers." (82-83)

18. 1788,
18.1 The captured Aborigine – Arabanoo – was told that his iron leg shackle was a "bang-ally...which is the name given in their language to every decoration." (133) (Note: this sounds like 'bangle'.)

18.2 "He very soon learnt the names of different gentlemen who took notice of him, and when I was made acquainted with him, he learnt mine, which he never forgot, **but expressed great desire to come on board my "nowee"; which is their expression for a boat or other vessel upon the water."** (133)

18.3 He was "a very good natured talkative fellow." (133)

19. 6.6.1789, Hunter in a party with Governor Phillip went to Broken Bay, and at the entrance of the north harbour:
"we did not see more than twenty natives, some of whom came and conversed with us." (142)

20. 1789, the children – Nanberry and Abaroo:
"Now understood almost everything we said, and could make themselves well understood." (166)

21. 1789, Lt. Bradley was ordered by the Government to capture a couple of Aboriginal men. They were to be taught English and used as interpreters with other Aborigines and as sources of information about Aboriginal culture (166-67). As a result, Colbey and Bennelong were captured, 25.11.1789 (167).

22. 1790, Aborigines began to like bread:
"Now the little children had learnt the words, **"hungry, bread"; and would, to show that they were hungry, draw in their belly, so as to make it appear quite empty."** (205)

23. 1791, Governor Phillip at an Aboriginal whale feast:
"The Governor stood up in the boat and asked in their language where Ba-na-lang was; Ba-na-lang answered, I am here; the governor then said, I am the governor your father: (a name he wished the Governor to be known by when he lived with him)." (207)

24. 1790, **Bannelong was instructed to say "the King" before drinking after dinner, so he supposed wine was called "the King", and after he learnt "wine" he still called it "the King".** (460)

25. 1791, **Colebe said "Governor 'nangorar'" which means Governor asleep.** (461)

26. 1790/1, when Abaroo wanted to return to her people in order to get married she was allowed to. The Reverend Johnson wanted to make her stay because he felt she had not learnt enough English to "explain their intentions to the natives". (466)

27. 1790, Bannelong beat his wife and threatened to kill another woman. (Note: in this incident it is possible that Bennelong was using a verb common in Pacific Pidgins, *killim* and Kriol *kilim* meaning hit.) (480-481).

28. 1790, Bannelong said Surgeon White was going to shoot him. Then decided they were still friends. (481)

29. 1791, Bannelong was being aggressive and had a verbal fight with Governor Phillip. (501-502)

ARTHUR PHILLIP (1789, FASC. 1968)

30. 18.1.1788,
30.1 "First interview with the natives". (44-45)

30.2 Second encounter with the Aborigines where they observed and interacted with the colonists. (48-51)

31. January 1788,
31.1 "Interview with the natives...one woman was very talkative" and the men helped the colonists make fires. (78)

31.2 In southern Botany Bay a man and a boy "brought fire and seemed willing to render any service in their power." (82)

31.3 Phillip had "maintained an intercourse with the natives". (84)

32. 1788, after a few convicts were killed by Aborigines Phillip decided to tell them that "the conduct of their assailants was unwarranted" and he had an interview with a large group of them. (111-112)

33. July 1788, at Pitt Water [sic] Phillip was with about sixty Aborigines and:
"Some hours were passed with them in a peaceful and very friendly manner." (133)

34. 1788, Phillip "despaired of getting any of them [Aborigines] to remain among his people, long enough for either to acquire the language of each other, except by constraint." (140-141)

DANIEL SOUTHWELL (1790)

35. 14.4.1790,
Referring to the Aborigines held captive or living with free colonists in the settlement ("Woolarawery, Ocultroway, Benallon, Kebada Colby, Nanbary and Abooroo"):
"Their progress in attaining English is but slow, but their parts are tolerable and understanding by no means despicable. Benallon relates with a deal of humour (chiefly by Gestures and Signs) the manner of his being caught, for he was decoyed with a Fish. And say's [sic] beial, beial – very good, very good and so it was for he gets plenty without the trouble of spearing them now." (348-349)

36. **When the colonists were trying to explain "reverence, for God in the heaven or sun or moon" to the Aborigines, who replied ""werie, werie" which is as much to say its [sic] bad...They thought their influences bad**...I have heard from good Author. that they have names for the most remarkable constellations and that they make intelligible signs, that they are of use to them in crossing the contry [sic] or going upon the Water during the Night." (349)

37. "We sometimes see a few Natives and I have known them to laugh heartily At our calling out after the above mentioned hero [Bennelong] – and it is more than probable they have understood us." (335)

38. Southwell met with eight Aborigines and **"called repeatedly to them Coè (which signifies come hither)".** (335)

WATKIN TENCH (1789-1793, REPR. 1979)

39. 14.2.1788, Phillip in the "Extracts from a Journal" bound with his letters to Banks (ML), remarked that the Aborigines "are very fond of any very soft music and will attend to a song, any of the words of which they will very readily repeat." (in a note:97)

1788:
40.1 **"Whatever animal is shewn them, a dog excepted, they call kangaroo: a strong presumption that the wild animals of the country are few."** (51)

40.2 Aborigines called sheep "kangaroo". (51)

41. **Before the end of March 1789,** Arabanoo was captured and they began to teach him English:

41.1 "And he readily pronounced with tolerable accuracy the names of things which were taught him." (140)

41.2 He was shown:
"A large handsome print of H.R.H. the Duchess of Cumberland" and "called out, woman, a name by which we had just taught him to call the female convicts." (140)

41.3 "He had before shown pleasure and readiness in imitating our tunes." (142)

42. 1789, Baneelon a friend of Governor Phillip explained the English words for various articles to his fellow Aborigines:

42.1 **"Nor was his importance to his countrymen less conspicuous in other respects: he undertook to explain the use and nature of those things which were new to them. Some of his explanations were whimsical enough.- Seeing, for instance, a pair of snuffers, he told them that they were "Nuffer for candle" (the S is a letter which they cannot pronounce, having no sound in their language similar to it. When bidden to pronounce sun, they always say "tun"; salt, "talt"; and so of all words wherein it occurs)."** (189)

42.2 Baneelon was "taught" by the settlers to speak in a "soft, gentle tone of voice", but he would "revert to his native vociferation" when angry or dealing with other Aborigines. (189)

43. September 1790, the establishment of "intercourse and relations with the Natives". (183-190)

44. 1790/1, after Arabanoo died Tench remarked:
"But either from the difficulty of acquiring our language, from the unskilfulness of his teachers, or from some natural defect, his progress in learning it was not equal to what we had expected. For the last three or four weeks of his life, hardly any restraint was laid upon his inclinations." (150-151)

45. 1790, Baneelon was considered very intelligent:

45.1 "He acquired knowledge, both of our manners and language, faster than his predecessor [Arabanoo] had done." (160)

45.2 Tench quotes Baneelon's account of the wounding of the back of his hand, by a woman whom he was "abducting" from a different group of Aborigines :
""I was dragging her away: she cried aloud, and stuck her teeth in me." "And what did you then?" "I knocked her down, and beat her till she was insensible and covered with blood. – Then."" (160)

46. 1790, Baneelon called the Governor "Walarawee" or "Been-èn-a" (father). Baneelon adopted the name "Governor" as an exchange of friendship. (160)

47. September 1790, Baneelon was found with his "tribe" at Broken Bay:

47.1 **"His answering in broken English, and inquiring for the governor"** affirmed his identity. (170)

47.2 ""Have you brought any hatchets with you?" cried he." He asked repeatedly for a "razor". (177)

47.3 Baneelon was asked about his former favourite woman Bar-an-gar-oo:
""Oh," said he, **"she is become the wife of Colbee! but I have got "Bul-la Mur-ee Dee-in" (two large women) to compensate for her loss.""**(177)

47.4 "Nanbaree, all this while, though he continued to interrogate his countrymen, and to interpret on both sides showed little desire to return to their society." (177)

47.5 The Aborigines demanded hatchets and explained they cut up whales with shell attached to throwing sticks. (177)

47.6 Three or four chunks of whale were given as presents to the colonists:
"The largest of which Baneelon expressly requested might be offered, in his name to the governor." (178)

47.7 When Phillip came to see Baneelon :
"They discoursed for some time, Baneelon expressing pleasure to see his old acquaintance, and inquiring by name for every person whom he could recollect at Sydney; and among others for a **French cook, one of the governor's servants, whom he had constantly made the butt of his ridicule, by mimicking his voice, gait, and other peculiarities, all of which he again went through with his wonted exactness and drollery..."** (178)

47.8 Baneelon also asked after a lady he had kissed and did not want to discuss his new wounds. (178)

47.9 **He drank some wine and gave a toast "as he had been taught, "the King"."** (179)

48. 1790, Baneelon referring to his "enemy's" daughter:
"She is now my property: I have ravished her by force from her tribe: and I will part with her to no person whatever, until my vengeance shall be glutted." (202)
Baneelon said he was going to 'kill' the woman (Note: however it could be he meant 'hit'; see also item 27.)

