MELALEUKA

A history and description of New South Wales Pidgin

volume 1

Jakelin Fleur Troy

June 1994

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
of The Australian National University

This thesis is solely the original work of Jakelin Fleur Troy.

Jakelin Troy
1 June 1994

ABSTRACT

This thesis is about the genesis and development of the first pidgin English in Australia, called here New South Wales Pidgin. It presents a detailed analysis of the history of the language and a diachronic analysis of developments in the grammar and lexicon of the language. 'Melaleuka' refers to the model devised for the purposes of this thesis to explain the hypothesis on which the work is premised—that NSW Pidgin existed in two dialect forms.

The time frame addressed is from the late eighteenth century when the language had its inception to the middle of the nineteenth century when it was consolidated. The geographical area of study encompasses the states of New South Wales and Victoria. The area was known as the colony of New South Wales until the middle of the nineteenth century.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Many people and organisations have helped me in all the stages that led to the production of this thesis.

I would particularly like to acknowledge the help, encouragement and support of my family—my husband Pádraigh O'Leary, my parents Shirley and Eric Troy, my grandfather Henry Beed and my sister Martine Troy.

My mother drew the beautiful maps that are so important to this work.

I will be forever grateful to my supervisors Tom Dutton, Darrell Tryon and the late Don Laycock for their patience, persistence and support through all phases of the research and writing of this thesis.

Many other people have given me their time and advice about aspects of the thesis, particularly Andy Pawley, Harold Koch, Geremie Barmé, Linda Jaivin, Stephen Wurm, Lois Carrington and Carol Budge.

The staff of the Library of the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies, the Bathurst Historical Society, the Mitchell Library and State Library of NSW and the National Library of Australia have all been most helpful in helping me carry out the necessary research for this thesis.

CONTENTS

VOLUME ONE

Abbreviations i-ii

Maps

1	Area of study	iii
2	Settlement spread 1788 to 1900	iv
3	New South Wales Cumberland County 1835	v
4	Aboriginal language boundaries (after Walsh 1981)	vi
5	Area in which the Sydney Language was recorded	vii
6-17	Maps of land exploration	viii-xiii
18	LE Threlkeld: the Lake Macquarie Aboriginal missions	xiv
19	Australian Agricultural Company estates	xv
20	New South Wales: the nineteen counties 1835	xvi
21	New South Wales squattage districts 1847	xvii

1	Introduction	1
1.1	Aim and scope	1
1.2	Theoretical issues	4
1.2.1	Overview	4
1.2.2	Meaning of the term 'pidgin'	5
1.2.3	Studies of pidgin and creole history	6
1.2.4	D'Costa and Lalla's study of Jamaican Creole	7
1.2.5	Inputs to NSW Pidgin	8
1.2.6	The 'Melaleuka model'	11
1.3	Materials and Method	12
1.3.1	The data	12
1.3.2	The NSW Pidgin wordlist	14
1.3.3	Organisation	18
2	Sydney, 1788-1792: language contact begins	19
2.1	Introduction	19
2.2	Historical background	23
2.2.1	Phillip's official instructions to open communication	23
2.2.2	The colonists' preconceptions about Aboriginal people	24
2.2.3	Botany Bay: the beginning of language contact	25
2.2.4	Port Jackson: attempts to establish permanent communication	27
2.2.5	The use of the Cook expedition's Guugu Yimidhirr wordlist	38
2.2.6	Phillip's linguistic experiments	39
2.2.6.1	Arabanoo	
2.2.6.2	Nanbaree and Boorong	
2.2.6.3	Bennelong and Colby	
2.2.7	Devastation of the Aboriginal population by disease	54
2.2.8	Arrival of the Second Fleet	57
2.2.9	Establishment of permanent communication between Aboriginal people and the colony	59
2.2.10	The incorporation of Aboriginal people into colonial society	66
2.2.11	Development of an Aboriginal coterie in Sydney	71
2.2.12	First encounters with inland Aboriginal people	73
2.2.13	Deterioration of relations between the Aboriginal population and the colonists	76
2.2.14	The development of the colonists' knowledge about Aboriginal	80

	languages	
2.2.15	Acquisition of knowledge of English by the Aboriginal population	85
2.2.16	Opinions held by the Aboriginal community about the colony	88
2.2.17	Attempts by Aboriginal people to adapt to colonial society	92
2.2.18	Interactions between Aboriginal women and colonists	95
2.3	Linguistic evidence	99
2.3.1	Introduction	99
2.3.2	The sources and their reliability	101
2.3.2.1	The Sydney language notebooks	
2.3.2.2	First Fleet journals, letters and diaries	
2.3.3	Gestural communication	105
2.3.4	Analysis of the linguistic data for contact language	107
2.3.4.1	Borrowings and lexical innovations	
2.3.4.2	Language mixing	
2.3.4.3	Simplification of language	
2.4	Conclusion	116
3	The Cumberland Plain and beyond, 1792 to 1830: the inception and early stabilisation of NSW Pidgin	118
3.1	Introduction	118
3.2	Historical background	122
3.2.1	The Cumberland Plain	122
3.2.1.1	Spanish explorers describe the colony in 1793	
3.2.1.2	Spread of settlement across the Cumberland Plain	
3.2.1.3	The perpetuation of Aboriginal cultural practices in Sydney	
3.2.1.4	Cross-cultural relations in Sydney to September 1796	
3.2.1.5	The 'Woodlanders' oppose the spread of settlement	
3.2.1.6	Early explorations beyond the Cumberland Plain and encounters with Aboriginal people	
3.2.1.7	Aboriginal people who voyaged outside NSW	
3.2.1.7.1	'Collins' sent on a voyage to acquire English.	
3.2.1.7.2	Bennelong and Yemmerrawanie's visit to England	
3.2.1.8	Colonists living with Aboriginal people	
3.2.1.9	Lachlan Macquarie, the expansion of settlement and optimism about the 'civilisation' of the Aboriginal population	
3.2.1.10	The neglect of the Sydney Aboriginal population in the 1820s	
3.2.2	The northern district	154
3.2.2.1	Rev Lancelot Threlkeld's mission at Lake Macquarie	
3.2.3	The southern district	166
3.3	Linguistic evidence	168
3.3.1	The inception of NSW Pidgin: 1793 to 1804	168
3.3.1.1	Anecdotal comment	
3.3.1.2	Aboriginal linguistic practices which promoted English borrowings	
3.3.1.3	Bennelong's letter, 1796	
3.3.1.4	Daniel Paine's data, mid 1790s	
3.3.1.5	'George Barrington's' data, 1795	
3.3.1.6	James Grant's data, 1801	
3.3.1.7	Conclusions about NSW Pidgin: 1793-1804	
3.3.2	NSW Pidgin: 1804 to 1830	184
3.3.2.1	Anecdotal comment	
3.3.2.2	Joseph Holt's Sydney data, 1800-1812	
3.3.2.3	Leigh and Lawry's data 1817-18	
3.3.2.4	The northern district	
3.3.2.4.1	Rev Daniel Tyerman and George Bennet's data	
3.3.2.4.2	Rev Lancelot Threlkeld's data, 1825 to 1830	
3.3.2.4.3	Cunningham, Mansfield, Hale and Agate's data	
3.3.2.5	Sydney, 1820-1830	

3.4 Conclusion 207

4 Port Stephens, 1825-30: the consolidation of NSW Pidgin 210
4.1 Introduction 210
4.2 Historical background 212
4.2.1 Selection of the AACo 's grant 212
4.2.2 Development of a relationship between Aboriginal people of Port Stephens and Robert Dawson 214
4.2.3 Integration of Aboriginal people into the AACo settlement 219
4.2.4 Relations with Aboriginal people from outside the Port Stephens district 222
4.2.5 Independent observation of Dawson's relationship with Aboriginal people 223
4.2.6 Dawson's general observations about Aboriginal people within the settled districts 226
4.2.7 Aboriginal languages, trade and communication networks in the Port Stephens district 228
4.3 Linguistic evidence 234
4.3.1 Introduction 234
4.3.2 Grammar and lexicon of NSW Pidgin spoken at Port Stephens 238
4.3.2.1 Introduction
4.3.2.2 Lexicon
4.3.2.3 Morphology
4.3.2.4 Nouns
4.3.2.4.1 Determiners
4.3.2.4.2 Number
4.3.2.5 Pronouns
4.3.2.6 Verbs
4.3.2.7 Adjectives
4.3.2.8 Adverbs
4.3.2.9 Prepositions
4.3.2.10 Sentence structure
4.3.2.11 Interjections
4.3.2.12 Borrowed sentences and phrases
4.3.2.13 Songs
4.4 Additional Port Stephens data 266
4.4.1 'Alfred Dudley' 266
4.4.2 Charles De Boos 270
4.5 Conclusion 274

5 Bathurst and the inland districts: NSW Pidgin on the pastoral frontiers 276
5.1 Introduction 276
5.2 Bathurst 276
5.2.1 Historical background 276
5.2.2 The Bathurst district sources 280
5.2.2.1 'Lawrence Struilby'
5.2.2.2 William Suttor
5.2.2.3 Louisa Anne Meredith
5.2.2.4 Alice Augusta Clapham
5.3 Wellington 288
5.3.1 Historical background 288
5.3.2 The Wellington missionaries 291
5.3.3 The study of Wiradhuri by missionaries at Wellington 293
5.3.4 Pastoralism in the Wellington district 296
5.4 The Lachlan River district 297

5.4.1 Background history 297
5.4.2 Lachlan River district sources 298
5.5 Linguistic evidence 299
5.5.1 Introduction 299
5.5.2 Comment on orthography 300
5.5.3 Grammar and lexicon 301
5.5.3.1 Lexicon
5.5.3.2 Morphology
5.5.3.3 Nouns
5.5.3.3.1 Determiners
5.5.3.3.2 Number
5.5.3.4 Pronouns
5.5.3.5 Verbs
5.5.3.6 Adjectives
5.5.3.7 Adverbs
5.5.3.8 Prepositions
5.5.3.9 Sentence structure
5.5.3.10 Interjections
5.5.3.11 Borrowed sentences and phrases
5.5.3.12 Songs
5.6 Conclusions 321

6 NSW Pidgin in the Monaro district, 1830 to 1850 323
6.1 Introduction 323
6.2 Background history 323
6.3 The monaro sources 326
6.3.1 Stephan Lhotsky, early 1830s 326
6.3.2 Alexander Harris, late 1830s and 1840s 327
6.3.3 George Bennett, 1832 329
6.3.4 David Mackenzie, 1840s 330
6.3.5 Joseph Phipps Townsend, 1840s 330
6.4 Linguistic evidence 332
6.4.1 Introduction 332
6.4.2 Orthography 333
6.4.3 Grammar and lexicon 333
6.4.3.1 Lexicon
6.4.3.2 Morphology
6.4.3.3 Nouns
6.4.3.3.1 Determiners
6.4.3.3.2 Privative
6.4.3.3.3 Number
6.4.3.4 Pronouns
6.4.3.5 Verbs
6.4.3.6 Adjectives
6.4.3.7 Adverbs
6.4.3.8 Prepositions
6.4.3.9 Sentence structure
6.4.3.10 Interjections
6.4.3.11 Borrowed sentences and phrases
6.4.3.12 Late nineteenth, early twentieth century data
6.5 Conclusion 351

7 NSW Pidgin in the Port Phillip district: regional variation 353
7.1 Introduction 353
7.2 Background history 355
7.2.1 Early exploration and settlement of Port Phillip 355

7.2.2	Whaling and sealing settlements in Port Phillip	360
7.2.3	The Port Phillip Association and the beginning of Melbourne	361
7.2.4	'Overlanding'	364
7.2.5	Settlement along the Murray River	366
7.2.6	Settlement of the Edward River district	369
7.2.7	Settlement of the Loddon River district	373
7.2.8	Protectors and missionaries	374
7.3	The Port Phillip sources	376
7.3.1	Northern Port Phillip	376
7.3.1.1	John Francis Huon Mitchell	
7.3.1.2	Arthur Andrews	
7.3.1.3	John Phillips	
7.3.1.4	Alfred Joyce	
7.3.1.5	John Hinkins	
7.3.1.6	Richard Tester	
7.3.1.7	James Kirby	
7.3.1.8	Edward Micklethwaite Curr	
7.3.2	Southern Port Phillip	388
7.3.2.1	Lucy Anna Edgar	
7.3.2.2	George Henry Haydon	
7.3.2.3	John Pettit	
7.3.2.4	McCrae family	
7.4	Linguistic evidence	394
7.4.1	Introduction	394
7.4.2	Orthography	394
7.4.3	Grammar and lexicon	396
7.4.3.1	Lexicon	
7.4.3.1.1	lubra	
7.4.3.1.2	maiamaia	
7.4.3.1.3	borak	
7.4.3.1.4	merijig	
7.4.3.1.5	gudwan and bigwan	
7.4.3.1.6	pulawei	
7.4.3.1.7	Influence of Wiradhuri on NSW Pidgin	
7.4.3.2	Morphology	
7.4.3.3	Nouns	
7.4.3.3.1	Determiners	
7.4.3.3.2	Privative	
7.4.3.3.3	Number	
7.4.3.4	Pronouns	
7.4.3.5	Verbs	
7.4.3.6	Adjectives	
7.4.3.7	Adverbs	
7.4.3.8	Prepositions	
7.4.3.9	Sentence structure	
7.4.3.10	Interjections	
7.5	Conclusion	424
8	Conclusion	427
8.1	Introduction	427
8.2	Overview of findings	427
8.3	Comparison between NSW Pidgin and Kriol	435
8.4	NSW Pidgin and the origin of Pacific Pidgin English	437

References 445-501

Tables

1	Borrowings from English into the Sydney Language	110
2	Contact induced coinages in the Sydney Language	111
3	NSW Pidgin lexical items, late eighteenth century to 1804	183
4	NSW Pidgin wordlist 1800-1817	191
5	Threlkeld's NSW Pidgin wordlist 1834	200
6	NSW Pidgin lexicon recorded in Sydney 1820-30	205
7	Articles in the Port Stephens data	240
8	Demonstrative determiners in the Port Stephens data	241
9	Possessive determiners in the Port Stephens data	242
10	Subject pronouns in the Port Stephens data	244
11	Object pronouns in the Port Stephens data	245
12	Wiradhuri borrowings in NSW Pidgin of Bathurst and the inland districts	302
13	Demonstrative determiners in the data from Bathurst and the inland districts	304
14	Possessive determiners in the data from Bathurst and the inland districts	304
15	Subject personal pronouns in the data from Bathurst and the inland districts	306
16	Object personal pronouns in the data from Bathurst and the inland districts	307
17	New NSW Pidgin items in the Monaro district	335
18	MacKenzie's NSW Pidgin wordlist	337
19	Monaro district subject personal pronouns	341
20	Monaro district object personal pronouns	342
21	Port Phillip lexicon	397
22	Port Phillip articles	404
23	Port Phillip demonstrative determiners	406
24	Port Phillip possessive determiners	407
25	Port Phillip subject personal pronouns	412
26	Port Phillip object personal pronouns	415

VOLUME TWO

Appendices

1	Sydney 1788 to 1792	502
2	Sydney 1793 to 1804	519
3	Sydney 1804 to 1820	527
4	Sydney 1820s	538
5	Sydney 1830 to 1850	549
6	Newcastle district	560
7	Port Stephens	566
8	Bathurst district	593
9	Wellington	614
10	Lachlan River district	618
11	Monaro	622
12	South Coast	641
13	Edward River district	647
14	Goulburn River district	649
15	Loddon River district	650

16	Lower Murray River	652
17	Upper Murray River	664
18	Victorian goldfields	677
19	Western District of Victoria	679
20	Melbourne and surrounding districts	680
21	NSW Pidgin wordlist	708
22	Comparison of Dawson's data with the phonological systems of Kattang and Thangatti	790

ABBREVIATIONS

The following list contains all the abbreviations used in the main text, references and appendices.