49. 1791, on Tench's expedition to Rose Hill and beyond, with Colbee and Boladeree, they met with local Aborigines who said:

"""At Rose-Hill," said they, "are potatoes, cabbages, pumpkins, turnips, fish, and wine: here are nothing but rocks and water." These comparisons constantly ended with the question of "where's Rose Hill; where?" on which they would throw up their hands, and utter a sound to denote distance, which it is impossible to convey an idea of upon paper." (229)

50. **"Their translation of our words into their language are always opposite, comprehensive, and drawn from images familiar to them: a gun, for instance, they call "Gooreebeera", that is – "a stick of fire". – Sometimes also by licence of language, they call those who carry guns by the same name. But the appellation by which they generally distinguish us was that of Bèreewolgal, meaning – "men come from afar"."** (292)

51. **"The letters "s" and "v" they never could pronounce: the latter became invariably "w", and the former mocked all their efforts, which in the instance of Baneelon has been noticed; and a more unfortunate defect in learning our language could not easily be pointed out."** (293)

JEAN WOOLMINGTON (1973)

52. 1790, Reverend Richard Johnson taught the Aboriginal girl Abaroo (who lived with him) to read and speak a little English:

"The Lord's Prayer &C., and as she comes better to understand me, endeavour to instruct her respecting a Supreme Being &C." (21)

53. 1799, Johnson referring to Samuel Christian:

"Marsden's native boy can speak the English language well; and has begun to read." (21)

GEORGE B. WORGAN (1978)

54. 12.6.1788,
"They...Repeated many words and Phrases after Us." (5)

55. 12.6.1788-18.6.1788,
55.1 **"They are wonderfully expert at the art of mimickry, both in their Actions and in repeating many of our Phrases, they will say – "Good Bye" after us, very distinctly, The Sailors teach them to swear. They laugh when they see us laugh."** (18)

55.2 Referring to the Aborigines' reactions to the colonists music:
"They will sometimes jump to it, and make a grunting Noise by way of keeping Time to the Tune." (19)

THOMAS MITCHELL (DIARY)

56. 1789, in Port Jackson the Aborigines were dying of small-pox and one, as he was dying:
"He lifted up his hands and eyes in silent agony for some time at length exclaiming "All dead! All dead!"." (16)

The Sydney Gazette AND *New South Wales Advertiser* (1804, FACS 1965)

57. 17.6.1804, after the "Head killings", fourteen settlers pursued the Aborigines and found three hundred of them:
"The few settlers, agreeable to their instructions, endeavoured to ascertain their motives for the acts of depradation and cruelty they had committed; to which end they offered a parley and interrogated them whether they had been ill treated; but all they offered in justification was an ironical declaration that they wanted and would have corn, wearing apparel, and whatsoever else the settlers had; then throwing down defence, to commence firing in hopes to intimidate their assailants, but without the desired effect...two of the most violent and ferocious were shot." (2c,3a)

58. 19.8.1804,
"By long intercourse many of them have acquired so much of our language as to understand and be understood, but only apply the talent of mischief and deception. Some short time since a settler's wife...entertained half a dozen of these idlers with an almost reprehensible hospitality, and they in return, amused her with assurances of their best wishes and gratitude to her bounty, but in the very interim, a body of their colleagues were busily employed in clearing a whole acre of corn and carrying it off." (3b,c)

59. 23.9.1804, settlers barter with Aborigines, account of dialogue – brief and in settlers' English. (2c,3a)
We were then visited by several natives, who condescended to partake the fruits of my errand; and though they did not exactly insist upon a welcome, yet *good manners* required that we should tender a part of what we could not conceal. Perceiving that one of our *company* had a nest of young emues under his protection, I doubted not that to solicit them as a *present* would afford him an opportunity of returning *civility* for *kindness* – but I was egregiously *out* in my conjecture: the birds were to be disposed of, and *gratitude* is of little value in *traffic*. The terms of purchase I submitted to his own *generosity,* and was struck with horror and chargrin when he unconscionably demanded an entire *exchange of dress.* Hoping to find him vulnerable on the side of *humanity,* I observed, tho' rather injudiciously, that the sun would burn me black: to which he replied in a transport that *black* was better than *white.* It behoved me now to satisfy his offended *honour* with a very contrite apology, backed with *half a loaf:* then finding him softened into *reason,* I applied by slender talent of persuasion so successfully as to reduce the original demand down to my *only* jacket. I would fain have argued him out of that also, but he was inflexible: I urged the possibility of my falling a victim to the extreme coldness of the night; but this objection he effectually silenced by demanding, *What for I should be colder when I had parted with my jacket than he himself was that never had one?* – This argument was unanswerable, and as I did not choose to part with the birds, I was necessiated to deal for them in his own way; and when my companion was sufficiently recovered we returned from a travel, during which chance had in an eminent degree contributed to preserve our lives.

60. 21.10.1804, an old Aborigine of "Mullet Island", called "Grewin" assisted in helping the crew of the Hawkesbury vessel "Speedwell" which was grounded. The crew of the "Edwin" went to help but Grewin "imparted to them his apprehension that she might contain a banditti of fugitive desperados". When he went to check and help he found old friends. (2b,c)

61. 2.12.1804, article after the death of:
"the first of the savage inhabitants of this colony introduced to civil society". He disliked other Aborigines and "spoke none but our language". He was raised from infancy by colonists. (2b,c)

118

62. 20.1.1805, one Aborigine "advanced nearer to civilisation than his bretheren...[was] interrogated as to his notion of what was to happen after death, replied with some embarassment, that he did not know positively; but perhaps "he might become a white man"." He was then silent so the narrator could only speculate as to whether the Aborigines saw this change as advantageous. He arrived at: "It is evident that this poor native gave no immediate preference to manners which he might and would be encouraged to adopt." (3b)

The Sydney Gazette (1806 TO1807, FACS. 1965)

63. 14.6.1807, Aborigines survived a boat sinking and told how George Legg drowned because he was heavily clothed and couldn't swim. (1c)

The Sydney Gazette (1808 TO 1809, FACS. 1965)

64. 9.10.1808, referring to rumours that a shipwreck was sighted off Back Row East:
"The natives are asserted to have been the source of this unpleasant information. We are well aware that they are capable of straining a point upon such occasions." (2a,b)

65. 5.2.1809, Aborigines told Mr. Throsby of a "fine freshwater river, the banks of which were wooded with immense quantities of cedar", located between Port Stevens and King's Town. (2a)

66. 15.10.1809,
66.1 At Parramatta Mr. Davis went to help a woman being worried by five Aborigines, who "in plain English abused and threatened him." (2a,b)

66.2 "On Tuesday last three foot passengers were pursued a considerable distance on the Parramatta road by a gang of natives, who frequently called to them, and by alternate threats and promises endeavoured to prevail on them to stop; but their eloquence failed of its proposed end, and the travellers got safe away." The reporter believed they were Georges River Aborigines. (2a,b)

JEAN WOOLMINGTON (IN STANBURY 1977)

67. 1816, Governor Davey's Proclamation to the Aborigines, the following words were written under a cartoon graphic style representation:
""**Why Massa Gubernor. said Black Jack:- You Proflamation [sic] all gammon – how blackfellow read him? eh! He no learnt him read Book." "Read that then, said the Governor pointing to a Picture."** (28) (Note: this was written about a proclamation in Tasmania, but the Aborigine Black Jack could have been from NSW.)

LACHLAN MACQUARIE (1810-1822, REPR. 1956)

68. 6.11.1811, at Jervis' Bay,:
"**Several natives came off [sic] to us in their canoes, and remained alongside some time, speaking to us in their gibberish, and trying to repeat our names and other English words.**" (48)

69. 1822, Macquarie visited the Illawarra and about one hundred Aborigines of various 'tribes', some "all the way from Jervis' Bay" came to visit him:

"They all knew who I was and pronounced my name very distinctly...They were very civil, and I regretted exceedingly that I had not tobacco for them." He remained with them for about ten minutes. (240)

SAMUEL LEIGH (1817)

70. 14.10.1817, Leigh to Dr. A. Clarke,

"The Aborigines of NSW. are by appearances but little above the brute beast – they have no sense of shame and as is generally reported have no knowledge of a supreme being. – This I question I have had a conversation with one who appears to have improved much from intermingling with Europeans The following is a narrative question proposed by myself

Conversation with a native

70.1. **Who made that tree to grow – pointing towards it. Answer Whehill – who is Whehill – my father my father made everything all those trees – Bush – spreading his arms – Whehill made everything –**

70.2. **Who is Whehill – my father – white man calls God.**

70.3. **Where does Whehill live – Whehill lives up – pointing towards the sky.**

70.4. **Where will Black man go to when he is dead – Black man drink rum – fight go down – pointing downwards. Black men go up – be white men – white men one Black.**

70.5. **Do you like rum – no much.**

70.6. **Why do you not like rum – putting his hand to his brow and shook his head and reeling too and fro – not much rum – Then you like a little – a little no much.**

70.7. **The Black man's question – Do you come from Engla – Yes – Black man. I am Engla man – Engla man get drunk – fight – Engla man drunk a fool – Black man no fool – Black man drunk very quick – go ly [sic] down – be still – Black man like tobacco."**

ROWLAND HASSALL (1817)

71. 1.4.1817,

"With respect to the capacity of the natives to learning, we can have no doubt, as the Native Instititution founded by Government about three years ago (1811) under the Superintendency of our late much lamented Mr. William Shelley fully proves. There are about seventeen children in the Native School, under the management of the Widow Shelley – the greater part of these poor Native children can read their Testament or Bible, and lately a part of them are admitted into the Sunday Schools." (275)