References to appendix items are given in brackets with the appendix number or abbreviation first and the item within the appendix following a colon. For example (1:1) is appendix one item number one and (PS:1) is Port Stephens data appendix item number one.

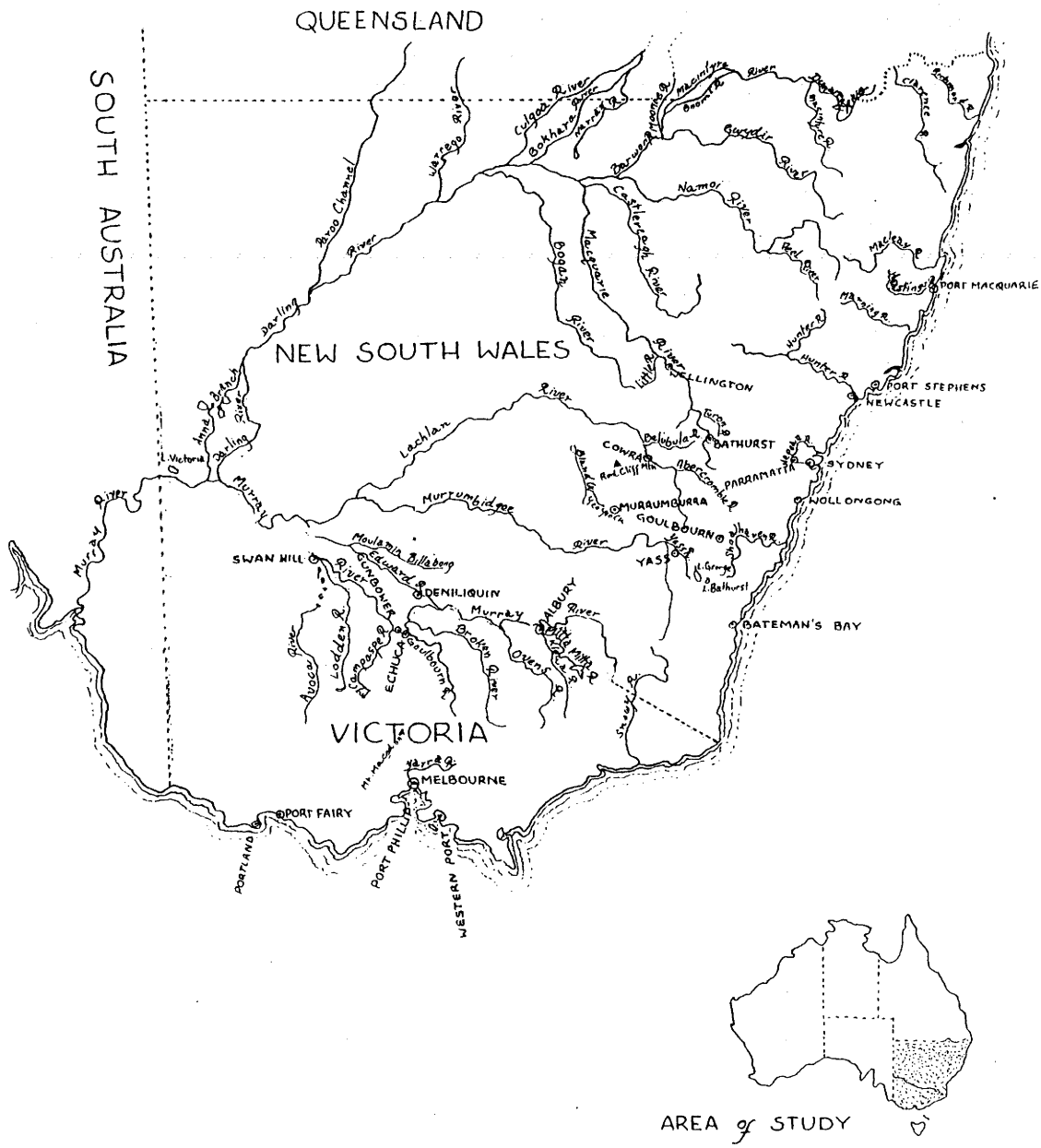
1	first person pronoun
2	second person pronoun
3	third person pronoun
1S	Sydney 1788 to 1792 data (Appendix 1)
2S	Sydney 1793 to 1804 data (Appendix 2)
3S	Sydney 1804 to 1820 data (Appendix 3)
4S	Sydney 1820s data (Appendix 4)
5S	Sydney 1830 to 1850 data (Appendix 5)
AB	Aboriginal language
ABL	ablative
ADV	adverb
ADJ	adjective
AE	*The Australian encyclopaedia*, 10 volumes, 1963, Alec H. Chisholm, ed. Sydney:Grolier Society
AHA	*Australians, a historical atlas*, 1987, Sydney:Fairfax, Syme & Weldon Associates
AIAS	Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies (now AIATSIS)
AIATSIS	Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Straits Islander Studies (formerly AIAS)
ANU	Australian National University
ANUP	Australian National University Press
AND	*Australian National Dictionary*
B	Bathurst data (Appendix 8)
C	century
c	circa
CESS	cessative
CMS	Church Missionary Society
DS	*Dicitionary of slang*..., Eric Partridge (1984)
DEM	demonstrative
DET	determiner
EAE	early Australian English
ECOLL	English colloquialism
ed.	editor
ER	Edward River data (Appendix 13)
ety.	etymology
EXC	exclusive
Facs.	facsimile
Fr.	French
FUT	future tense
GR	Goulburn River data (Appendix 14)
HRA	*Historical records of Australia*...
INC	inclusive
INDEF	indefinite
INTENS	intensifier
INTERR	interrogative
JPCL	*Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages*
JRAHS	*Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*

lit.	literally
L	Lachlan River data (Appendix 10)
LOC	locative
LM	Lower Murray River data (Appendix 16)
LMS	London Missionary Society
LR	Loddon River data (Appendix 15)
M	Melbourne data (Appendix 20)
ML	The Mitchell Library, Sydney
MR	Monaro district data (Appendix 11)
MS	manuscript, in this thesis all unpublished material either handwritten or typescript is referred to as 'manuscript'
nd	no date
NC	Newcastle district data (Appendix 6)
NLA	National Library of Australia, Canberra
NSW	New South Wales
NOM	nominal
NUM	number
O	object
OED	*Oxford English Dictionary*
PAST	past tense
pc	personal communication
PL	plural
PN	pronoun
POSS	possessive
PREP	preposition
PRES	present tense
PS	Port Stephens data (Appendix 7)
RN	Royal Navy
S	subject
SC	South Coast data (Appendix 12)
SG	singular
SIL-AAB	Summer Institute of Linguistics Australian Aborigines Branch
TrM	transitivity marker
UM	Upper Murray River data (Appendix 17)
UP	University Press
VG	Victorian goldfields data (Appendix 18)
VDL	Van Diemen's Land
Vi	intransitive verb
Vtr	transitive verb
W	Wellington district data (Appendix 9)
WV	Western district of Victoria data (Appendix 19)

NOTE ON ORTHOGRAPHY

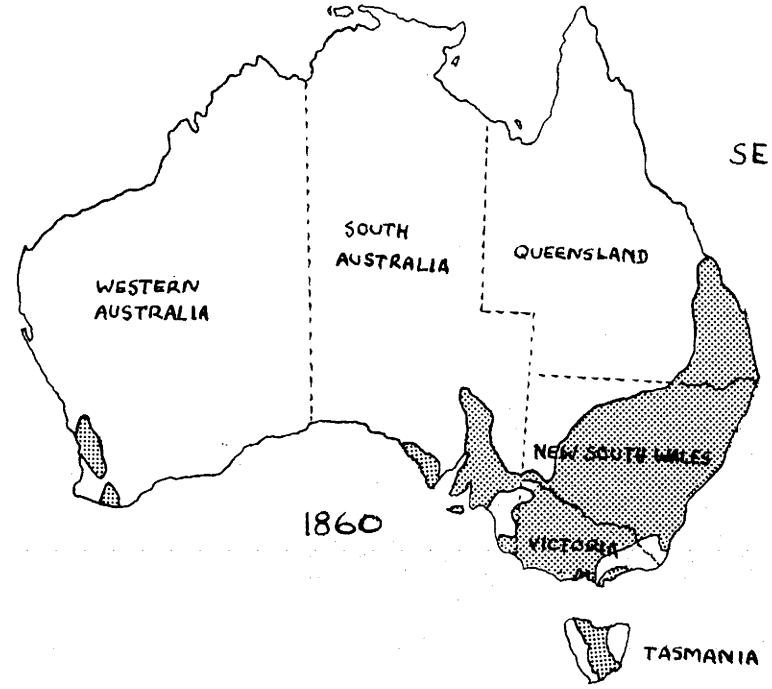
Within this thesis all Sydney Language lexical items follow the reference orthography devised for Troy 1994 and all the NSW Pidgin lexical items follow the reference orthography devised for this thesis. The reference forms for all NSW Pidgin lexical items can be found in the wordlist at Appendix 21.

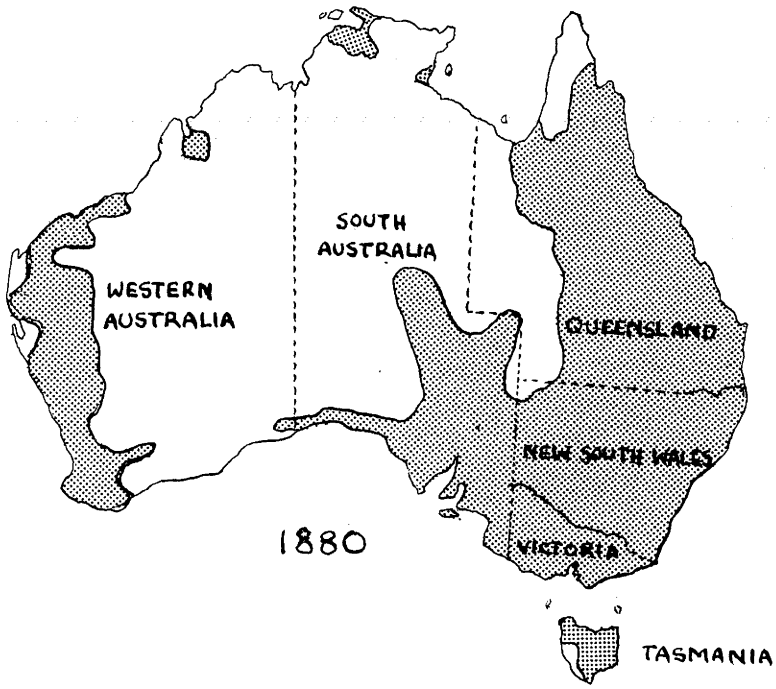
AREA of STUDY

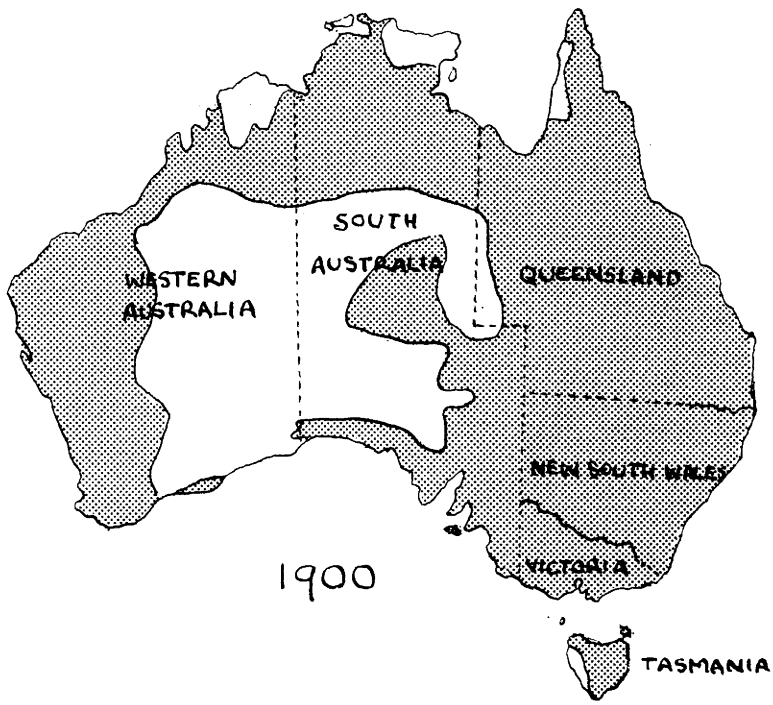


MAP I

SETTLEMENT SPREAD
1788 - 1900

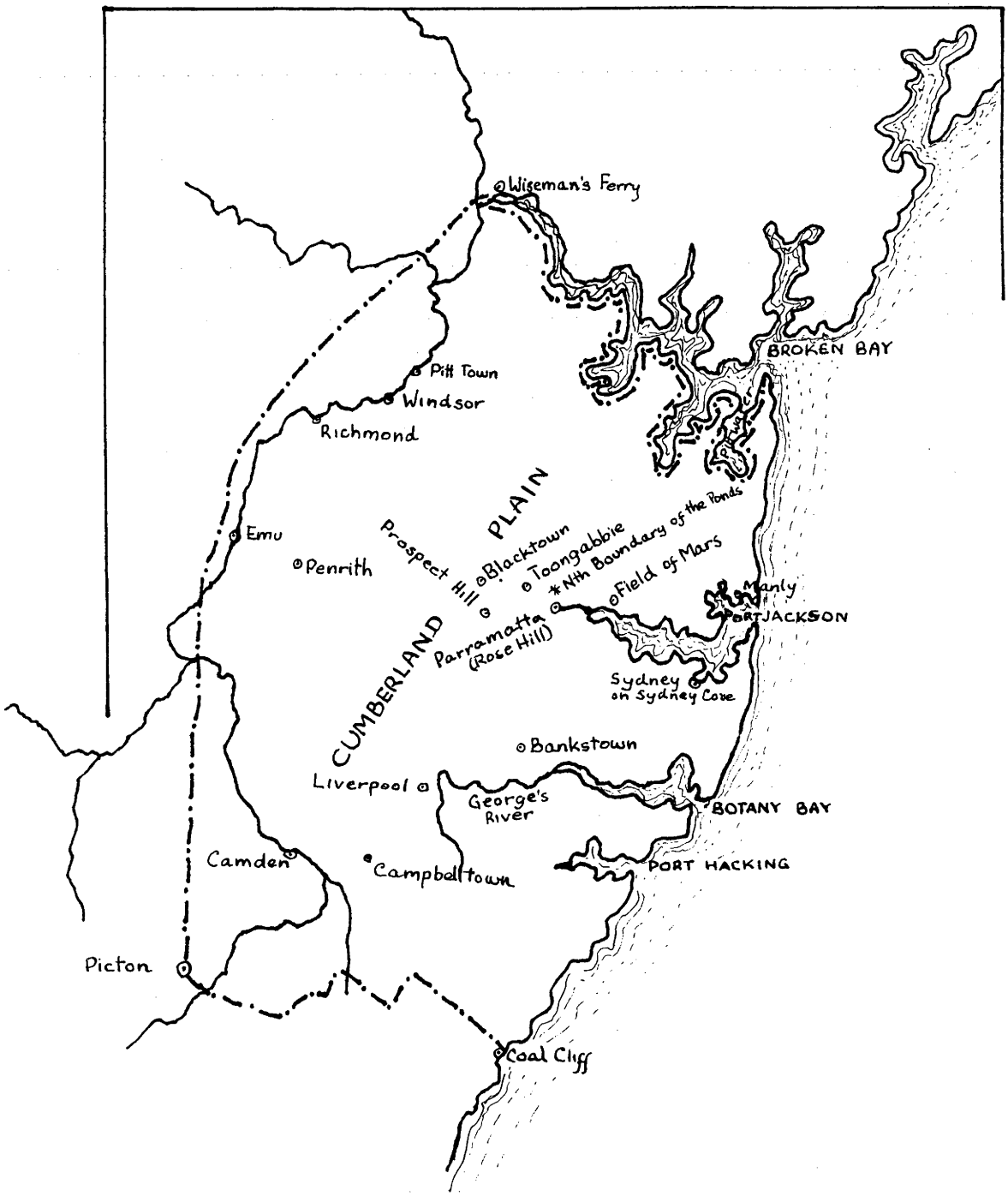






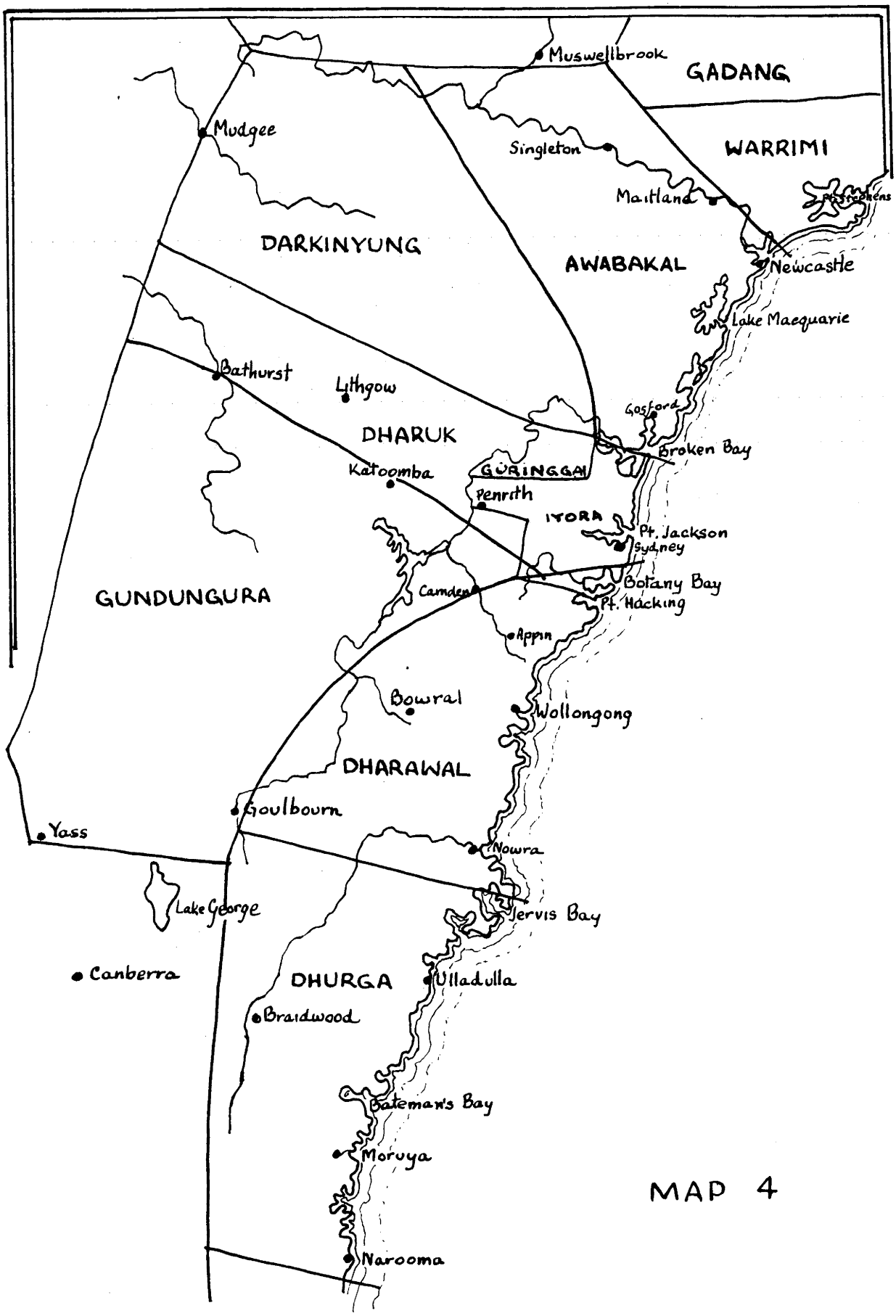
MAP 2

NEW SOUTH WALES: CUMBERLAND COUNTY 1835



MAP 3

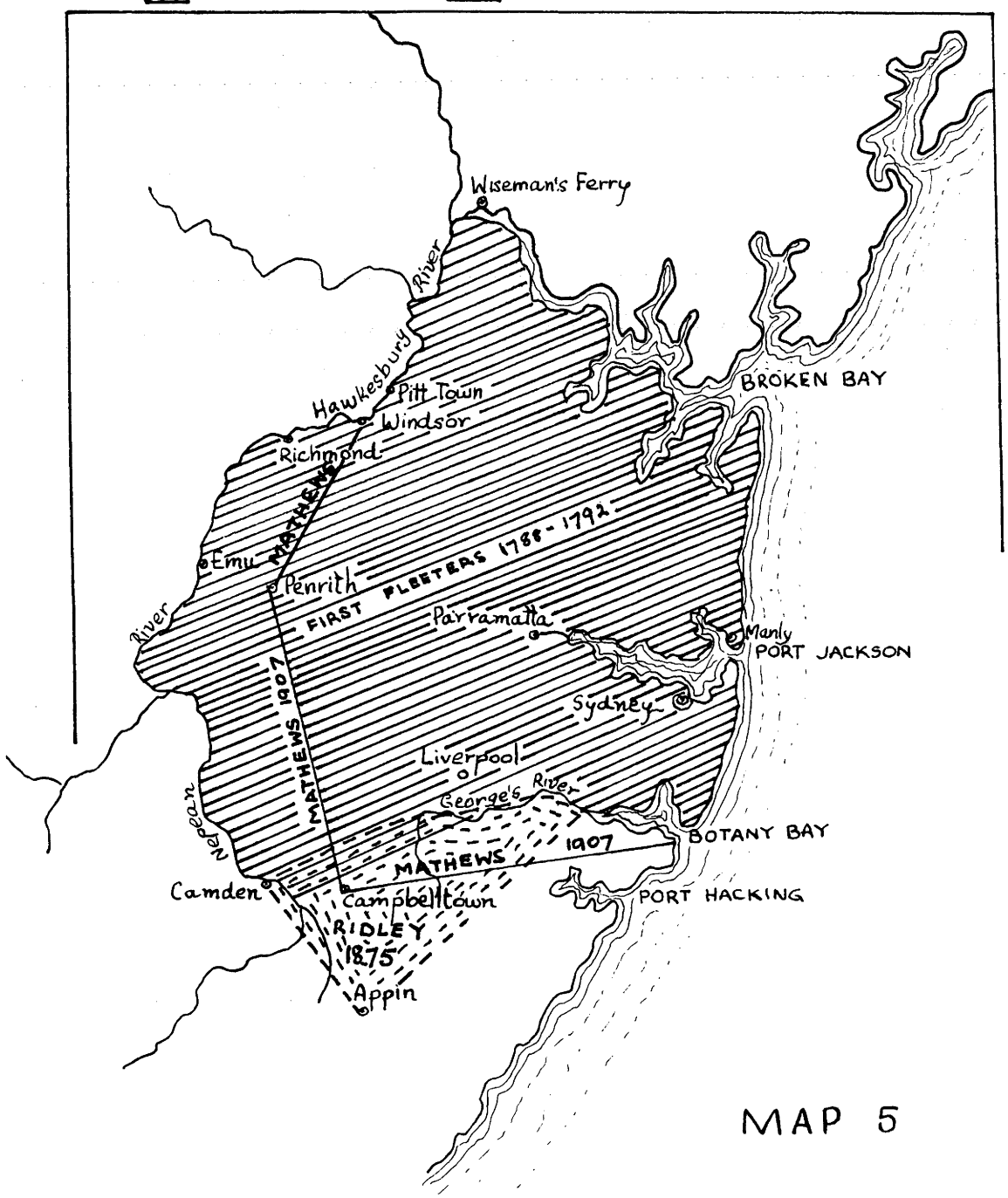
ABORIGINAL LANGUAGE BOUNDARIES AFTER WALSH 1981



MAP 4

AREA IN WHICH THE SYDNEY LANGUAGE WAS RECORDED:

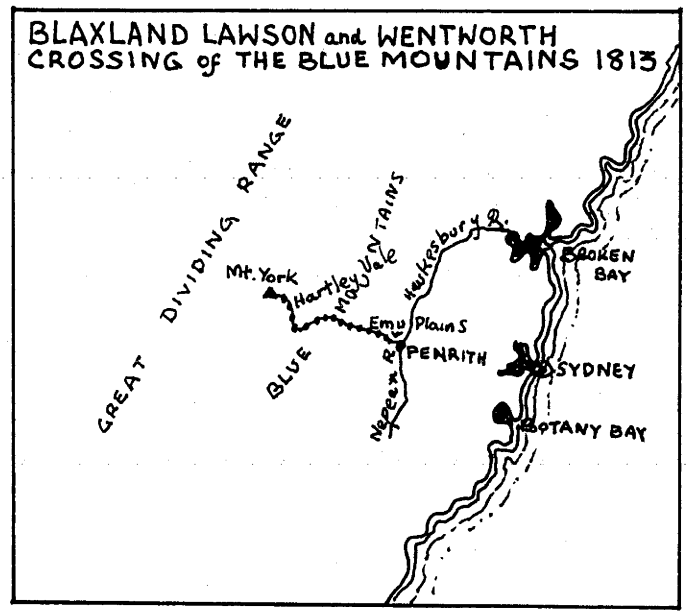
FIRST FLEETERS 1788-1792. RIDLEY 1875. MATHEWS 1907 — OUTLINE OVER



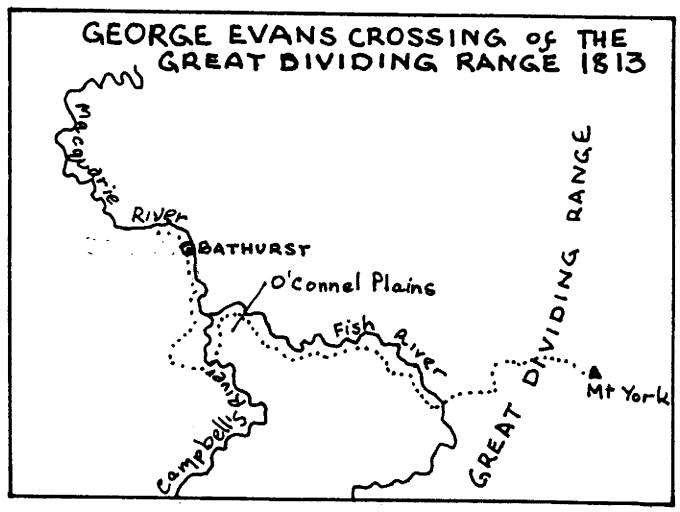
MAP 5

MAPS of LAND EXPLORATION 1813 - 1836

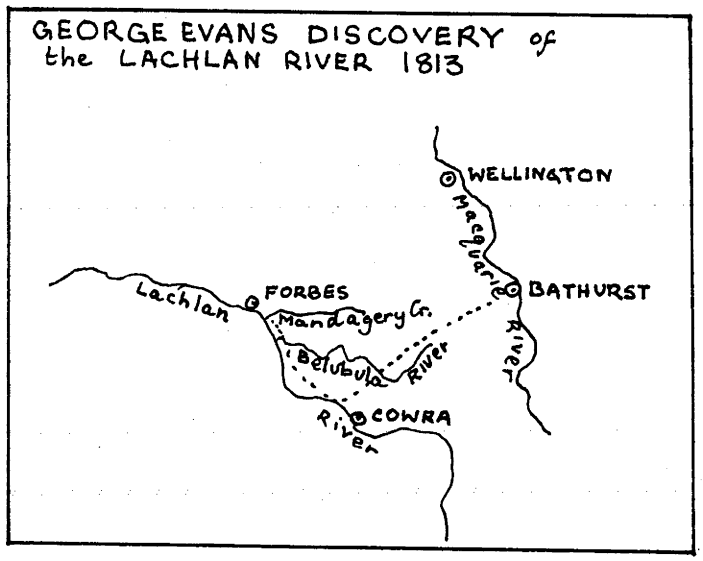
(MAP No. 6 to MAP No 17)