WALTER LAWRY (1818)

72. 29.10.1818,
72.1 At Portland Lawry met with a group of Aborigines preparing, he believed, for war; so he took the "opportunity of Preaching to a tribe of Native blacks. They hid their children and when he asked why "replied that many of them had been taken away by men in black cloaths [sic] and put to a school in Parramatta, and they feared I was come on that errand" ." (371-373)

72.2 He said to them some would die in the battle; "I then endeavoured to prove that they would rise again and live for ever, at this they struck their heads and unanimously said: **"When Black man die,** never no more, 'never no more' **"** ." (371-373)

72.3 He tried to tell them about God, when he got out his "portable book, they set up a laugh and walked off." (371-373)

72.4 The "old King" was Yellowinanday. When shown his face in a mirror he:
"Said it was like the devil (this I suppose he had learnt from the English)." (371-373)

ELIZABETH SHELLEY (1838)

73. 1.5.1820-31.5.1820, *Report on the literacy progress of the Aboriginal children in the Native Asylum [Institution] Parramatta.* Mrs. Shelley, of Parramatta, examined. (56)
"I kept the Asylum for Aboriginal Children, established at Parramatta, by Governor Macquarie, in 1814, for upwards of eight years – during which time the greatest number of children in the Asylum, at any one period, was, to the best of my recollection, twenty-three; and the Report now produced (*Report handed in and read,*) shows the number to have been eleven boys, and twelve girls, from the ages of three years to fifteen. I found their dispositions and their capacity for learning to vary very much. Some of them read and wrote well, and understood arithmetic to a certain extent; but, I always found the half-caste children quicker and more tractable than the blacks. All who were old enough, were taught their Catechism, which they repeated very accurately, – and they were taken regularly to church.

"The School was visited monthly by a Committee of gentlemen appointed for that purpose, and the progress of the children was considered very satisfactory up to the time of my giving up the charge in 1823, when they were sent to Black Town, and put under the care of Mr. Clarke, a Church Missionary, now at New Zealand.

"The books were kept by the Rev. Mr. Hill, but whether retained in his possession, or lodged in the office of the Colonial Secretary, I cannot say.

"The expense of the establishment was about £365 per annum, [sic]

"I visited the settlement two or three times during Mr. Walker's charge, and found a great many of the old blacks amongst them, and that they were in consequence in a very unsettled state.

"Several of the girls had married black men, but instead of having the effect intended, of reclaiming them, they eventually followed their husbands into the bush, after having given away and destroyed all the supplies with which they had been furnished by the government.

"Since that period, some of them have occasionally visited me, and I found they had relapsed into all the bad habits of the untaught natives. A few of the boys went to sea, but I have not heard what has become of them. Most of the girls have turned out very bad, but there is one exception in a half-

caste girl, who was married to a white man, and was very industrious, taking in needlework, &c. I have not, however, heard of her for two years.

"I have frequently conversed with them since, on religious subjects, but they turned them into laughter, and said they had forgotten all about it."

RALPH MANSFIELD (GUNSON, ED. 1974 VOL.2).

74. June 1821, describing an Aboriginal funeral:
"They proceeded to hollow the grave on either side: this they told me was intended to keep him from being hurt, **"when anybody walk over him".**" (337)
"I enquired, "What for you make fire?" "To keep poor dead black man warm", they replied." (337)
"I should before have observed, that during the interment, they expressed deep despair at the frequent deaths which occur in their ranks. **"Black men nigh all gone. Soon no blackman, all whiteman".**" (337)

BARRON FIELD (1825, REPR. IN REECE 1974)

75. 1825, referring to the Aborigines:
"They bear themselves erect, and address you with confidence, always with good-humour, and often with grace...**They have a bowing acquaintance with everybody, and scatter their How-d'ye-do's with an air of friendliness and equality, and with a perfect English accent, undebased by the** Massa's, **and Missies and** me-no's **of West Indian slavery...**[the Aborigine] has no notion of that inferiority to us, the oppression of which feeling reduces the New Zealanders and South Sea Islanders almost to despair; and he despises the comforts of civilization, although he has nothing of his own but his 'hollow tree and liberty' without even the 'crust of bread'. What then must be his opinion of our servants? men and women, who sacrificing their liberty and independence for the second-rate comforts of civilization, which they earn by submitting to perform menial offices for those who enjoy the first-rate, and by ministering to their artificial wants; for which even first-rate comforts the naked native has a contempt. With us masters, all he contends for nevertheless is equality." (11)

LANCELOT E. THRELKELD (REPR. IN GUNSON, ED. 1974 VOL.1).

76. 1817,
"We gave some tobacco to a black who shortly afterwards returned complaining that a **"croppy" (for they so termed the prisoners)**, had called him to take some biscuit." (44)

77. 1825,
"...the reply, 'very hungry' is deemed quite a sufficient excuse for declining to engage in any enterprise whatsoever." (46)

78. 1825, after a Corroboree at Lake Macquarie:
"It was a fortunate circumstance that about four or five of the adult aborigines and one a boy about six or seven years old named Brown, who since accompanied the

lamented Leichardt [Ludwig Leichardt], and but recently died, spoke a little of broken English." (46)

79. 1825,
"The Aborigines soon ascertained my wish to be able to converse with them in their own tongue not unfrequently ending with the unclassical reprimand of – **"What for you so stupid, you very stupid fellow.""** (46)

80. 1825, Threlkeld was watching an Aboriginal medical woman, and commented that the blood was coming from her lip, not the sick girl's; she commented:
"What for you so stupid, look at the blood!" (47)

81. 1825, referring to an Aboriginal burial he witnessed:
"When the ceremony was over, **one came to me and requested, in broken English, that I would not disclose where the body was laid.** Upon enquiring why I should be so particular, they answered that they were afraid lest **"white fellow should come and take the head away!""** (48)

82. "Speaking once to a Black on the alleged stupidity of their race, and pointing out certain courses which they pursued as evidence thereof, he very indignantly retorted that "black fellows when hungry in the bush do not cast lots for one of themselves to be killed and eaten by the rest of his companions, as white fellows do when hungry in boats at sea."" (48)

83. Referring to an old woman who had been cremated:
"I enquired of him why the tribe burned her? the reply was, "that she might become food for the Eagle-hawk." I then asked whether the Blacks had eaten any portion of her? "Oh no!" was the answer "it would have made them sick"." (48)

84. 16.11.1825,
"It was about 10 o'clock at night on the 16th of November 1825, that one of the Blacks came to see me, saying, that if I would go with him to their sleeping place I should see the two Sorcerers out of whom the wonderful bones were to come that evening and to be exhibited in the mystic-ring. I urged a postponement of the feat until the next day in the day-light. The reply was **"No, massa, it must be done in the dark,"** most certainly, was my answer, lest their tricks should be discovered in the light of day. My black friend retorted:- **"Well massa, you no believe, what for you so stupid, you come and see, and then you know all about it...**[some time later] **now massa the bone coming out of him.""** (52)

85. "When hungered, One will say, like the Galilean apostles of old:- "I go a fishing," and the rest of his tribe will likewise reply:- "We go also"." (53)

86. "Some brine was being boiled one day out of doors, in a large iron pot, and as usual a number of natives were around, amongst whom was one from the mountains, a black that we had never before seen. Looking very earnestly into the boiling pot, he said to my son – **"Massa, that rum[?]"** – "Taste and see," was the reply and taking up a tin pannikin full of the boiling hot brine, the aborigine took it, tasted it, kept drinking it, until he had drank the whole! The Blacks laughed at his simplicity, and enjoyed the ignorance of their friend from the mountains. Presently he began to say smacking his lips:- **"Rum merry good, me mer[r]y drunk,"** and cut all manner of capers, on being asked how he liked it, **"Oh! merry good merry good, make me merry drunk, me drunk like a gemmen!"** (gentleman,) and danced about to the great amusement of his

countrymen. It was a fact that he did not know what rum was, but had only heard of its wonderful effects upon those who drank." (54)

87. 1825, an Aborigine eating some witchity grubs "from the middle of the vegetable substance picked out several fine large maggots, commonly called cobra, and ate them with all the enjoyment of a fine delicacy of the season! On expressing surprise at his eating such nasty looking grubs, **"Oh!" says my guide, "all the same as oyster to you, and just as nice!"."** (55)

88. Commenting on Aborigines eating 'maggot' infested fruit:
"The aborigines retort, very truly, when expostulated with for their voracious appetites, **"Why Massa you eat plenty maggots in cheese".**" (55)

89. Referring to an incident when some colonists tried to abduct Aboriginal women, and the Aborigines raised the alarm:
"["] Massa! Massa! white fellows here!"" (57)

90. Referring to Kurriwilbán an Aboriginal mythological female:
"By some unaccountable means Yarhoo has been given as a name to this Deamoness, most likely introduced by some way from Dean Swift's travels of Gulliver, just as pickaninney, another barbarism, has been introduced by Europeans amongst the aborigines, for a little child, or infant in arms, and which term the blacks often use under the impression that they are speaking elegantly and correctly, unconscious that they are murdering the Queen's English." (62)

91. **""Stupid fellows,"** as the Aborigines term all heterodox persons who have not implicit faith in, and do not hold the tradition of, their fathers." (64)

92. 13.3.1825,
"The Aborigines are singing in different parts of the settlement in small groups, their tune is rather dismal; they begin high and end in about an octave below the pitch. Some have attempted with no bad effect to imitate the sacred music of the church but how different this state to that of their sable brethren in the South Seas, how striking to me the contrast." (86)

93. 14.3.1825, at Reid's Mistake:
"There were a few natives not more than twenty on the spot who appeared pleased with the Idea of my settling among them. Their appearance is most disgusting. **Massa when you come? how many moons? one finger was up, two fingers were up as an enquiry. Two moons were to die they were given to understand and then Massa would come and stop with them."** (87)

LANCELOT E. THRELKELD (REPR. IN GUNSON, ED. 1974 VOL. 2)

94. 1824,
"Devil-devil – the reduplication of the term signifying the great devil." (339)

95. 1824, at Moreton Bay, an Englishman was helped by an Aboriginal man:
"An old man presented him with a fishing-net, saying, "You will want this to provide food for yourself where you are going" and gave him a basket, saying, "Take this also, and when you have caught fish in your net, you can put them into this basket, to carry them home to your hut."" (339)

96. 1825, near Newcastle:

124

96.1 "When I was down the natives asked me, **Massa when you come sit down at Reid's mistake, the reply was two moons. No Gammon massa.** They were assured that was my intention provided my children came from the Islands, **they speak a little English and understand more.**" (Note: his children being the Tahitian people he was bringing from Raiatea.) (181)

96.2 ""Gammon" is what the Aborigines use for falsehood." (181)

96.3 Referring to M'Gill his Aboriginal assistant:
"One of the natives who speaks very fair English is with me and renders me essential service in obtaining the language." (183)

97. Mid 1820s, at Sydney talking to some Aboriginal men:
"Being all of the rougher sex, we asked them where their "jins" (wives) were, when they answered, with great simplicity, "We are poor men; we have no "jins"."" (339-340)

98. 1826, Reverend Samuel Marsden to Caley's Aborigine Daniel:
"Asked why he had cast off his clothes and taken to the bush again. He replied **"me like the bush best".**" (348)

LANCELOT E. THRELKELD (REPR. IN GUNSON, ED. 1974 VOL.1).

99. Early 1830s,
""Do not say those words, they are bad," said the Aboriginal lad to one of the Newcastle Blacks who swore, "for he who is above is angry with those who use them", "Yes," replied the one reproved, "you go into Master's study, and he will tell you about that, I know it all already!" – He was observed one Lord's day making the following soliloquy, with a pebble stone in this hand ready to throw at a small bird in the garden: "I will not kill you little bird to day [sic], but tomorrow I will kill you!" His dialect is very different to that of the Aborigines in these parts, a comparison is attached to this report, of language, and if the Government will bear the expense of providing for the maintenance of a few Blacks from the different districts much information respecting the Dialects could be obtained." (159)

100. "An aboriginal lad, now named William Burd (alias Breeches), who has resided with me for some months, was asked if he knew who was the Saviour? to which he replied, "Yes". The question was then put; "what is his name," to which he answered, that "he did not like to mention it, because it was sacred!"" (166)

PETER CUNNINGHAM, (1827 VOL. 2)

101. 1827, Referring to the "mulatto tribes" or "tribes nearly of a copper colour…discovered in various parts of our continent":
"At Bathurst where the fame of these distant mulatto tribes has reached, they are described by the natives as **"white fellow…[that] "kill and eat black fellow""**." (14)

102. "King Boongarre appearing to think very lightly of the governor's judgement in providing such a hamlet, by the contemptuous shrug he gave in replying to a question "how he like the houses?" **"Murry boodgeree (very good), massa, 'pose he rain".**" (18-19)

103. "On Boongarre being once remonstrated with for allowing a woman to destroy a twin-child, he shrugged up his shoulders, and merely said, "Bel boodgeree (not good) kill it pickaninny"." (20)

104. "**All the natives round Sydney understand English well, and speak it too, so as to be understood by residents.** The Billingsgate slang they certainly have acquired in perfection, and no white need think of competing with them in abuse er [sic] hard swearing, a constant torrent of which flows from their mouths as long as their antagonist remains before them; it is of no use for him to reply, his words being quickly drowned in the roar of cursings and contemptuous appellations. I have often stood for a considerable time witnessing contests of this kind, our native satyrs invariably forcing their opponents to retrograde, while the instant blacky perceives whitey beating a retreat, he vociferates after him- "Go along, you dam [sic] rascal; go along, you dam scoundrel; go along, you dam blackguard!" exalting his voice as his enemy retires. But should this volley of abuse provoke "white fellow" to run up and offer to strike him, "blacky" would dare him "to the scratch," threatening him with the jail and Massa Wenta, [Mr. Wentworth] if he attempted it. The wisest course, perhaps, is to turn a corner and get out of sight as quickly as possible, for even escaping into a house and shutting the door is no protection, as some of the most steely-tongued will sometimes halloo in at the window, or even through the keyhole, as long as they think you are in hearing." (21-22)

105. "As beggars, the whole world will not produce their match. They do not attempt to coax you, but rely on incessant importunity; following you, side by side, from street to street, as constant as your shadow, pealing in your ears the never-ceasing sound of **"Massa, gim me a dum! massa, gim me a dum!"** (dump). If you have the fortitude to resist firmly, on two or three assaults, you may enjoy ever after a life of immunity; but by once complying, you entail upon yourself a plague which you will not readily throw off, every gift only serving to embolden them in making subsequent demands, and with still greater perseverance. Neither are their wishes moderately gratified on this head – less than a dump (fifteen pence) seldom proving satisfactory. When walking out one morning, I accidentally met a young scion of our black tribes, on turning the corner of the house, who saluted me with **"Good morning, sir, good morning;"** to which I in like manner responded, and was proceeding onwards, when my dingy acquaintance arrested my attention by his loud vociferation of **"Top, sir, I want to peak to you."** "Well, what is it?" said I. "Why, you know, I am your servant, and you have never paid me yet." "The devil you are!" responded I; "it is the first time I knew of it, for I do not recollect ever seeing your face before." "Oh yes, I _am_ your servant," replied he, very resolutely; "dont I top about Massa---'s, and boil the kettle for you sometimes in the morning?" I forthwith put my hand in my pocket, and gave him all the halfpence I had which I left him carefully counting, and proceeded on my walk; but before advancing a quarter of a mile, my ears were again assailed with loud shouts of **"Hallo! top, top!"** I turned round, and observed my friend in "the dark suit" beckoning with his hand, and walking very leisurely toward me. Thinking he was despatched with some message, I halted, but as he walked on as slowly as if deeming I ought rather to go to him than he come to me, I forthwith returned to meet him; but on reaching close enough, what was my astonishment on his holding out the halfpence in his open hand, and addressing me in a loud, grumbling, demanding tone with- **"Why this is not enough to buy a loaf! you must give me more."** "Then buy half a loaf," said I, wheeling about and resuming my walk, not without a good many hard epithets in return from the kettle-boiler." (24-25)

106. Aborigines about having English names:
"The first request they make of a white, being to <u>name</u> them." (27)

107. "Most of them possess great powers of mimicry, bringing to your recollection as vividly the individuals they are imitating as if the latter were strutting in <u>propria persona</u> before you; while their drollery and wit are often considerable, and **they apply nicknames happily, thus denominating one gentlemen [sic] here, with a wry mouth, <u>Wullywully</u> – from that feature resembling a twisted fruit so called; – another with an impediment in his speech, <u>Coorakabundy</u> (the frog), from his peculiar articulation; and a third <u>Parembang</u> (emu) from his singular walk. The gentleman with the wry mouth being commandant at one of the out-settlements, the natives took it into their heads that this was an <u>essential</u> of <u>governorship,</u> and they could not contain their astonishment on finding, upon inquiry, that the "cobawn (big) gobernor, had no mout <u>so</u> (screwing theirs into the appropriate shape), like the <u>narang</u> (little) gobernor"."** (27-28)

108. "It was our good-humoured facetious Boongarre of whom the story is told about the mulatto child which his <u>gin</u> brought forth. If you ask Boongarre about it even now, he will shrug his shoulders, laugh heartily, and exclaim, "Oh yes! my gin eatit too much white bread!" accompanied by that sort of knowing humourous look which shows he both understands and relishes the import of the joke." (28-29)

109. Referring to an incident when a settler's son shot a bird accidentally, an Aboriginal woman said to him:
"Ah Massa William, <u>who shoot de redbill</u>? I tell you fader!" (29)

110. Asking an Aboriginal man to do a job for him:
"To this he agreed, and away he went, but returned in about three hours, declaring he could see <u>none</u>, and cooly [sic] asked me for some <u>wickeye</u> (bread) and <u>cudgel</u> (tobacco) for his trouble." (31)

111. While planning an attack on a man they didn't like the Aborigines:
"...setting one of their <u>gins</u> (wives) to amuse and deceive their entertainers by singing "Johnny stays long at the fair;" the crafty wretch actually substituting the name of the intended victim for the <u>my</u>, in "to tie up <u>my</u> bonny brown hair"." (37)