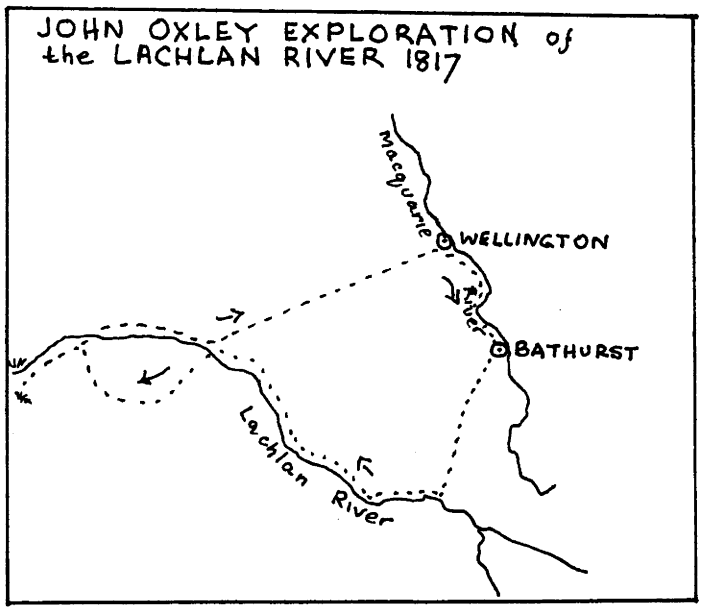
MAP 6



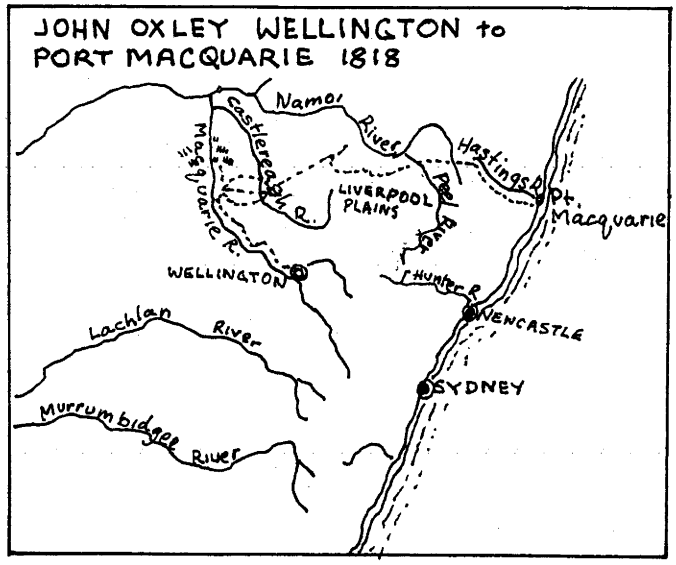
MAP 7


GEORGE EVANS DISCOVERY of
the LACHLAN RIVER 1813
WELLINGTON
Macquarie
BATHURST
River
Lachlan
FORBES
Mandagery Cr.
Belubula
River
COWRA
River

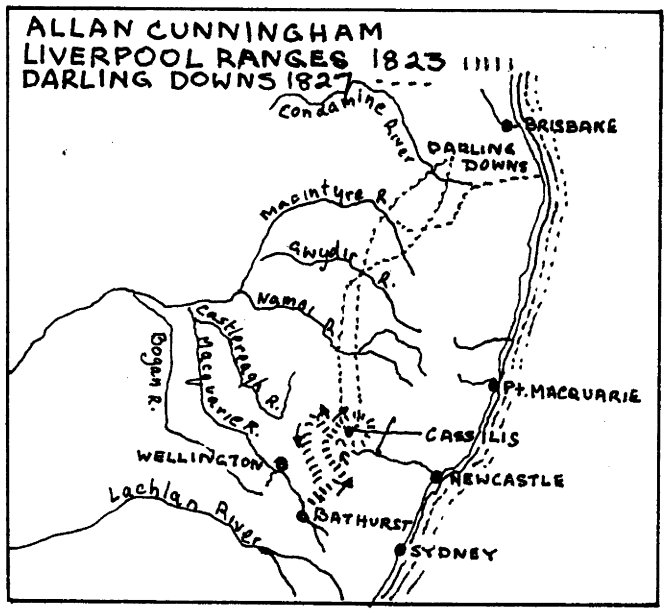
MAP 8


JOHN OXLEY EXPLORATION of
the LACHLAN RIVER 1817
Macquarie
WELLINGTON
River
BATHURST
Lachlan
River

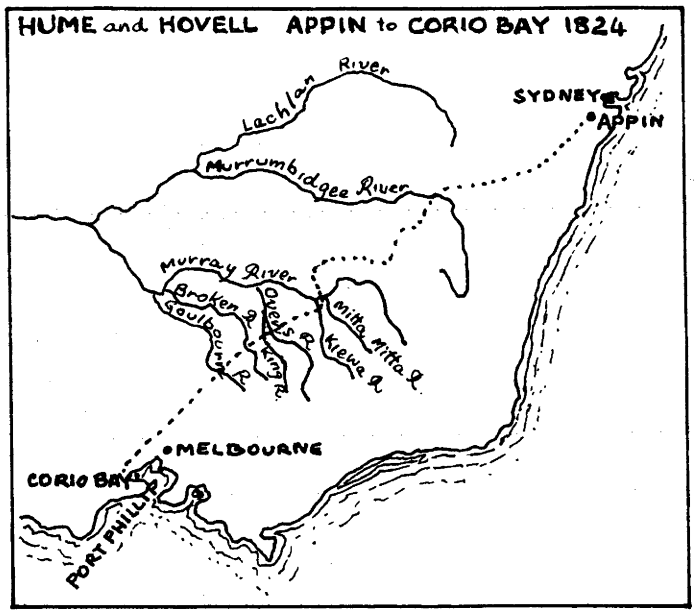
MAP 9


JOHN OXLEY WELLINGTON to
PORT MACQUARIE 1818
Namoi River
Castlereagh R.
Macquarie R.
Hastings R.
Pt. Macquarie
LIVERPOOL PLAINS
Peel R.
Hunter R.
WELLINGTON
NEWCASTLE
Lachlan River
SYDNEY
Murrumbidgee River

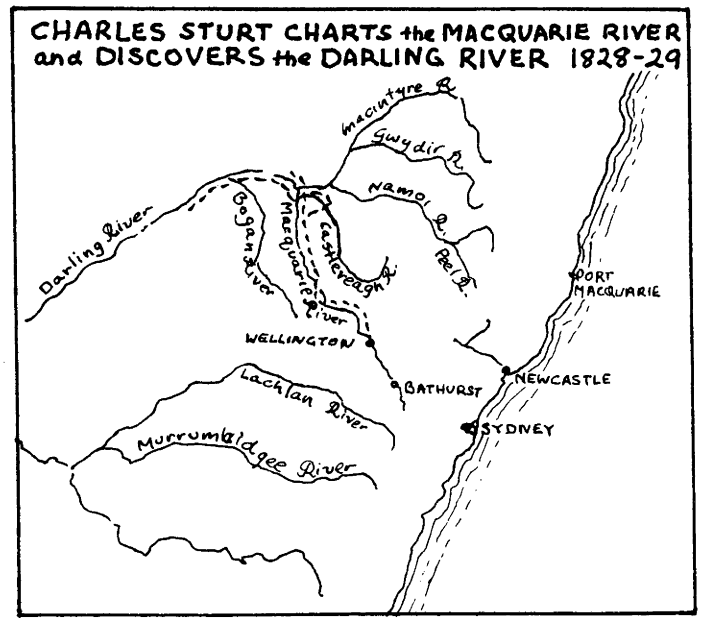
MAP 10


ALLAN CUNNINGHAM
LIVERPOOL RANGES 1823
DARLING DOWNS 1827
Condamine River
BRISBANE
DARLING DOWNS
Macintyre R.
Gwydir R.
Namoi R.
Castlereagh R.
Macquarie R.
Bogan R.
Pt. MACQUARIE
CASSILIS
WELLINGTON
NEWCASTLE
Lachlan River
BATHURST
SYDNEY

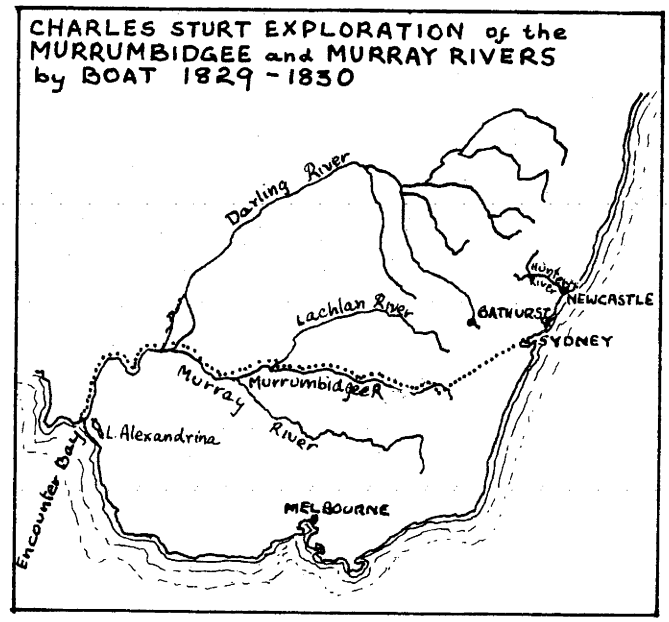
MAP 11


HUME and HOVELL APPIN to CORIO BAY 1824
Lachlan River
SYDNEY
APPIN
Murrumbidgee River
Murray River
Broken R.
Goulbourn R.
Queens R.
Yass R.
Mitta Mitta R.
Kiewa R.
MELBOURNE
CORIO BAY
PORT PHILLIP

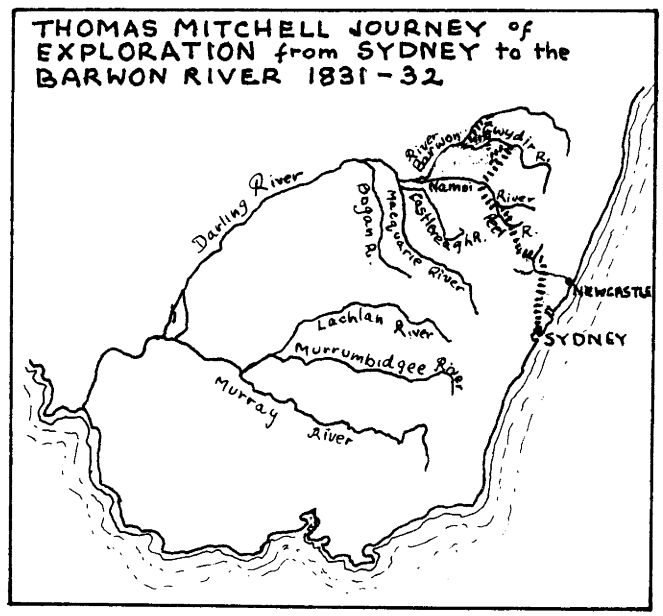
MAP 12


CHARLES STURT CHARTS the MACQUARIE RIVER and DISCOVERS the DARLING RIVER 1828-29
Macintyre R.
Gwydir R.
Namoi R.
Peel R.
Darling River
Bogan River
Macquarie River
Castlereagh R.
PORT MACQUARIE
WELLINGTON
BATHURST
NEWCASTLE
SYDNEY
Lachlan River
Murrumbidgee River

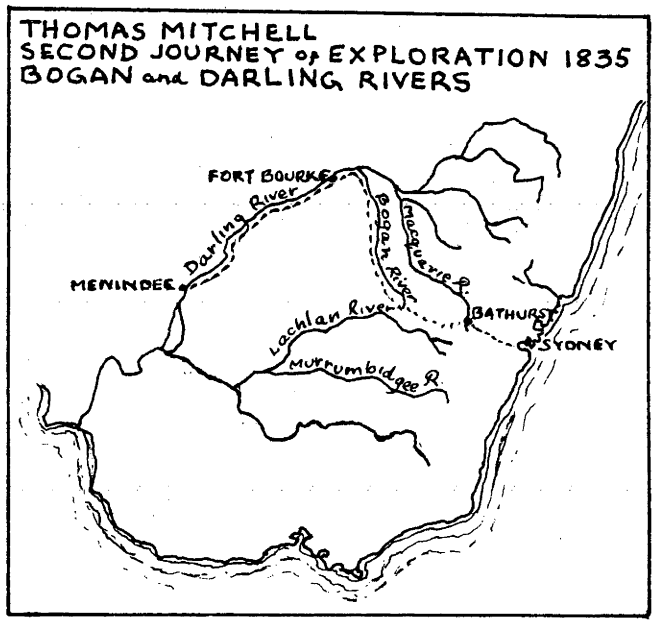
MAP 13


CHARLES STURT EXPLORATION of the
MURRUMBIDGEE and MURRAY RIVERS
by BOAT 1829 - 1830
Darling River
Lachlan River
Hunter River
NEWCASTLE
BATHURST
SYDNEY
Murray
Murrumbidgee R
River
L. Alexandrina
Encounter Bay
MELBOURNE

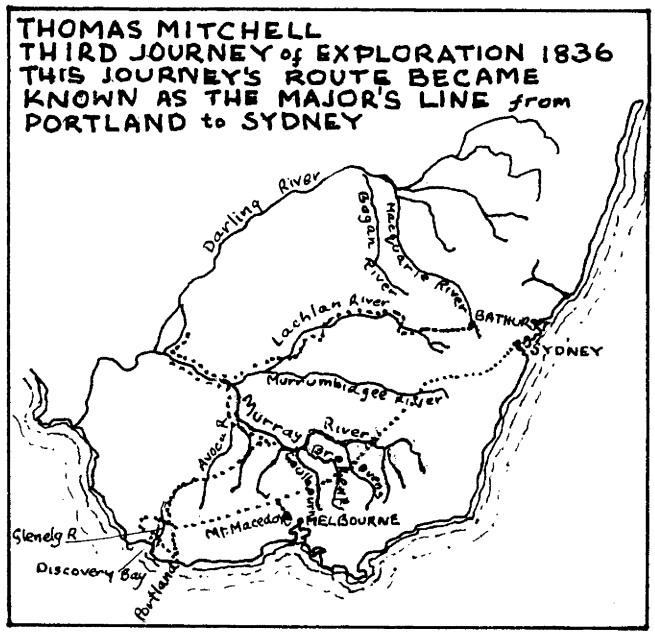
MAP 14


THOMAS MITCHELL JOURNEY of
EXPLORATION from SYDNEY to the
BARWON RIVER 1831 - 32
River Barwon
Gwydir R.
Namoi River
Castlereagh R.
Macquarie River
Bogan R.
Darling River
NEWCASTLE
SYDNEY
Lachlan River
Murrumbidgee River
Murray
River