112. During a fight an Aborigine shouted:
""Come on, white fellow – black fellow no jirrand" (afraid)." (38)

113. Referring to the "evil spirit" – "Potoyan"- Cunningham said the Aborigines believe in:
"Potoyan is provoked, however, if you swing a fiery stick round! **"Dont, dont!" the timid ones will say, "Devil-devil come!"** " (41)

114. The Aborigines:
"...are found to acquire the knowledge of reading, writing, &c., almost as expertly as Europeans." (45)

CHARLES P.N. WILTON (GUNSON 1974)

115. 1828, referring to the school at Black Town which had Aboriginal and New Zealander students:
115.1 "We were however gratified in hearing them read in the English New Testament."..."We were much pleased in observing a similar circumstance a short time ago at the National School at Windsor, in the case of an Aboriginal boy, in the service of A. Bell, Esq. J.P., of that town; who manifested a degree of acuteness, superior to what we have hitherto witnessed in any other Native." (350)

115.2 "To attempt to give the 'adult' Natives in the neighbourhood of Port Jackson a written language of their own dialects, we consider, an unnecessary trouble, since their tribes are so greatly reduced in numbers, and at the same time understand the English language." (350)

ROGER OLDFIELD (GUNSON 1974)

116. 1828,
"The Aboriginal inhabitants, in N.S.W. are colloquially termed – "black fellows"; an appellation which they accept in good part; and in return entitle us – "white fellows"." (351)

117. 1820's, at Sydney:
117.1 "Bungaree accosts any gentleman he meets, quite in a familiar manner; but if the intercourse extends beyond a passing compliment he always avails himself of it to make a serious request – for the "loan" of one dump, (1 shilling and three pence)." (352)

117.2 Other Aborigines followed suit: "The familiarity of their address is sometimes taken to be impudence...We saw a Sydney black met one of the fine muscular Chiefs of New Zealand walking in the streets, to whom he went up with "How do you do, shake hands,"† but the chief only smiled at him without stopping. **This of course mortified the black, and he bestowed on him sundry abusive epithets belonging to the English tongue, which they are accustomed to apply to each other when angry; their own language not being sufficiently copious to admit these flowers of speech."** (352)

†The colonists would probably say when greeting the Aborigines "How do you do" and then, extending their hand, instruct the Aborigines to "shake hands".

117.3 "They find no difficulty in procuring liquor, or "bull" as they call it, but a small quantity affects them with intoxication; indeed, even water in which a sugar mat has been rinsed is generally sufficient. While they are in this stupid excitement, some attempt to dance and sing; others quarrel; **and there is a confused utterance of English vulgarisms, mingled with the sweet reiterations of the mother tongue – Ah, ah-wah, allah allah, wah-gha ghoo ghoo! gha ghoo ghoo!** If someone falls down dead drunk, his female companion if there be no sign of resuscitation leans over him howling and weeping, "Ah!" she will appeal to a bystander, "Ah! its my man, – give him some water? ah ah!" " (352)

118. 1828, Crossing the Mountains Oldfield and his party met with "a tribe of forty men":
118.1 **"As we met, a middle aged man accosted the foremost of us, and the following parlance took place – "Good morning sir – Good morning to you, where are you going? – Going to fight the Kumnaroy blacks – Rather you would fight them than us – Ha! ha! ha! could you give us some powder? – have you any? – Very little, only enough to charge our own pistols – Good bye master, where you set**

down (sleep) – At Kolo if we can reach there, how far is it?" – This was a foolish question but the blacks after looking up to the sky for a moment, gave it an answer – "You be there before sun-down, good day master"." (353)

118.2 Their Aboriginal guide:
"He went to a tree and stood some moments viewing its bark; we asked what he saw and after repeating the question, he answered: – "black fellow killed here, murry long while ago"." (354)

118.3 They met two young Aboriginal women and an old lady. The young ones shrieked and were afraid at first but then shook hands. The old woman: "received no manual greeting, but in the feeble querulous tone asked us for tobacco…Shortly after this we met a strong, muscular man of the age of forty, armed with a long spear or fizgig, having several barbs – "Good day, master," said he, to the foremost of us, "where you set down?" and when told in such a place, where he would soon see corn growing; he replied, "Aye, aye", with the usual intonation – and walked on about his business." (354)

118.4 At Hunters River, a "lively little boy" was practising with the "wummera", "being flattered with our attention he came to where we stood, and asked with a smile, "A'n't I a "budjerry" fellow?" Our reply, was, ""murry budjerry";" he then began to amuse us with the aboriginal dance, in which they "cut" with the knees instead of the feet. After this, "Now," said he, turning his toes out, "the white fellow's dance" – which he imitated very well." (354)

119. "We observed a lad who had a quantity of these luscious worms [witchity grubs], tied up in a sheet of bark, and enquired what they were for – "To patter," said he; and immediately "to suit the action to the word," he let a few glide down his throat. We drew back with signs of nausea, but he only laughed, and said they were "murry good for "black"-fellow"." (355)

120. "When they die, these blacks go to the dibble as they say for a short time only being quickly taken by the "Karrady"[†] into "Warredya" or heaven, a place far above "Narrawan", which is the blue sky." (355)

[†]"Karrady" = doctor (355); also Dawes (1790b).

121. "Several of them can speak English fluently, and pronounce the "th", which more polished foreigners find so difficult. They could be taught good English; but as the prisoners and remote settlers with whom they generally come in contact, accost them with the common elipsis [sic] of negroes and mounseers, mixed with slang, they form a "patois" between them, of which it is at length difficult for either to get rid." (356)

122. Referring to Aboriginal terminology:
122.1 "Dibble-dibble, a malignant apparition which roams abroad after dusk and haunts new made graves." (356)

122.2 "The notion of an evil spirit, to which they give various names in their own language, and Dibble in ours." (356)

The Sydney Gazette (R.M.W. DIXON 1980)

123. 2.1.1828,
An Aborigine about to be executed said:
"Me like it pai-alla you gentlemen...Bail Saturday tumble down white fellow, bail Jingulo tumble down white fellow, bail me tumble down white fellow – Tommy tumble down white fellow, sit down Palabbala, bulla jin, like it me, brother."

Translated as:
"I would like to speak to you, sir... It wasn't Saturday who killed the white man, it wasn't Jingulo who killed the white man, and it wasn't me who killed the white man – Tommy, who lives at Palabbala, and has two gins (wives) and is as like me as my brother, killed the white man." (71)

W.S. RAMSON (1970)

124. 1832, the grazier T.L. Mitchell attempted to converse with Liverpool Plains Aborigines using the Sydney variety of NSW Pidgin:
"The string of low slang words which the natives nearer the colony suppose to be our language, while our stockmen believe they speak theirs, was of no use here. In vain did Dawkins address them thus: "What for you jerran budgerry whitefellow? Whitefellow brother belongit to blackfellow." (43)

DAVID COATES (1838)

125. 28.4.1838, quoting W. Watson, missionary to Wellington with the C.M.S.:
"On the first Sunday that the mail left Wellington Valley, as soon as Service at the Church was closed, the Aboriginal natives pointed to the Post Office Clerk (who had his Fowling piece Shooting Ducks) opposite the mission house, saying **"there is white fellow, white fellow shoot on Sunday".**" (509-511)

WILLIAM ROMAINE GOVETT (1836–1837, REPR. 1977)

All written 1836-1837,
126. **"They catch our language much sooner than we do theirs; and though at first they make a strange confusion and misapplication of words, they are soon able to express themselves, especially to make known their wants; so that, as we went from one gunya to another, we were saluted with "Goot morning, ebening," and "night," indiscriminately; and if one of them was asked whether such a female was his mother, the reply would probably be, "No; that my uncle," or "brother"; and on the contrary, when asked, "Is such a one your brother?" "No; that my sister, &c." One of them, who, I was informed had been to Sydney, was troubled with a cough, and being questioned, he said he was "murray" (very) "bad", and he believed that it would "hang" him; meaning, that it would choke him; and then he described an execution he had witnessed."** (29-30)

127. An Aborigine eating witchety grubs **"pronounced them, tapping his chest, "Capital"!"** (32)

128.1 "Another black was seen pointing with his finger to the fresh marks of an opossum that had ascended the tree in the night to take shelter in a hole during the day, upon which he exclaimed, as he looked upward, **in as much of English as he was master of, "Me megalitz, (me see him); Me pi him cobberra direckaly, (me strike him on the head directly)"."** (32)

128.2 **"Look out massa; me pi him directly."** (34)

128.3 The same Aborigine referred to ant eggs as:
"Budgerry patta, (Good food)." (34)

128.4. **"Me megalet budgerry honey, (I see good honey!). 'You see,' said he, pointing upwards to the place."** (34)

128.5. On putting a small piece of bark and a leaf with some red ant gum on a lacerated leg he said "it would soon be "budgerry", or well." (35)

129. An Aborigine pointed out a whip snake, to Govett, and remarked:
"There, see that fellow, that bite you, tumble down "direckerly"." (42)

130. An Aborigine after a koala (referred to by the author as a monkey) said:
130.1. **"Me catch the rascal directly."** (59)
"Me got him rascal." (61)
The Aborigine climbed the tree after the koala and getting a rope over its neck said:
"Come along, you rascal, come, come, come." (61)

130.2 Govett borrowed an Aborigine's fishing line and entangled it, so tried to get a new one for him but couldn't. The following interview took place next morning:
""Goot morning, massa, you catch him fish." "Bale", (no) said I. "Me want it line", said the native. I shook my head. He looked suspicious, and presently exclaimed, "I believe you hook him rock, "murray, murray" (very) stupid you."...He seemed to blame himself for trusting his line to such unworthy hands, as he constantly sighed "murray stupid me"." (64)

REVEREND LANCELOT THRELKELD (1838)

131. May, 1838, at a trial of an Aboriginal man:
"An Aborigine named M'Gill, who when questioned by Judge Burton, as to his knowledge of God – on the nature of an oath – of truth – and of future punishment; his replies were so intelligent, as to induce the Judge to enquire, if I had baptised him..." (20)

HORATIO HALE AND JAMES AGATE (GUNSON 1974 VOL.1)

132.1 1839, at Lake Macquarie they offered the Aborigines "bull (grog)" to guide them. (156)

132.2 "One of them, whose "sobriquet" was Big-headed Blackboy, was stretched out before the fire, and no answer could be obtained from him, but a drawling repetition, in grunts of displeasure, of **"Bel (not) me want to go"."** (156)

132.3 When they found they had to walk around Lake Macquarie to reach Threlkeld's house:
"The guides were here again taken with sullenness and refused to proceed. They were proof against all promises and abuse, and debt replying, **"Me marry (very) tired, bel (not) me want to go".**" (156)

JAMES GUNTHER (1842)

133. 7.1.1842,
"Until the minds of the Aborigines are more cultivated, the cultivation of their language will not proceed fast; during this delay their number will decrease, and the remnant become more conversant with English." (484)

WALTER THOMAS (1843)

134. 1843, referring to a "native tracker":
"He eyed on some soft ground the print of the man's shoe, and then another; he said **"me me no gammon".**" (540)

135. 1843, Warriee of the "Goulburn Tribe" who stayed with Thomas:
He occasionally wished for his wife and children, saying "if he had them he would no more go back to his own country". (541)

136. 1843, a group of Aborigines said:
"Holding up two loaves...**"no like this at Nerre Nerre Warren, no good Nerre Nerre Warren, Marnameek (very good) Melbourne".**"
Nerre Nerre Warren was where Warriee and Coldmorning came from. (541)

LOUISA ANNE MEREDITH (1844, REPR. 1973)

137. 1839-1844,
An Aboriginal said to Mr. Meredith:
""Lady there, that Gin 'long o' you? Ay, Ay?"
"Yes, that's my Gin." – "Ay, Ay?"
"Bel you got Gin (you have no Gin); poor fellow you – you no Gin!"" (93)

138. **""Pyook" means pipe."** (93)

139. **"They have an <u>evil</u> spirit, which causes them great terror, whom they call "Yahoo", "Devil, Devi – "Yahoo" being used to express a bad spirit or "Bugaboo", was common also with the aborigines of Van Dieman's Land, and is likely to be a coincidence with, as a loan from, Dean Swift; just as their word "coolar", for anger, very nearly approaches in sound our word "choler", with a like meaning."** (95)

140. **"I believe Dingo patta!...[meaning] I believe the dingo ate it."; "Mundoey that-a-way, cobbra "that"-a-way... [meaning] feet going one way, and head or face pointing the other [Which was the way Yahoo used to travel]"."**(95)

141. "As my few examples of their patois will show, the natives who are acquainted with the settlers soon acquire a curiously composite tongue, where English words sometimes masquerade in most novel meanings, but so arranged as to be very soon understood, especially if to beg anything." (96)

142.1 ""Grasse" is used to express hair, beard or moustache." (98) (Note: this is the same as in Tok Pisin, e.g. *maus gras* is moustache.)

142.2 ""Cabou" means a great deal or very much." (98)

143. "Most of the natives are shrewd and clever mimics." (99)

144. Goulburn Aborigines to Mr. Meredith when asked by Mr. Meredith why they were armed while visiting a Bathurst tribe:
"If we keep our weapons, very well, all go right; if we came without, directly they "jump up coolar" (pick a quarrel or get angry)." (101)

145. Aborigine explaining why Aborigines don't build houses:
"Ay, ay! White fellow think it best that-a-way – Black fellow think it best "that"-a-way." (103)

146. An Aborigine to some pigs in a sty:
146.1 ""Ay, ay, budgeree fellow you! sit in gunyon all day – white fellow grind for you!" (Ay, ay you're a lucky fellow, can lie in a house all day, whilst a white man grinds for you!)." (104)

146.2 "The word "gunyon", or house, they apply to everything that seems appropriated to contain any article. My husband had a silver pipe-case for the pocket, and they used to say his pyook had a "gunyon all along of himself'. A dog-kennel would be a "gunyon 'long of dingo," &c." (104)

146.3 Aborigines begged for:
""Pyook, nyook, owrangey bit o' bacco." (A pipe, and a knife, and a little bit of tobacco)." (104)

147. ""You maan waddie 'long fire," means "Go and fetch firewood"." (106)

148. ""Bel 'possum cry!" – (opossum don't cry!)." (112)

DAVID BUNCE (1844)

149. 1844, an Aborigine said:
"now me go"
"me bye and by [sic] come back"
"blackfellow come come good while ago."

RICHARD BROOME (1982)

150. 1845, Mahroot, the last of the originally four hundred-strong Botany Bay people remarked:
"Well Mither (Mr.)...all black-fellow gone! All this my country! Pretty place Botany! Little Pickaninny, I run about here. Plenty black-fellow then; corrobbory; great fight; all canoe about. Only me left now, Mitter – Poor gin mine tumble

down (die). **All gone! Bury her like a lady, Mitter -; all put in coffin, English fashion. I feel lump in throat when I talk about her but – I buried her all very genteel, Mitter -"** (61)

MAHROOT, ALIAS THE BOATSWAIN (1845)

151. 8.9.1845, Interview (943-947). (Note: This interview seems to have been anglicised. But it also shows elements of Mahroot speaking 'interlanguage' and 'pidgin'. Compared to the ensuing interviews with native English speakers, Mahroot's answers are very short and display features of the aforementioned speech types. It is a very lengthy transcript and is therefore not reproduced here. See the Bibliography for a full reference.)

CHARLES HODGKINSON (BAKER 1966)

152. 1845,
"The jargon which the stockman [sic] and the sawyers suppose to be the language of the natives, whilst they suppose it to be ours, and which is the ordinary medium of communication between the squatters and the tame black-fellows." (313)

JAMES MALCOLM (1845)

153. September, 1845, in an interview:
"Are the natives at all employed by the settlers about your district either regularly or occasionally?
Very seldom; they do not like to work – if you ask them to do anything, their answer is,
"Plenty white man work – "boorak" (that is "no") work." (955)
"For my part I do not think the Protectors have done much to promote their civilisation; **there are very few of them who can speak English, and those only a few words..."** (957)
"I think you say you have not come much in contact with them?
I have not.
And but few of them speak English?
Yes, only a few words as **"give me white money," "give me black money,"** and a few expressions of that nature; when they meet me in the town they ask me for money, but I tell them to come to me at the station, and then I will give them food." (957)

DAVID DUNLOP (1845)

154. 1845, in a survey reply, referring to the Wollombi, Ellalong and Maitland Aborigines:
"The men have an insuperable objection to wear any slop clothing that resembles the convict dress; as an instance, six pairs of trousers having the government brand, were distributed by order of His Excellency, I could find none in use at the end of one week; and the only answer to my enquiry was, **"no good, all same like croppy"."** (972)
"I cannot convey an idea of the energetic feeling of the chief when pleading for his very few old women and sick young ones **all so cold, no hut, no blanket, no light fire on white fellow's ground,** adding indignantly – **"what we do, bail not fight like New Zealand fellow no! I gave land, and have cold, and very hunger. No, did no bad, we not**

get blanket! what for?"" (972) (Note: The bold text before the internal inverted commas seems to indicate Dunlop using NSW Pidgin.)

"The men, too, have exultingly shown us their children, saying **"there, look him boy black fellow".**" (973)

"Already our aborigines begin to count their time by Sundays, when **"day him no work".**" (973)

HENRY WILSON HUTCHINSON SMYTHE (1845)

155. 1845, in a survey reply, referring to all Aborigines who had been living in association with colonists:

"The younger Aborigines have in most cases, acquired a good knowledge of our language; sufficiently to enabl [sic] them to receive instruction, were such a project meditated." (983)

JAMES MACARTHUR (1849)

156. 1840's,

"Charley Tann, a native of Burra Burra, near Goulburn, in my service...his last moments were devoted to kind messages to myself and family, and his last words were "God bless you all"." (33)

HENRY REYNOLDS (1972)

157. 1861, W. Ridley's evidence to the Select Committee on the Native Mounted Police.
Before 1861:

"Bungaree, who after taking prizes in Sydney College, speaking good Latin, and behaving as a gentleman in elegant society, returned to the bush, and then entered the black police, once said in a melancholy tone to Lt. Fulford 'I wish I had never been taken out of the bush, and educated as I have been, for I cannot be a white man, they will never look on me as one of themselves; and I cannot be a blackfellow, I am disgusted with their way of living'." (59)

EDWARD MICKLETHWAITE CURR (1883)

158. Referring to mid 1800's:
"This was the party which the black fellow had described as consisting of "Towsan", which, all the country over, is the aboriginal English for any number over half a dozen." (116)

APPENDIX 2

ABORIGINES LIVING WITH OR SPENDING EXTENDED PERIODS OF TIME WITH COLONISTS

1. From 1788 corroborees were performed by Aborigines, especially for the Governors, and friendly colonists.

2. 1788, ARABANOO

Adult male. He was captured by Lt. Ball on 30.12.1788 (Collins 1975:1/118). He was chained until he was reconciled to living in the settlement (Bradley 1969:161). Died 18.5.1789, from smallpox (Hunter 1968:135; Bradley 1969:163). It is likely that he was captured near Sydney and was a speaker of Iyora.