MAP 15

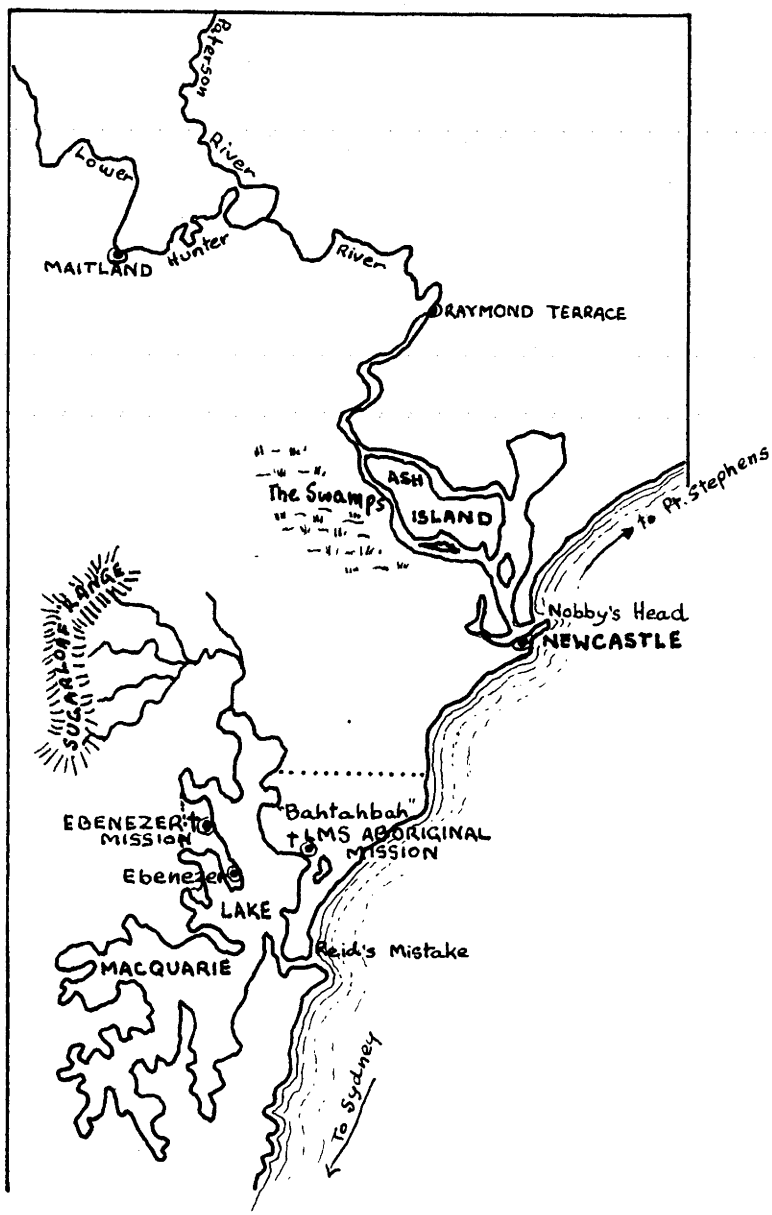

THOMAS MITCHELL
SECOND JOURNEY of EXPLORATION 1835
BOGAN and DARLING RIVERS
FORT BOURKE
Darling River
Bogan River
Macquarie R.
MENINDEE
Lachlan River
BATHURST
SYDNEY
Murrumbidgee R.

MAP 16


THOMAS MITCHELL
THIRD JOURNEY of EXPLORATION 1836
THIS JOURNEY'S ROUTE BECAME
KNOWN AS THE MAJOR'S LINE from
PORTLAND to SYDNEY
Darling River
Bogan River
Macquarie River
Lachlan River
BATHURST
SYDNEY
Murrumbidgee River
Murray River
Avoca R.
Goulburn
Glenelg R.
Mt. Macedon
MELBOURNE
Discovery Bay
Portland

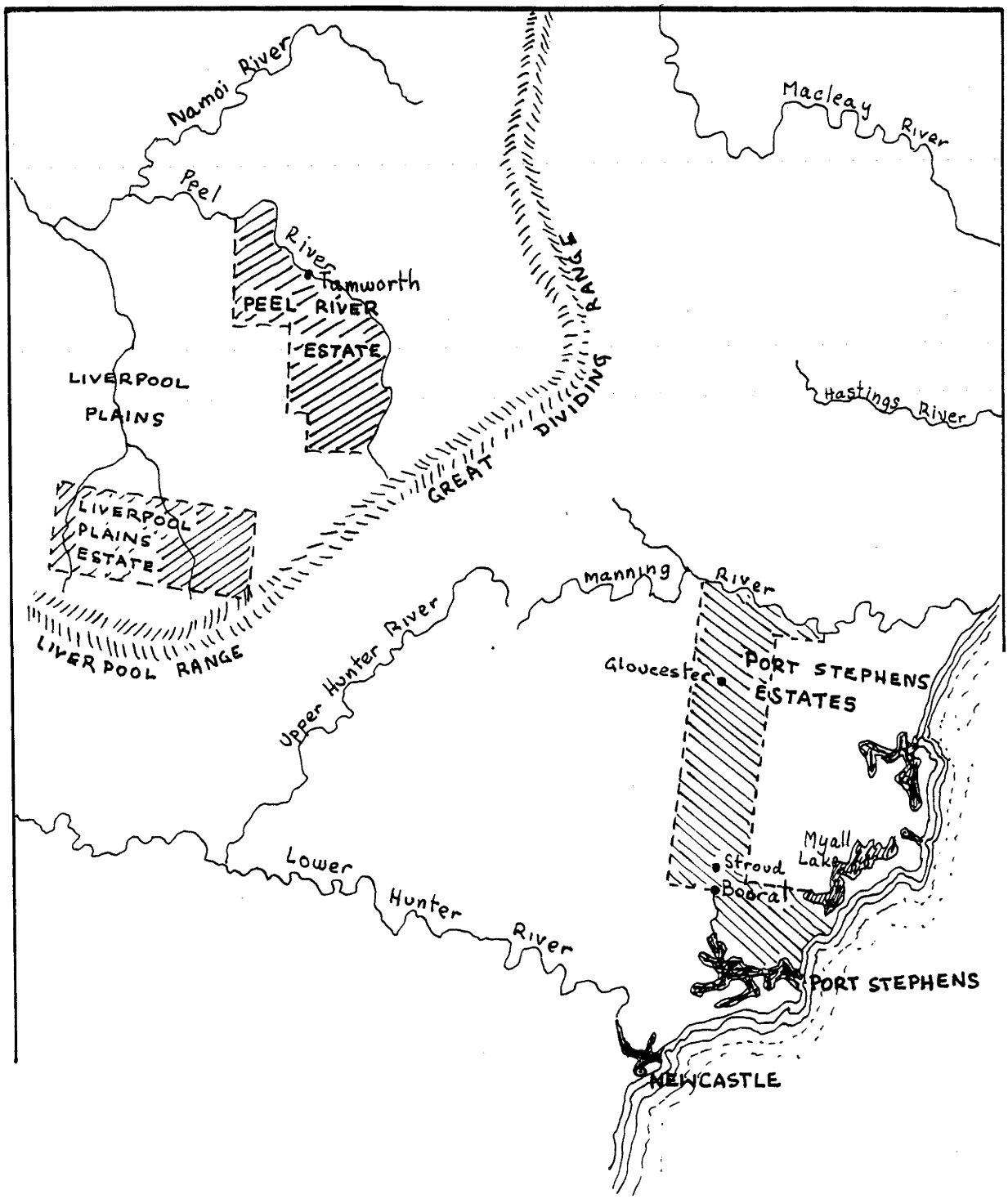
MAP 17

L.E. THRELKELD : THE LAKE MACQUARIE ABORIGINAL MISSIONS



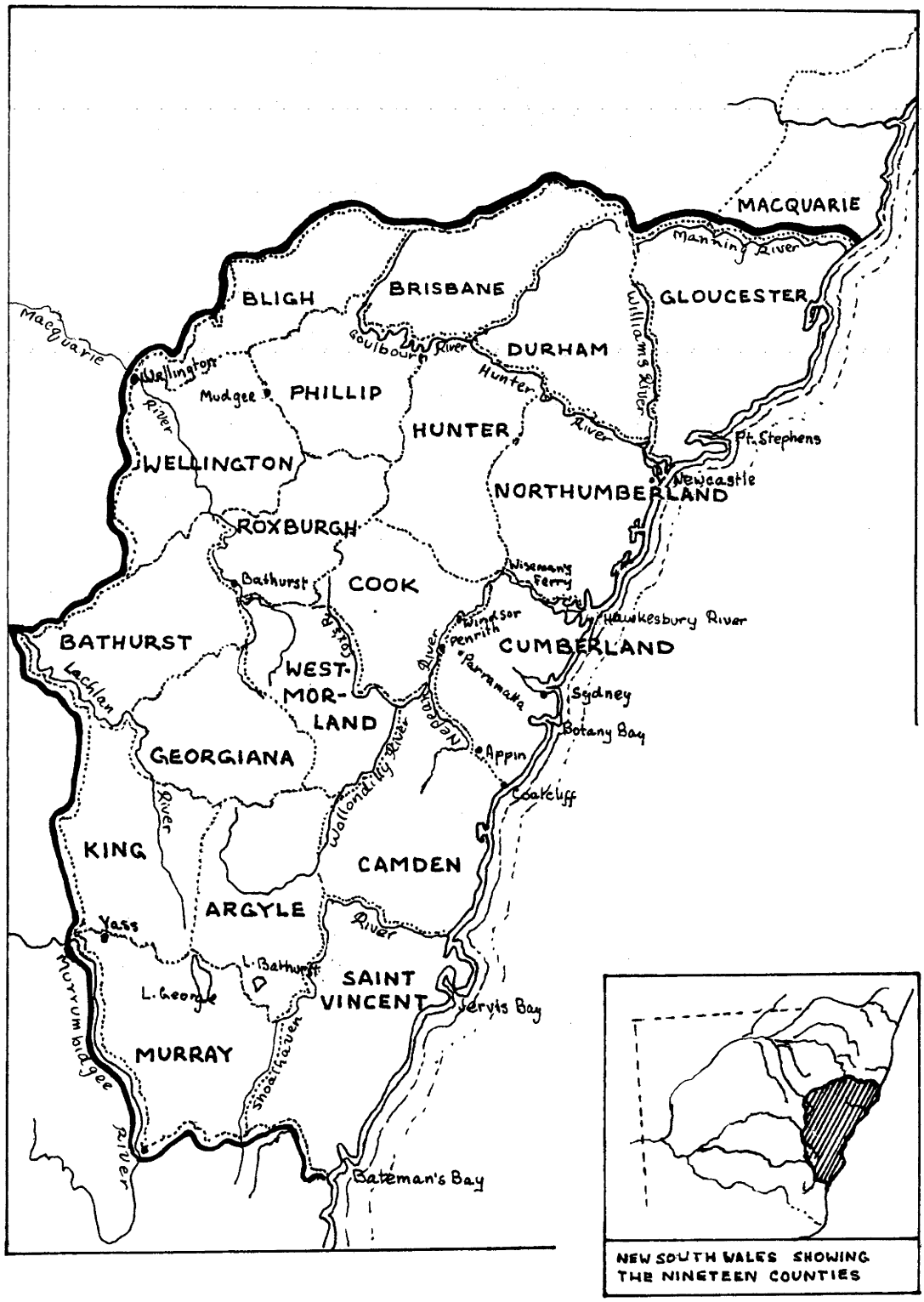
MAP 18

AUSTRALIAN AGRICULTURAL COMPANY ESTATES



MAP 19

NEW SOUTH WALES: THE NINETEEN COUNTIES 1835



MAP 20

NEW SOUTH WALES SQUATTAGE DISTRICTS 1847

MAP 21

1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 AIM AND SCOPE

In early 1788 the English government began its colonisation of New South Wales (NSW). The experiment was such a success that England never retreated from the country and gradually colonised the whole of the Australian continent. In the process the indigenous peoples of Australia were forced into unprecedented and sustained contact with people from completely foreign cultural and linguistic backgrounds. This thesis examines the history of that contact and the system of communication that developed between coloniser and colonised[1]. Not surprisingly this system appears to have begun as a jargon which gradually developed into a pidgin language. It is the purpose of this thesis to describe this pidgin and the social and linguistic contexts that produced it. For convenience and to follow the trend in the literature this pidgin is called New South Wales Pidgin[2] (NSW Pidgin) after the geographical area in which it developed.

NSW Pidgin was the first English-derived pidgin to develop in Australia. Indeed it was not only the first pidgin in Australia, it was also the first pidgin in the Pacific, a fact that gives some historical importance to this study. The data collected and the descriptions of those data contained within this study should inform the debate about the origins and development of Pacific pidgins. It also perhaps has implications for the universalist versus substratum debate.

---

[1]In many ways the NSW context resembles the forced contact between slave or indentured labourers on plantations and their masters. The linguistic diversity of those contexts are well know as catalysts for the development of pidgin and creole languages.

[2]This is also the name I used to refer to the language in Troy 1985 and 1990a. The name was chosen because the language developed during the time when Australia was known as the English colony of NSW. NSW now has a much narrower definition, meaning only the state of NSW within Australia. This is discussed in more depth below.

The thesis is divided into two volumes. The first volume contains the body of the thesis and its arguments. The second volume contains large databases and a lengthy list of references which provide the substantive data upon which the arguments presented in Volume 1 are derived. This latter volume is also intended as a resource for future researchers of pidgins in Australia and the Pacific.

This study is wholly dependent on written sources which were all produced by non-Aboriginal speakers. That fact forces researchers to think carefully about what the texts used actually represent. Therefore, the challenge in this thesis has been to describe NSW Pidgin in the absence of any living speakers and using only historical data produced by non-Aboriginal speakers. Future studies of pidgin and creole languages which also need to rely on written documents could benefit from referring to the use made of written sources in this work.

An argument put forward here—one that I believe to be new—is that all pidgins at the developmental stage (and perhaps beyond) exist as at least two sociolects corresponding to the ethnically and linguistically distinct groups of people involved in the development of them. The early history of most of the world's pidgins is known only from records made by literate people of European ethnolinguistic background who spoke one sociolect of the pidgin. In the case of NSW Pidgin the only access we have to the language is through the non-Aboriginal sociolect of the language. For the purposes of this thesis I use a model to explain the relationship between the two sociolects which make up NSW Pidgin. The lect spoken by non-Aboriginal people is called here the 'leukolect' while that spoken by Aboriginal people is called the 'melanolect'. Together the sociolects make a linguistic whole and suggest a new name for NSW Pidgin—'Melaleuka'. Tempting though it is to use the new coinage rather than 'NSW Pidgin' the former name is retained because it is likely to be more familiar to readers. Melaleuka is discussed in more detail in section 1.2.6 below.

The geographical area covered by this thesis is restricted to the present-day states of NSW and Victoria (Map 1). However, throughout the thesis this area is referred to as NSW[3]. This convention is followed because it was not until the middle of the nineteenth century that NSW was divided into the areas we now know as the states of NSW, Victoria, South Australia, Western Australia, Tasmania and Queensland. These states were initially known as the colonies of Western Australia (separated from NSW in 1825), South Australia (separated from NSW in 1836 and further divided in 1911 into the Northern Territory), Victoria (separated from NSW in 1851, previously the District of Port Phillip), Queensland (separated from NSW in 1859) and Tasmania (separated from NSW in 1859, previously Van Diemens Land).

The colony of NSW was chosen as the focus of the study because it was the first part of Australia colonised by England. By the middle of the nineteenth century most of the area was settled (Map 2). As the first area colonised it was also, logically, the site for the development of the first pidgin language in Australia. Most of the data examined in this thesis was produced during or before the mid nineteenth century.

This thesis argues (i) that NSW Pidgin had its genesis in Sydney, the earliest settlement in NSW, in the late eighteenth century; (ii) that between 1804 and 1820 it expanded and consolidated at the same time as the northern districts were being settled; (iii) that by the middle of the nineteenth century, NSW Pidgin had a stable core grammar and lexicon; (iv) that it was widely spoken throughout the colony but particularly in rural areas; (v) that the language exhibited some regional dialectal variation most evident in the lexicon.

---

[3]From 1788 to 1813, NSW encompassed all the east coast from the sea inland of what was then called New Holland and now Australia. In 1798 George Bass and Mathew Flinders established that Van Diemen's Land (now Tasmania) was a separate island. In 1814 Flinders published his *General chart of Terra Australis or Australia, shewing the parts explored between 1798 and 1803 by M. Flinders Commander of H.M.S. Investigator* on which the eastern half of Australia was labelled as *New South Wales*, the Western half *New Holland* and *Van Diemen's Land* a separate island. Flinders was the first person to suggest the name Australia for the continent and its associated islands.

Similarities between NSW Pidgin and modern Australian creoles, particularly Kriol of northern Australia, suggest that NSW Pidgin was the ancestor, or at least one of the significant inputs to, those other languages. This can be seen in Chapter 8 where some of the features of NSW Pidgin and those of Kriol are compared. In contemporary NSW and Victoria the legacy of NSW Pidgin can be observed in Aboriginal English. However, to develop the last point or undertake detailed analysis of the possible relationships between NSW Pidgin and modern Australian creoles is beyond the scope of this thesis although some comparisons are drawn.

1.2 THEORETICAL ISSUES

1.2.1 Overview

The data presented in this inquiry contain clear evidence for a multitude of pidgin-like features in the speech of non-Aboriginal colonists in NSW which developed over time and space. This is in spite of irregularities in the data. The data suggest the hypothesis[4] that a pidgin developed in early colonial NSW and spread across the colony with the advancement of English colonial settlement.

An alternative hypothesis would be to claim that the data represent a multitude of independent inventions all of which are remarkably similar. But this seems highly unlikely given the social and historical evidence of contact between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people in NSW. Such a claim would also be going against the practice of established pidginists in this part of the world who have used identical materials to construct theories of pidginisation in the Pacific. Roger Keesing and Peter Mühlhäusler in particular have relied on historical evidence to construct a complex debate about the genesis of Melanesian Pidgin. I discuss their debate in detail in the conclusion to this work (8.4).

[4]I have already tested this hypothesis to some degree and found it is supported by the available evidence (Troy 1985, 1990).

1.2.2 Meaning of the term 'pidgin'

I use the term 'pidgin' to mean a language which is (i) the product of the mixing of languages to create a language which is (ii) not the first language of any community of speakers and (iii) is lexically and grammatically simplified[5] in comparison with the languages which provided the input to its creation[6]. The catalysts for pidginisation to occur are (i) unprecedented and continuous social contact between groups of people and (ii) the complete absence of any common language of communication for those people, that is, they have no previous history of bilingualism or multilingualism in any of the languages involved.

The earliest stage of contact produces idiosyncratic responses to communicative needs. This is usually called the jargon stage. Jargons are characteristically unsystematic and unstable. However, 'if a jargon becomes the regular means of communication used by non-native speakers among themselves, it will achieve a new degree of coherence and stability, a stage at which it must be recognised as a new language' (Whinnom quoted in Clark 1990:106)—a pidgin. Stability means that a community of speakers use given lexical and grammatical forms consistently or with minimal variation. Once some stability is established, a pidgin can continue to expand and ultimately creolise, although the processes can also halt at any stage if the language ceases to be useful to its speakers for any reason.

Whinnom (1971) also asserted, and others have reiterated his view, that in order for a jargon to pidginise there must be a sociolinguistic context in which there are three or more linguistically separate communities. In Whinnom's words 'a pidgin

---

[5]In understanding simplification I am guided by Mühlhäusler (1986:266-68). He writes that 'simplification is neutral with regard to a language's expressive power. Simplification only refers to the form of the rules in which a language is encoded, indicating optimalisation of existing rules and the development of regularities for formerly irregular aspects' (p.266). He explains that there is a tendency to confuse simplification (greater grammatical regularity) with impoverishment (lack of referential and non-referential power)'.

[6]This definition is a synthesis of those put forward by scholars in the field of pidgin and creole studies. The list of references at the end of this thesis contains details of the works of scholars I have drawn on for ideas. I have principally relied on Mühlhäusler, Hymes, Whinnom, Clark, Romaine, Todd and Holm.

always arises...from a situation involving a target language and two or more substrate languages' (Whinnom 1971:106).

1.2.3 Studies of pidgin and creole history

This thesis is another contribution to the growing number of studies of the history of particular pidgin and creole languages. For example, pioneering investigations have been made by Dutton (1983) of Queensland Pidgin English, Shnukal (1983) of Torres Strait Broken, Harris (1986) of Kriol of the Northern Territory, my own (Troy 1985, 1990a) into NSW Pidgin and the smaller recent study of Norfolk Island jargon by Laycock (1989). The history of Melanesian Pidgin has been researched by Mühlhäusler (1979) who specialised in Tok Pisin; Charpentier (1979), Tryon (1987) and Crowley (1990) who have all specialised in Bislama; and Keesing (1988) who attempted a general history of Melanesian Pidgin based on his familiarity with Solomons Pidgin. Dutton (1985) has also researched the history of the indigenous pidgin Hiri Motu in Papua New Guinea. Ross Clark (1990) produced a short paper outlining the history of pidgin in New Zealand. Such studies are important as they not only seek to recover the genesis of those languages but also provide a better understanding of the nature of contemporary pidgin and creole languages.

All the studies except my own (Troy 1985, 1990a), Dutton (1983) and Clark (1990) have contemporary pidgins spoken in the areas in which they conducted their research to draw upon for comparison with historical documents[7]. The presence of a creole or pidgin presupposes a period of development however short that may be. Therefore, where features are shared between historical and contemporary data it is clear that the earlier data represents a stage in the development of the pidgin or creole. However, when there is no contemporary pidgin or creole on which to draw it is necessary to look for other means of supporting a claim that a body of historical

[7]Once the connections between NSW Pidgin and creoles spoken elsewhere in Australia are firmly established it should be possible to make more statements about NSW Pidgin using information about those creoles. At least comparison of NSW Pidgin data with data from those languages should provide some insights into the melanolect of NSW Pidgin.

material is evidence of a developing pidgin or creole. Internal comparisons of the data looking for regularity of form and usage and comparing the data with other pidgin or creole languages particularly from neighbouring areas all help to establish a case.

Although no pidgin or creole is spoken in present-day NSW, it is possible that field research might reveal a residual pidgin or creole or at least evidence of a post-creole continuum in the English spoken by present-day Aboriginal people of NSW. It is also likely that, as suggested above and in Chapter 8, contemporary Australian creoles are direct descendants of NSW Pidgin and researchers could use them to determine melanolect features of NSW Pidgin. However, these studies are beyond the scope of this thesis. Therefore, it is necessary to draw upon the research of those who have summarised the features of pidgins and creoles world-wide in order to try to demonstrate that the data presented here represent the development of a pidgin language. Mühlhäusler's list of features characteristic of stabilising pidgins (Mühlhäusler 1986:134-205) is useful in establishing a basis for judging the data. Keesing's list of features present in Melanesian Pidgin during several periods of development which he identified (Keesing 1988:32-33, 48-50, 112-113) is also an aid in determining the status of the data.

1.2.4 D'Costa and Lalla's study of Jamaican Creole

D'Costa and Lalla's study of Jamaican Creole provides a useful model for the present inquiry. In a two volume work the authors produced an annotated documentary resource for the history of the language (D'Costa and Lalla 1989) and an analysis of the linguistic information in the documents (D'Costa and Lalla 1990). They compared the information gleaned about the early stages in the development of Jamaican Creole with modern features of the language.

This thesis takes a similar approach in providing the reader with the primary information necessary to make their own judgements about the data[8]. As did D'Costa and Lalla, I have provided the documentary background for the thesis as a second volume for easy reference. Their comment about the data that it 'brings together a strange choir of voices: slaves, masters, and sundry onlookers...so as to give voice and witness to an even stranger event, the birth of a creole culture in Jamaica' (D'Costa and Lalla 1989:1) would apply equally well to the diverse set of data presented in this thesis. The kind of language used by each source quoted by D'Costa and Lalla is taken as evidence for various stages in the social, economic, political and linguistic development of Jamaica. The data presented in this thesis also evidences various stages in the development of NSW Pidgin as well as the basic features of the language.

1.2.5 Inputs to NSW Pidgin

In order to reconstruct NSW Pidgin, I needed to consider the inputs both local and introduced that might have been available to the mix that created NSW Pidgin. This was no easy task because there was little modern research on which I could rely for information.

The indigenous languages which provided input to NSW Pidgin are now largely extinct. Map 4 is a recent representation of the linguistic situation in that area of NSW in which NSW Pidgin had its earliest inception. Information about the languages named on that map and other languages which might have had input to NSW Pidgin is now only available in late eighteenth or nineteenth century manuscript or published form and a very few modern linguistic analyses. I have used this information as sources in the chapters for which they are relevant. Most frustrating was the absence of available linguistic analyses of the languages of the

[8]I used this same approach in my first examination of the language contact in NSW (Troy 1985, 1990a).

Sydney region. Of particular concern was the lack of any available[9] linguistic analysis of the Sydney Language which was spoken in the Port Jackson area and inland to the Hawkesbury River (Map 5). That language was the first language with which colonists had extensive contact. Evidence of its nature is only contained in a few late eighteenth and nineteenth century manuscripts and published works. In the absence of any description of that language I attempted my own (Troy 1994, 1992b, 1993a and forthcoming) and have used that work in this thesis[10].

No linguists have attempted to reconstruct what languages and dialects of those languages were spoken by non-Aboriginal people in colonial NSW of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. That area of inquiry is at least one entire thesis in itself and is beyond the scope of this work. Historians and other researchers of the early colonial era generally assume that because English was the official language of the colony that was the language spoken by all its non-indigenous inhabitants. This and my previous works (Troy 1985, 1990a) are the only accounts of language contact in early colonial NSW and I have focussed on contact between indigenous and non-indigenous people not language contact within the introduced population.

There are some accounts of the history of Australian English[11]. However, they avoid detailed analysis of the early period. Their generalisations and oversimplifications are responsible for what is now the received tradition that Australian English is the product of a homogeneous population that basically spoke

---

[9]I say 'available' because some researchers, among them the great Capell, have done some research into those languages but their material is either in private hands and inaccessible or still held by the researchers themselves and not available to other researchers. I go into detail in my publication on the Sydney Language about the information that is available (Troy 1994).

[10]That work was its own major research project and occupied a large amount of time during the researching and writing of this thesis. It was going to be an appendix to this work but its size was prohibitive and with a grant from the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies' Australian Dictionaries Project I published the work separately (Troy 1994). On Map 5 the Sydney Language is called Iyora. Linguists have used the names Iyora and Dharug as labels for the language without any substantial reason for doing so. I discuss, in some depth, my reason for using the name the 'Sydney Language' in Troy 1994.

[11]See, for example, references to the works of Ramson, Baker, Morris, Romaine and Wilkes in the list of references at the end of the thesis.

Cockney English. Researchers have conceded that there were also dialects of Irish English spoken in Australia. However, they continue to make poorly substantiated claims that the dialects had little influence on the development of Australian English. Future researchers could profitably the tackle subject of the linguistics of English of early colonial Australia. They will find their task made more difficult because of the paucity of demographic information for the earliest colonial period. Records were either not kept or destroyed. However, if researchers are prepared to rely on information of the order used in this thesis they will find plenty of records for the early linguistic history of the colonial Australian population. In this work, I have done no more than consider below, and where appropriate in later chapters, possible non-indigenous inputs to NSW Pidgin. However, during the course of researching for and writing this thesis I investigated and published a paper on the languages of the Irish population in Australia (Troy 1991, 1992a). This paper is drawn upon in the discussion below.

As noted above, the input to NSW Pidgin from non-indigenous sources was from a wider range than simply English. Colonisation of NSW by England introduced a multilingual and multicultural population to the already multilingual and multicultural indigenous population of Australia. The colonists were never a linguistically or culturally homogeneous blend of people from England and Ireland as the received tradition would have it.

Prior to 1800, the large number of Irish already in the colony were stigmatised for both their linguistic and cultural traditions. At that time most of Ireland was still Irish-speaking. The Irish in Australia would have spoken Irish as their first language and English as a second language if they spoke it at all before their arrival in NSW. Those Irish who did speak English on arrival and those who acquired some knowledge of it in the colony spoke it with a 'heavy brogue' (Troy 1990a). Similarly, the Scots Highlanders who came to Australia were nearly always monolingual Scots

Gaelic speakers. Celts, either Irish or Scottish Highlanders were culturally and linguistically different to the English and were ostracised equally by the colonial establishment (Prentis 1983:73).

The non-English speaking convict or free immigrants to Australia in the late eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries behaved in much the same way that immigrants now do. Those who needed to acquire some English in order to survive and prosper did so. However, without formal education in English they tended to speak a jargon or interlanguage English. Even people who received some formal language training in English would have retained at least the salient phonological features of their first language. Compare the English of recent migrants to Australia from non-English speaking countries.

In addition to non-English-speakers there were also English-speakers with a wide variety of dialectal and social backgrounds. Soldiers, sailors and transported criminals were particularly important in the development of NSW Pidgin as they were drawn from all the peoples of the British Empire. Each of those social groupings spoke their own jargon and were also multicultural and multilingual people. In their travels, soldiers and sailors also spent their lives experiencing new languages and cultures. When they settled on small farms or in the urban centres of Australia as many did, they brought with them their experiences of crossing cultural barriers.