3. 1789, ABOOROO OR BOORONG

A girl aged 13 when she survived the smallpox plague (with Nanbarry) and began to live with Reverend Johnson's wife (Bradley 1969:162-3). By the end of 1790, had returned to her people and was married. Her marriage was the reason for her return (Hunter 1968:466, 479). Tench reports a 14 year old girl recovering from smallpox who "was received as an inmate with great kindness, in the family of Mrs. Johnson, the clergyman's wife" (Tench 1979:148). Tench said her real name was "Bòo-ron" (Tench 1979:148). She is likely to have been from the Sydney or Botany Bay areas and would have spoken local languages.

4. 1789, NANBARRY

A boy aged seven when he survived the smallpox plague (with Abooroo and went to live with the surgeon (Bradley 1969:162-163). Tench said "Nàn-bar-ee" was about nine years old when he recovered from smallpox, and was adopted by Mr. White the Surgeon General of the settlement, "and henceforth became one of his family" as all his own family had died (Tench 1979:148). He is likely to have been from the Sydney or Botany Bay areas and would have spoken local languages.

5. 1789, BENNELONG AND COLBEY

Captured and shackled 25 November, 1789 (Hunter 1968:167; Bradley 1969:181). Known to Abooroo and Nanbarry (Hunter 1968:167; Bradley 1969:183). "A convict was charged with each of them" and they slept in the same room (Bradley 1969:185). After Colbey escaped, on 12 December 1789 (Hunter 1968:169), "Benallon" was chained to his convict keeper (Bradley 1969:185). "Bennillong" escaped in April 1790 (Hunter 1968:204; Collins 1975:1/110). "Bennillong"'s 'civilised' manners after returning from England; even fought Caruey, his wife's lover (Gooroobarrooboolloo), with his fists (Collins 1975:1/367-368). Bennelong and Colbey were quite confident in freely visiting the colonists' settlement after their escape (Hunter 1968:205). Bennelong sailed with Governor Phillip to Rose Hill (Hunter 1968:489). "Colbee (35 [years old]) was identified by Nanbaree and Abaroo as a chief among the Cadigal, and that he seemed to be a check upon the

cheerful temper of Bana-long, who was noticed to be much more cheerful after Colbee's escape." (Hunter, quoted in Tench 1979:200). Bennelong was given a house and assumed authority over the local Aborigines, at least in the eyes of the colonists; he was used as a mediator (Tench 1979:200). Bennelong was from the Broken Bay area (Tench 1979:170), Colbey was captured with Bennelong and therefore was probably from the same area. It is likely they were speakers or Guringgai and/or Iyora.

6. 1790/1, IM-EERAWANYEE

A young man of Bennelong's 'tribe' became a favourite and lived at the governor's house (Tench 1979:202-203).

7. 1789 TO 1790

With the first smallpox outbreak many Aborigines were driven to the settlement for help (Tench 1979:146ff).

8. 1790

Aborigines who were "the Governor's guests" – Woolarawery, Ocultroway, Benallon, Kebada Colby, and the children Nanbary and Abooroo (Dr. Southwell to Rev. Butler 1790:348).

9. OCTOBER, 1790

"The natives now visited the settlement daily" (Hunter 1968:473).

10. FEBRUARY 1791, BONDEL

Went to Norfolk Island with Captain Hill (Collins 1975:1/147), "the first who had confidence and courage enough to go to sea" (Bradley 1969:245). Bondel was a small boy who had been attached to Hill since his father was killed in battle and his mother by a shark (Tench 1979:218).

11. 1791

"Before I left Port Jackson the natives were become very familiar and intimate with every person in the settlement" (Hunter 1968:210).

12. JANUARY 1791

"Colebe"'s second wife lived with Governor Phillip's servants (Hunter 1968:497). She left after ten days and joined "Colebe" again; "but she frequently visited Sydney, and was said to have granted favours to several of the convicts" (Hunter 1968:503). Another young Aboriginal man and woman also went to live with the Governor's servants (Hunter 1968:497).

13. JANUARY, 1791

Two boys who had been living with the Governor were initiated (Hunter 1968:506).

14. 1791

An Aboriginal girl living at the Governor's house departed (Hunter 1968:500).

15. 1791

"Colebe" and Ballederry accompanied Governor Phillip and a party intending to reach the Hawkesbury opposite Richmond Hill, they crossed the river and reached the mountains (Hunter 1968:513; Tench 1979:223-238).

16. JUNE 1791, BALLEDERRY.

Ballederry's canoe was destroyed by convicts. He had established a trade of fish for colonists' goods. "Ballederry was one whom the governor had hopes of attaching to himself, and intended bringing him to England" (Hunter 1968:533-534). Ballederry killed a colonist in revenge for the destruction of his canoe. The Governor was very angry with him and only allowed him to return to the colony after he became very sick. Ballederry then remained in the hospital (Hunter 1968:539).

17. APRIL 1792

Several young Aborigines lived with the settlers in the town "and the different houses in the town were frequently visited by their relations" (Collins 1975:1/174)

18. JUNE 1793

Aborigines were becoming a nuisance, stealing from the settlement. Aborigines "reside in the town and mix with the inhabitants in the most unreserved manner" (Collins 1975:1/249). They did "odd jobs" – collecting firewood, water carrying etc. to obtain bread and clothing and blankets. They also begged for bread.

19. APRIL 1794

An Aborigine was taken by Lt. Hansen on the "Daedelus" to several Pacific Islands. "Wherever he went he readily adopted the customs of the people...on "Owhyhee" he was a great favourite of the king, who wanted to keep him" (Collins 1975:1/302).

20. 1798, WAR-RE-WEER WO-GUL MI.

A girl closely related to Bennelong lived with free settlers (Collins 1975:2/89).

21. 1799, BONG-REE.

August 1799, an Aborigine from the north side of Broken Bay accompanied Flinders on the "Norfolk" sloop, north of Port Jackson. He was "noted for his good disposition and manly conduct". (Collins 1975:2/161-162)

22. 22.7.1804

"A Native of Sydney "Mongoul" assisting a ship captain, Mr. Draffin of the sloop "Contest"" *(The Sydney Gazette* 1965:2/2b,c,4c).

23. 2.9.1804

An Aboriginal child of two or three years was found and being raised by a settler *(The Sydney Gazette* 1965:2/2b,c).

24. 2.12.1804

Death of "the first of the savage inhabitants of this colony introduced to civil society." He had been raised among colonists and did not like Aborigines or speak other than English *(The Sydney Gazette* 1965:2/22b,c).

Reverend Marsden was raising another Aboriginal child *(The Sydney Gazette* 1965:2/2b,c).

25. DECEMBER 1811, BOODBURY.

On Macquarie's expedition north to Port Stephens Boodbury and John Warbey were guides (Macquarie 1956:117).

26. 1816

Macquarie captured some hostile Aborigines from the Cow Pastures, Windsor and Liverpool; his soldiers were aided by some friendly Aborigines (Macquarie 1818:247).

27. 1818, ABORIGINES LIVING NEAR COLONISTS

"Their manners are very much corrupted by the Europeans whose vices they copy" (Lawry 1818:375).

28. 1820

Governor Lachlan Macquarie, on his trip to "the western and southern countries, 1820" took Aborigines, probably as guides and it is likely he usually did so (Macquarie 1822:144).

29. 1820

Aboriginal guide at Taree (Macquarie 1956:159).

30. 1825, LAKE MACQUARIE ABORIGINES

Threlkeld's LMS mission: "We had several natives employed at a place in the aboriginal tongue called Pi-to-ba, situated on the borders of Lake Macquarie...One European was employed to direct their labours, and about ten acres of land were being cleared for a plantation by the Blacks themselves...The mission had to provide for the gang of aborigines whilst thus engaged at work for the missionary station. It appeared desirable, that the mission should, if possible, after it was once established, become self-supporting" (Gunson 1974:1/54-55) M'Gill, the Aborigine who was Threlkeld's most important informant in his Aboriginal languge studies, "had grown up in the Sydney barracks" (Gunson 1974:1/79).

31. 1826

Reverend Samuel Marsden had the Aborigine Harry living with him and learning English. Caley had an Aborigine called Daniel living with him (Gunson 1974:2/347-349). Marsden took his protege boy, Samuel Christian, to England and on the return voyage, 1810 the boy left him in Rio de Janeiro. Soon after Captain Piper brought him back and he died not long after in Sydney Hospital (Willey 1979:217).