1.2.6 The 'Melaleuka model'

As already indicated Melaleuka is a name which combines the terms for two sociolects 'melanolect' and 'leukolect'[12] coined to label the range of colonial period language contact output produced by Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people

[12]These are names suggested to me by Harold Koch. 'Melaleuka' is a term I coined because it is neutral and does not preempt decisions. I maintain that the whole corpus of data used in this thesis forms a set within which labelling is appropriate. However, I have concentrated on the data which exhibits the qualities of a pidgin.

respectively. Within these sociolects there is a continuum of speech ranging from a less pidgin-like to a more pidgin-like variety. The meeting point of the sociolects is at the most pidgin-like level. This can be represented diagrammatically[13] as follows:-

MELALEUKA

melanolect		leukolect
least pidgin-like <---------->	pidgin	<----------> least pidgin-like
heavy input from Aboriginal languages		heavy input from English

Part of the model, the melanolect, is untestable. Only the nature of the leukolect can be addressed because the sources are all non-Aboriginal. Although, many sources claim to be representing the exact output of Aboriginal people, none is the product of an Aboriginal scribe. The only authentic Aboriginal outputs I have found are a number of pieces written by mission-educated Aboriginal children and youths who, at least when writing, used standard English. Therefore, this thesis is about the pidgin spoken by non-Aboriginal people in colonial NSW even though most of it purports to represent the speech of Aboriginal people.

1.3 MATERIALS AND METHOD

1.3.1 The data

The evidence drawn on in this thesis comes from the vast amount of written material (both manuscript and published) which documents Australian history. The data selected for use come from sources produced by people who were first-hand

[13]Poetically the model works well and maybe helps fulfil Carrington's request for imagery of pidgin/creole genesis that is more creative than a simple linear or concentric circle model of development (Carrington 1992). The language gained its widest usage in the bush, amongst the melaleucas such as paperbarks and tea tree which grow on river banks where Aboriginal people camped and settlers built their homesteads. The notion of a black and white tree is also conceptually useful as the language Melaleuka branches into the two sociolect forms. The colonists established a need for unprecedented cross-cultural communication and so the white trunk of the Melaleuka took root. Black branches grew from the trunk as Aboriginal people provided their own linguistic responses to the colonists.

witnesses to language contact in NSW. The raw data were collected into twenty appendices according to the geographical region in which they were originally recorded. The data are further divided within the appendices into small segments of numbered text for ease of reference. Therefore, each example of text used in the thesis to support a claim about the nature of language contact can be examined in its raw form to check the accuracy of interpretation. The data is given as it appears in the sources without any normalisation or comment about inaccuracies of spelling, punctuation or grammar. I made this decision so that the data would continue to demonstrate the idiosyncrasies which I was forced to accept and work with. Within the thesis the data are examined over time and space according to major periods and regions of settlement in NSW.

I have used a diversity of sources to give a balanced picture of NSW Pidgin. These include privately written journals and letters, public and official correspondence and works of literature encompassing both pure fiction and factual narratives. The uniformity of NSW Pidgin across the sources demonstrates that the language was not simply a literary device. It was not an invention but a real language used in real situations. However, what was captured on paper was an image of the language and almost certainly not a full representation.

The total body of written material, published and unpublished, provides a wealth of linguistic information[14]. From that standpoint it is possible to glean the information one is seeking from relevant material provided one is constantly suspicious of the (i) motives behind the production of the material and (ii) the background of the author and sometimes also of the scribe. In cases where the material is published, editorial bias is also an important factor to be taken into account in assessing the material. It is necessary to know the historical, cultural and

[14]Leaders in contemporary historiographical technique such as Simon Schama (1988, 1989) have demonstrated the value of admitting the evidence of anecdotal documents such as those presented in this thesis as evidence for history.

linguistic contexts in which any item was produced in order to assess its reliability. Therefore, I never discuss any document without incorporating the background to its production.

All the documents I have used were produced by people with varying degrees of fluency in and understanding of NSW Pidgin. I have not used any material produced by people who could never have heard NSW Pidgin or which I have been unable to source. Examples of material of that nature are the early colonial works attributed to the convict George Barrington which I discuss in detail later (see 3.3.2.5). Brevity of exposure to the language was not used as a criterion for exclusion from the data sets as people who were briefly exposed to NSW Pidgin produced relevant material. However, I do acknowledge, in discussing each of the sources within each chapter, that their data are of a different order to those produced by people with long exposure to the language.

During the course of this and previous researches I attempted to formulate a method for reconstructing NSW Pidgin as spoken by Aboriginal people (the melanolect speakers) using documents produced by non-Aboriginal people (the leukolect speakers). Now, at the end of that search, I have come to the conclusion that documents produced by leukolect speakers will never do more than provide insights into the salient features of the melanolect of NSW Pidgin.

1.3.2 The NSW Pidgin wordlist

Appendix 21 contains a wordlist made up of all the lexical items found within the data for NSW Pidgin. It is organised as a NSW Pidgin-to-English finderlist. The bolded headwords are there for ease of reference given the orthographic variation within the data. No claim is made about their 'reality' although I have tried to derive them so that they reflect the phonetics suggested by the sources. Where there are several equally plausible headwords these are given as bracketed forms, for example,

baka (**baki, bako**) 'tobacco'. The various sources for each item are indented beneath the reference form. Bracketed references beside each different spelling indicate where one example of each can be found in the appendices.

Where they exist, examples are given from each geographical area covered by the appendices. The abbreviations indicate the appendix in which the item can be found and the number indicates the datum within the appendix which provides an example. For example, M:12 means Melbourne data (contained in Appendix 20) item number 12. All abbreviations are listed in the initial list of abbreviations. This is a different system to that used in the body of the thesis where examples are only identified by a number which is the same as the appendix number. For example, 20:12 means Appendix 20 item number 12. The reason for the different system in use in the wordlist is to indicate the areal distribution of forms. The areal distribution also to indicates some time frame for earliest period of use for each item because the areas correspond to movement of settlement. The abbreviations provide the reader with a shorthand note that suggests the area in which an item is attested more easily than do the number system used elsewhere in the thesis. The numbered appendix references used in the body of the thesis help the reader find the appendix more easily and it is clear from the context which geographical area is being considered.

Directly opposite the reference forms are translations suggested by the sources for each item either by direct translation or contextual use. Multiple translations are numbered. Once again, references are given within parentheses following each translation. Where an item has only one orthographic representation in the data but has more than one translation the references given for the translations also provide orthographic evidence. In some cases an item has several orthograpic variations and only two translations one of which is attested for the majority of the orthographic variants. In such a case, the most common translation is taken to be evidenced by

most of the references given for the orthographic variants and separate references are given for the less common translation.

If an item has two or more unrelated meanings it is treated as a case of homophony and given separate entries with superscripts indicating that there is more than one item with the same reference form.

Words are assumed to have been borrowed from English or created with the productive processes of NSW Pidgin unless otherwise indicated in the translation column. Where a word has been borrowed from a language other than English it is indicated with an abbreviation and an etymology is supplied.

One of the main problems in creating the wordlist has been to determine whether a complex form is a lexeme or not, that is, an institutionalised form for an institutionalised concept. Then I needed to decide how to represent complex forms. In the case of living languages, in addition to the constraints of the grammar of the language, linguists can rely on their own intuition and those of the speakers they are working with. Unable to work with living speakers, I have occasionally relied on my own intuitions about NSW Pidgin gained through working on the data. However, my conclusions can only ever be predictions. The solutions to the same problem devised by linguists who have recently worked on living pidgins and creoles in Australia and the Pacific have also informed my decisions. In particular I have used the very recent working dictionaries of Broken of the Torres Strait by Anna Shnukal (1988) and Bislama of Vanuatu by Terry Crowley (1990). There is no consensus solution. For example, taking the adjective *big* in each language the linguists have reached different solutions. Crowley generally treats adjectives with a noun as a compound while Shnukal prefers to keep them as separate words. So 'city' is *big taun* and 'cyclone' is *big win* in Broken while in Bislama they are *bigtaon* and *bigwin* respectively. English translations for items can be deceptive as an aid in deciding

whether or not an item is a compound. For example, the word **gibagunya** 'cave' or 'rock house' is not a compound in English but in NSW Pidgin it is a compound because there are no variants meaning 'wood house' or 'bark house'.

For ease of reference I have opted to follow as systematic an approach as possible even though the result might not represent the actual speakers' patterns. When a modifier and a noun occur together to create a single concept they are treated as a compound, for example, **bigmasa** 'head, leader'. However, if the modifier is a form containing a suffix, **-fela**, **-wan** or **-man**, the item is a phrase and the modifier and noun are written separately, for example, **bigwan masa** 'head master'. Some compounds seem strange to English-speakers but it is assumed that speakers of NSW Pidgin would have used the item as a compound word, for example, **gabamintman** 'convict', literally 'government man'.

Items closely related to particular headwords are indented below the relevant headword unless they are modified by extra morphology in which case they are given a separate entry (for example, **big** 'big, important' is separate from entries headed by **bigfela** 'brave, adult' and **bigwan** 'big, very, etc.'). However, verbs which are marked with transitivising suffixes have the marked forms indented below the verb stem as an indication that they can take those markers. Interjections or other words which have been borrowed directly from English or an Aboriginal language are given separate entries even if they appear to be related to a headword. I made this decision because I do not consider that the items are derived from the headword using the productive processes of NSW Pidgin. Core vocabulary items are asterisked and were chosen because they had wide areal distribution and are, therefore, likely to have been core items for most speakers of the language. Comparison with data for pidgin and creole languages elsewhere in the world might help to explain the non-

Aboriginal lexicon[15] evident in NSW Pidgin. However, that investigation is beyond the scope of this thesis.

1.3.3 Organisation

The thesis is divided into six main chapters, Chapters 2 to 7, determined according to geographical regions of major settlement. These regions are Sydney, the Cumberland Plain, the northern district focussing on Newcastle and Port Stephens, the western district focussing on Bathurst, Wellington and the Lachlan River, the Monaro including the south coast and Port Phillip (now called Victoria). Each of these chapters consist of two parts, (i) an introductory statement about the history of settlement which is followed by (ii) an analysis of the available hard linguistic data. The historical and linguistic data are all contained in appendices located in Volume 2 and numbered from Appendix 1 to Appendix 20. Each chapter ends with a conclusion which is the basis for informing the summary of findings in Chapter 8.

Chapter 2 deals with the earliest contact between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people in NSW. It is long because it is necessarily discursive, the arguments put forward rely on a historical analysis in narrative form supported by only a small amount of hard linguistic data. Chapter 3 is again quite lengthy because it deals with the period during which NSW Pidgin had its early consolidation during the British colonial expansion northwards. Chapter 4 contains the first detailed analysis of linguistic data and establishes many of the fundamental features of NSW Pidgin. Chapters 5 and 6 are about data from the inland and southern districts which largely reiterate the features of NSW Pidgin established in earlier chapters. They are briefer for this reason. Chapter 7 deals with the data from Port Phillip and is again a more lengthy discourse because of the wide area examined and the need to identify the local features of the data.

---

[15]The non-Aboriginal lexicon might look like straight input from English in many cases but may owe its semantic features to a previous use in another contact language context, such as the development of Irish English (see Troy 1991).

2

SYDNEY, 1788-1792: LANGUAGE CONTACT BEGINS

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Language contact between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people in NSW began with the arrival of the first fleet of colonisers from England (the 'First Fleet') in January 1788. In December 1792, the first governor, Arthur Phillip, and most of his detachment of marines returned to England. During Phillip's governorship British settlement of NSW spread from the small area in the immediate vicinity of Sydney Cove, Port Jackson out as far as Parramatta. The area was declared the Cumberland County in 1788 although its boundaries were not finalised until 1835 (Map 3). The governor had also sent exploring parties to investigate much of the Cumberland Plain.

There is only one other known encounter between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people in the same area. In April 1770, Captain James Cook's exploring party landed at Botany Bay for a brief stay to defoul the *Endeavour*. In May 1785, the expedition's botanist, Joseph Banks, told the Committee of Enquiry into Transportation that they were unable to obtain any knowledge whatever of the language of the Aboriginal people at Botany Bay[16] (Banks 1785:56). The people did not want any of the goods Cook offered such as beads, looking glasses, cloth and combs and commemorative medals. They only wanted the ships and their crew to leave and refused to open any communication with the invaders (King 1985:2). Banks went on to say that 'from the Experience I have had of the Natives of another part of the same Coast I am inclined to believe they would speedily abandon the Country to the New Comers' (Banks 1785:61).

[16]Peter Newton (1987) investigated claims that documents from Cook's expedition were found that contain Sydney language wordlists. However, the documents have disappeared and in the absence of any authentication of the claim it cannot be credited.

Communication between Aboriginal people and colonists began with the first interface (2.2.3, 2.2.4). Sharing no common language, it was natural that both parties relied on gestural communication with reinforcement from verbal interjections[17]. The interactions were tentative but non-aggressive and the colonists viewed them as promising. However, the aggressiveness of the settlement process alarmed the Aboriginal population and they became shy of the colonists. Communication virtually ceased between the peoples for amost two years. The aggression was directed both at Aboriginal people themselves and their whole environment. The colonists demonstrated the power of guns to Aboriginal people as a threat to discourage them from opposing British colonisation of their country. In addition to stealing Aboriginal land the colonists also stole their possessions to supply a lucrative internal and external trade in Aboriginal artefacts. The process of clearing the land for settlement devastated the natural environment. The violence of the colonists towards each other, beatings and hangings of people bound and unable to defend themselves, shocked the Aboriginal population. In the face of such aggression, the initial interest shown by Aboriginal people in the colonists changed to resistance to any friendly overtures and complete avoidance where possible.

The behaviour of the Aboriginal population frustrated Phillip's attempts to carry out his orders which were to reconcile them to the settlement. He urged his officers to pursue communication with Aboriginal people and to attempt to acquire their

---

[17]Music also played an important role in the development of linguistic interactions between Aboriginal people and colonists. It is often commented on in the literature for the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that Aboriginal people readily acquired the colonists' songs. At Botany Bay in January 1788, Surgeon White while demonstrating the power of guns used music to soothe the fears of the Aboriginal people who witnessed his display:- 'The Indians, though terrified at the report, did not run away, but their astonishment exceeded their alarm, on looking at the shield which the ball had perforated. As this produced a little shyness, the officer, to dissipate their fears and remove their jealousy, whistled the air of *Malbrooke*, which they appeared highly charmed with, and imitated him with equal pleasure and readiness' (Tench 1979:37). Evidently that particular tune became very popular with Aboriginal people in the whole Sydney district because George Thompson wrote of them in 1794:- 'When in their canoes they keep constantly singing while they paddle along; they have the French tune of Malbrook very perfect: I have heard a dozen or twenty singing it together" (Thompson, in Tench 1979:97). '"Malbrooke s'en va-t-en guerre", an old French song, to the same air as "We won't go home till morning"' (Fitzhardinge, in Tench 1979:97). In January 1788, Newton Fowell commented 'one of the Party took a fife on Shore played several tunes to the Natives who were highly delighted with it espetially at seeing some of the seamen dance' (Fowell 1988:67).

language[18]. Phillip also formulated plans to capture and indoctrinate at least one Aboriginal person who would become the interlocutor and cultural mediator between the colonists and the Aboriginal people. He succeeded with the man Bennelong[19], who, while in captivity, became familiar with the language and culture of the colony. Bennelong also expanded the colonists' small repertoire of knowledge about Aboriginal language. His linguistic role made him a primary catalyst in the early development of contact language. Phillip invested much time and mental energy in the project and was rewarded by making a lasting and favourable impression on Bennelong. Through Bennelong, Phillip was able to reopen communication with the wider Aboriginal community and establish a permanent community of Aboriginal people within the settlement. He was then able to actively pursue his orders to reconcile the indigenous people to the British settlement. Phillip's policies of free communication between Aboriginal people and colonists fostered intercultural exchanges.