32. 1826

"Many of the Natives who frequent Sydney and other settled parts of the Country speak English remarkably well...The appearance of the Natives about Sydney is extremely disgusting - those who reside at a distance, are a much finer race, which may in some degree be accounted for by their not having such frequent access to the use of Spirits, in which the former indulge to an almost injurious and disgusting excess" (Threlkeld quoted in Gunson 1974:1/168).

33. 1827

"The natives throughout the county of Cumberland have become so much dependent upon the whites, that without what they beg, earn, or steal, they could not well exist. The Sydney tribes live chiefly by fishing, being well supplied with hooks and lines by individuals in the town, to whom they bring all the fish they catch, receiving payment in old clothes, bread, and rum. The most disgraceful scenes of debauchery originating from the traffic in the last-mentioned article have subsisted hitherto unrestrained, to which it is hoped our present excellent governor will speedily put an end. Personal prostitution among those associating with the whites is carried on to a great extent, the husbands disposing of the favours of their wives to the convict servants for a slice of bread or a pipe of tobacco. The children produced by this intercourse are generally sacrificed." (Cunningham 1827/1:19)

34.

"Toward the Hawkesbury and Cow-pasture, the aborigines are not near so debased as around Sydney, and most of them will live in huts if they are built for them. Many of these too will work at harvest, and attend to other matters about the farm, having been brought up from infancy among the farming whites; but their working is only by fits and starts, little dependence being to be placed thereon. Several are employed and paid as constables, and many now retained on clothes and rations, in pursuance of Governor Darling's admirable regulations, for tracking thieves and bushrangers." (Cunningham 1827/1:25)

35. 1828

"an Aboriginal boy, in the service of A. Bell Esq. J.P." of Black Town (Threlkeld quoted in Gunson 1974:2/350).

36. 1828 AND REFERRING TO THE EARLY 1820s

"Some individuals of the Botany Bay tribe have been on whaling voyages, and had their "lay" with the rest of the sailors...A few have also recently been apprenticed as sailors from the Orphan School, and will probably do well. Previously to this attempt on behalf of Bungaree, in December, Macquarie

instituted an annual feast at Parramatta for all the chiefs who chose to attend, along with their tribes. This feast is still commemorated and the last year it was attended by 160 blacks; being most probably as many as there are, on this side of the mountains, between Broken Bay and the Five Islands. At this feast, the Governor usually attends, and holds a conference with the chiefs. We will here mention a trifling incident that occurred previously to one of these conferences, which shows the part Macquarie took to ingratiate the blacks. A fine fellow of the name of Kogee, chief of the Cow Pastures, with the naive independence of one of who was conscious that he was "born to be no man's slave", walked up to Government House, and caused himself to be announced; an order was given for his admittance; and he entered the drawing room, accompanied by his three wives, one of which we are assured was an engaging woman. Macquarie shook hands with the chief, and turning to Captain Lockyer, who had recently returned from India, "Captain Lockyer", said he in his usual tone, "allow me to introduce Kogee to you, a chief in whom I have great confidence, and am under obligations, for his services in taking bushrangers – this is Kogee's head-wife – Kogee take a glass of wine" – After the wine was handed, Kogee and his wives retired." (Gunson 1974:2/352)

37. 1836-1837, CHARLEY

A boy, taken from his mother in infancy, lived with a "gentleman of the interior", until he returned to the Aborigines at the age of 15 (Govett 1977:27-28).

38. DECEMBER, 1839, LAKE MACQUARIE ABORIGINES

On a walk Horatio Hale and James Agate noted, "They came across a group of several blacks (natives) seated around a small fire; they were pointed out as the remnant of the tribes which about forty years ago wandered in freedom over the plains of the Hunter and around the borders of Lake Macquarie" (Gunson 1974/1:155).

39. 1838-1845

See NSW Select Committee on the Aborigines and Protectorate 1849 for accounts of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal "half caste" children being killed by the Aborigines.

40. 1839-1844

"Some of the native "attaches" to the establishments of settlers become useful servants. However, they tend to return to their people after a while." (Meredith 1973:100)

41. 1845

Several "half caste" children were living with their non-Aboriginal progenitor (Polding 1845:949).

42. 1849

In a survey of settlers about their opinions of the state of the Aborigines, most said that the Aboriginal condition had deteriorated due to their contact with the "low class white population" (NSW Select Committee on the Aborigines and Protectorate 1849:449-475).

APPENDIX 3

THE POPULATION OF NEW SOUTH WALES: 1788 TO 1845

1. TOTAL POPULATION

YEAR	POPULATION	YEAR	POPULATION
1788	1024	1815	12911
1790	591	1816	15175
1791	2887	1817	17265
1792	3120	1819	26026
1793	3016	1820	23939
1795	3388	1821	29783
1796	4016	1825	31016
1798	5000	1828	36598
1799	4746	1829	41437
1800	4958	1830	46276
1801	5515	1831	51115
1802	5975	1832	55954
1803	7127	1833	60794
1804	7035	1834	66228
1804	7035	1835	71662
1805	7064	1836	77096
1806	6935	1837	85267
1807	7563	1838	97912
1810	10452	1839	114386
1811	10025	1840	129463
1812	10521	1841	130856
1813	12173	1842	157085
1814	13116	1845	181541

2. CONVICT POPULATION

DATE	MALES	FEMALES	TOTAL	% TOTAL POPULATION
1788	529	188	717	74.2
1790	297	70	367	62.1
1791	2013	345	2358	81.6
1792	2105	360	2465	79.5
1793	1836	442	2278	75.6
1795	1625	554	2179	67.9
1796	1633	755	2388	59.5
1799	1244	500	1744	34.2
1800	1230	328	1558	31.6
1804	1985	601	2586	36.4
1805	1561	516	2077	29.8
1819	8920	1066	9986	38.3
1820	-----	-----	10873	45.4
1821	11342	893	12235	41.1
1826	15220	1093	16313	----
1827	15877	1172	17049	----
1828	16442	1544	16986	46.4
1830	------	-----	18571	40.1
1831	------	-----	21825	42.7
1832	------	-----	24154	43.1
1833	------	-----	23357	38.4
1834	------	-----	25200	38.0
1835	------	-----	27340	38.1
1836	25254	2577	27831	36.1
1837	------	-----	32102	37.7
1840	------	-----	38305	29.6
1841	23844	3133	26977	20.6
1843	------	-----	20717	12.3
1844	------	-----	19175	11.1
1845	------	-----	16843	9.3

APPENDIX 4

COLONISTS WHO LIVED WITH THE ABORIGINES

1. 1789, BLACK CAESAR

"One of the convicts, a negro had twice eloped, with an intention of establishing himself in the society of the natives, with a wish to adopt their customs and to live with them: but he was always repulsed by them; and compelled to return to us from hunger and wretchedness." (Tench 1979:159)

2. MID 1790s, INLAND OF PORT STEPHENS

Four convicts lived with the Aborigines, learnt some Aboriginal language and were believed by the Aborigines to be spirits, (Collins 1975/1:356-357). August 1795, four escaped convicts were found living with the Port Stephens Aborigines (Tench 1979:316).

3. 1795, JOHN WILSON

Wilson was an ex-mariner who arrived in Australia in 1795. He spent much of his time with the Aborigines but also helped in the exploration of N.S.W. In 1799, he rejoined the Aborigines and was killed by an Aborigine, in 1800, for taking a young woman of his tribe. Collins called him Bun-bo-è (Collins 1975/1:596 note 5, 2:214-125).

4. 1795, WILSON AND KNIGHT

See John Wilson for details on Wilson. Two convicts who joined together in August 1795. They attempted to steal two white women, were arrested and escaped. They "soon mixed with companions whom they preferred to our overseers", that is, Aborigines (Collins 1975/1:356). The Aborigines attacking the Hawkesbury settlers were said to be led by these two who used a "direct and assist" technique (Collins 1975/1:382-383). They showed the Aborigines that a discharged musket was useless and thus removed the Aborigines' fear of guns. In 1797, Collins (1975:2/25) reported that some runaway convicts had joined the Aborigines and encouraged their attacks on the settlement, he was probably referring to Wilson and Knight.

5. 1797, MARY MORGAN

It was reported that Mary Morgan was living with the Aborigines north of Broken Bay, for two to three years (Collins 1975/2: 22).

6. 2.9.1804,

Lane Cove Aborigines hold farm servants captive (*The Sydney Gazette* 1965:2/2b,c).

7. 1824, JOHN GRAHAM

He was an escaped convict who lived with a tribe beyond Parramatta for six years. (Gibbings 1957:60-63).

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ABBREVIATIONS:

AAS	*Australian Aboriginal Studies*
AIAS	Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies
ALRC	*Australian Language Research Centre* (papers from)
ALS	*Australian Language Studies*
BT	*Bonwich Transcripts*
HRA	*Historical Records of Australia*
JRAHS	*Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*
ML	Mitchell Library
NSW VPLC	*New South Wales Votes and Proceedings of the Legislative Council*
PL	*Pacific Linguistics*

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1909-10, 11: 20, 40, 60, 80, 100, 120, 140, 160, 180, 200, 209.

1910-11, 12:17, 37, 57, 77, 97, 117, 137, 157, 177, 193, 214, 235.

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