Phillip created an environment in which language contact was actively encouraged. He placed great emphasis on the development of a linguistic bridge between local Aboriginal people and the colonists. Aboriginal people, such as Bennelong, who had frequent interactions with the colonists acquired great facility with English. Phillip gave the colony's administrators official sanction and the time to invest in developing relationships with local Aboriginal people in order to study their language and culture. A number of the colonial officials acquired a working knowlege of at least the Sydney Language[20]and kept accounts of their researches

---

[18]It was believed for several years that the Aboriginal people spoke only one language.

[19]The names of Aboriginal people mentioned in the sources are spelt variously and it was also observed that Aboriginal people had several names and also changed their names for various reasons. For the sake of consistency the names are given in their most common spellings. For example, in the case of Bennelong the name used here is established by tradition and is readily recognised. However, at the time of the first settlement it was observed that 'this native has no less than five names, viz. "*Bannelon, Wollewarre, Boinba, Bunde-bunda, Wogé trowey,*" but he likes best to be called by the second' (King 1968:269). The name most commonly used in contemporary sources was a variation on Bannelon and most often spelt with a terminal *-ng*. Bennelong was described as 'a stout well-made man, about five feet six inches high, and now that the dirt is washed from his skin, we find his colour is a dark black: he is very large featured, and has a flat nose; his hair is the same as the Asiatics, but very coarse and strong' (King 1968:269).

[20]The Sydney Language was the language which was spoken by the first Aboriginal people to have had extended contact with the colonisers from Britain (Troy 1994). The Sydney language provided

(2.3.2.1, 2.3.2.2). Convicts, who were the majority of the population, were discouraged and where possible obstructed from interacting with Aboriginal people. Phillip feared that the convicts would mistreat Aboriginal people and would rekindle their animosity.

The evidence suggests that, at least in the first few years of settlement, a small number of people in both populations became the initial interlocutors for the majority. Amongst the Aboriginal population the ability to communicate with the colonists became a means for self-aggrandisement. People with some facility with English, most notably Bennelong, became authority figures amongst their people[21]. Both Aboriginal people and colonists who could communicate across the language barrier became the models for others who wanted to participate in cross-cultural communication[22]. Aboriginal people had greater access to English than most colonists ever had to Aboriginal languages by virtue of the fact that they were given free access to the settlement where English prevailed. In contrast, the colonists were excluded from participating in Aboriginal societies where they would have been forced to communicate exclusively in Aboriginal languages. Not surprisingly, Aboriginal people acquired some knowledge of English very quickly while only colonists acquired a working knowledge of the Sydney Language.

The evidence presented below suggests that the processes of language contact in Sydney produced a very unstable product—a complex of idiosyncratic jargons. Unfortunately, linguistic evidence for language contact during this period is almost exclusively anecdotal and substantive evidence is scarce. The linguistic records of

---

the main Aboriginal input to the contact language context in Sydney during the earliest period of settlement. A historical summary of knowledge about the Sydney language, a grammatical sketch and wordlist for the language are given in Troy 1994.

[21]It is common in Aboriginal societies for 'linguistic virtuosos' to provide the lead in cases of unprecedented language and culture contact (Brandl and Walsh 1982).

[22]It is clear that particular individuals from both societies played catalytic roles in achieving regular social interaction between the cultures. According to the literature, the most prominent actors in the interactions were the Aboriginal people:- Arabanoo, Bennelong, Colbee, Nanbaree, Yimeerawanie, Abaroo, and Patyegarang, and the colonists:- Arthur Phillip, William Dawes, Watkin Tench and Richard White.

the time were produced by literate colonists who were not interested in recording evidence for contact language. They preferred to embellish their accounts of the colony with ethnographic notes and observations about local Aboriginal languages. Within this time period, only inferential evidence suggests that language contact was producing an incipient form of NSW Pidgin. I could only consider the data for this period anecdotal if each piece was taken on its own. However, I have collated below all the narrative information about linguistic interactions between Aboriginal people and colonists in this period. Through that process, I have created a quantitative set of accumulated anecdotes from which I can draw a qualitative picture for linguistic interactions between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people in Sydney, from 1788 to 1792.

2.2 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

2.2.1 Phillip's official instructions to open communication

Governor Arthur Phillip, Commander of the First Fleet and founder of the British colony of NSW, was given instructions by King George III[23] to colonise the country with as little disturbance to the indigenous people as possible.

> You are to endeavour, by every possible means, to open an intercourse with the natives, and to conciliate their affections, enjoining all our subjects to live in amity and kindness with them. And if any of our subjects shall wantonly destroy them, or give them any unnecessary interruption in the exercise of their several occupations, it is our will and pleasure that you do cause such offenders to be brought to punishment according to the degree of the offence. You will endeavour to procure an account of the numbers inhabiting the neighbourhood of the intended settlement, and report our opinion to one of our Secretaries of State in what manner our intercourse with these people may be turned to the advantage of this colony. (George R. 1787:485)

In the very orders issued to the first Governor of NSW were instructions to organise and to promote language contact. It was a very favourable starting point for the development of a contact language. Heeding his instructions, Phillip made language acquisition a priority in order to facilitate the peaceful occupation of NSW

[23]The instructions remained the same for all governors, until 1825, when they were changed at the recommendations of the Bigge Reports (Woolmington 1988:3).

by his colonists. Not knowing what to expect from the Aboriginal population, Phillip was apprehensive about cross-cultural interactions. However, he maintained a positive desire that both colonists and indigenes alike should benefit from regular and peaceful interactions. Phillip worried about linguistic and social barriers, believing that it boded ill for the Aboriginal population if they could not understand the colonists and their mission. He feared even more for his own people who might die of privation if Aboriginal knowledge of the country remained a secret.

While assuming that he had the right to establish a colony at Botany Bay because the land was untenured, Phillip offered the contradictory observation that he would need to secure the settlement from possible Aboriginal hostility (Phillip n.d.:20). He apprehended that the Aboriginal population would dispute the rights of the British to claim tenure by establishing a colony. Phillip hoped to obtain peace through reconciling Aboriginal people to the settlement by making them functioning members of the colony. He aimed to create a 'contact society' by encouraging the development of a complete repertoire of social interactions between Aboriginal people and colonists.

> I shall think it a great Point gained if I can proceed in this Business without having any dispute with the Natives, a few of which I shall endeavour to persuade to Settle near us, and who I mean to furnish with every thing that can tend to Civilize them, and to give them a high Opinion of the New Guests...The Natives may it is probable permit their Women to Marry and Live with the Men after a certain time, in which case I should think it necessary to Punish with Severity the Man who use the Women Ill... (Phillip n.d.:20)

2.2.2 The colonists' preconceptions about Aboriginal people

The First Fleet officials arrived with a number of preconceptions about Aboriginal people and their country. Reports from the 1770 Cook expedition claimed that Australia was *terra nullius* 'land belonging to no-one'. The reports concluded that the inhabitants of the country were few in number, confined to the coast, technologically and socially simple and had no observable claims to the land.

However, the officials of the First Fleet were forced to reconsider those ideas within days of arriving at Botany Bay. Watkin Tench commented that they 'found the natives tolerably numerous' and 'had reason to conclude the country more populous than Mr. Cook thought it' (Tench 1979:35). The colonists became very aware of the need to establish good relations with the Aboriginal population in order to maintain their existence in NSW.

At the end of January 1788, John Hunter completed the first survey of Port Jackson. He was surprised to find the area well populated by sophisticated and inquisitive people.

> ...we had frequent meetings with different parties of the natives, whom we found at this time very numerous; a circumstance which I confess I was a little surprised to find, after what had been said of them in the voyage of the Endeavour; for I think it is observed in the account of that voyage, that at Botany-bay they had seen very few of the natives, and that they appeared a very stupid race of people, who were void of curiosity. We saw them in considerable numbers, and they appeared to us to be a very lively and inquisitive race... (Hunter 1968:37)

Hunter later conjectured that the Aboriginal peoples moved north in the winter when the supply of marine food decreased which may have accounted for Cook seeing so few people at Botany Bay (Hunter 1968:46).

Later forays into the interior of the Sydney district confirmed that the country was considerably more populous than the colonists earlier believed. Unfortunately, the discovery that the Aboriginal population was extensive and very territorial did not prompt the administration to modify official policy. Settlement proceeded with the only consideration given to the indigenous population being attempts to integrate them into the settlement.

2.2.3 Botany Bay: the beginning of language contact

By 20 January 1788, the entire First Fleet had cast anchor at Botany Bay where the Aboriginal peoples of NSW and the colonisers from England had their first

interactions. On first sighting the ships the Aboriginal people reacted with what the colonists interpreted as hostility.

> As the ships were sailing in, a number of the natives assembled on the south shore, and, by their motions seemed to threaten; they pointed their spears, and often repeated the words, wara, wara... (Hunter 1968:28)
>
> ...they were assembled on the beach of the south shore, to the number of not less than forty persons, shouting and making many uncouth signs and gestures... (Tench 1979:35).

The first concern of the colonists was to obtain fresh water and the next was to establish friendly relations with the Aboriginal people, for practical as well as esoteric reasons.

> This appearance whetted curiosity to its utmost, but as prudence forbade a few people to venture wantonly among so great a number, and a party of only six men was observed on the north shore, the Governor immediately proceeded to land on that side, in order to take possession of his new territory, and bring about an intercourse between its old and new masters...At last an officer in the boat made signs of a want of water, which it was judged would indicate his wish of landing. The natives directly comprehended what he wanted, and pointed to a spot where water could be procured...As on the event of this meeting might depend so much of our future tranquility, every delicacy on our side was requisite. The Indians, though timorous, shewed no signs of resentment at the Governor's going on shore; an interview commenced, in which the conduct of both parties pleased each other so much, that the strangers returned to their ships with a much better opinion of the natives than they had landed with; and the latter seemed highly entertained with their new acquaintance, from whom they condescended to accept of a looking glass, some beads, and other toys. (Tench 1979:35)

It would appear from this eyewitness account that the first question asked of the Aboriginal people by the colonists, using only gestural communication, was understood and answered satisfactorily. The content of the subsequent 'interview' is unknown.

The author of the above account, Watkin Tench, described his own first encounter with Aboriginal people and his acquisition of what he took to be a word in their language.

> ...we were met by a dozen Indians...Eager to come to a conference, and yet afraid of giving offence, we advanced with caution towards them, nor would they, at first, approach nearer to us than the distance of some paces. Both parties were armed; yet an attack seemed as unlikely on their part, as we knew it to be on our own...After nearly an hour's conversation by signs and gestures, they repeated

> several times the word *whurra*, which signifies, begone, and walked away from us to the head of the bay. (Tench 1979:36)

It was through such 'conversations' that words like *whurra* [24] came to be identified with a particular meaning in the contact context. Informal encounters with Aboriginal people were rarely reported in detail. However, ad hoc communication did occur frequently and as with the formal 'interviews' gesture was the principal medium for communication. Most encounters were exclusively between men. There were no female officials in the First Fleet and the convict women did not perform any duties that put them in the frontline of cross-cultural communication. Aboriginal women were kept away from the colonists and closely guarded by the men during most encounters.

The early contacts were amicable and motivated by mutual curiosity. Tench noted that they 'had several more interviews with the natives, which ended in so friendly a manner, that we began to entertain strong hopes of bringing about a connection with them' (Tench 1979:37). The colonists were also driven by the need to establish permanent communication with the Aboriginal population in order to assert their authority.

> Our first object was to win their affections, and our next to convince them of the superiority we possessed: for without the latter, the former we knew would be of little importance. (Tench 1979:37)

2.2.4 Port Jackson: attempts to establish permanent communication

Botany Bay proved unsuitable for settlement because of poor soil and a lack of fresh running water. Therefore, Phillip fixed on a new site, Sydney Cove, Port Jackson which had a clear running stream[25] and more evidence of fertile topsoil for vegetable gardens. The first permanent British settlement in Australia was founded on 26 January 1788[26], when the entire First Fleet entered Sydney Cove (Phillip n.d.:39).

---

[24]"'Warra, warra, warra' words which, by the gestures that had accompanied them, could not be interpreted into invitations to land, or expressions of welcome" (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:2).

[25]The so-called 'Tank Stream' still flows through a nineteenth century drainage tunnel under the streets and buildings of Sydney.

[26]A French expedition of exploration arrived in Botany Bay just as the First Fleet removed to Port Jackson, on 26 January 1788. The French remained until 10 March 1788. Although they interacted

Initial contacts between Aboriginal people and colonists at Port Jackson were made in an atmosphere of mutual curiosity and both peoples exhibited a high degree of trust. Communication was principally effected by gesture.

> On the arrival of the boats at Port Jackson, a second party of the natives made its appearance near the place of landing...One man in particular, who appeared to be the chief of this tribe, shewed very singular marks both of confidence in his new friends, and of determined resolution. Under the guidance of Governor Phillip...he went to a part of the beach where the men belonging to the boats were then boiling their meat...he then went off with perfect calmness to examine what was boiling in the pot, and by the manner in which he expressed his admiration, made it evident that he intended to profit by what he saw. Governor Phillip contrived to make him understand that large shells might conveniently be used for the same purpose, and it is probable that by these hints, added to his own observation, he will be enabled to introduce the art of boiling among his countrymen. Hitherto they appear to have known no other way of dressing food than broiling. (Phillip 1968:48-9)

Phillip attempted to define a boundary between Aboriginal land and the settlement.

> ...we had flattered ourselves, from Governor Phillip's first reception among them, that such a connection might be established as would tend to the interest of both parties. It seems, that on that occasion, they not only received our people with great cordiality, but so far acknowledged their authority as to submit, that a boundary, during their first interview, might be drawn on the sand, which they attempted not to infringe, and appeared to be satisfied with. (Tench 1979:40)

The colonists wanted to interact freely with the people but only on their own terms. Any Aboriginal behaviour that was not to the taste of the colonists was strongly discouraged. The area that the colonists had demarcated as their own was policed with the use of guns.

> The menace of pointing a musquet to them was frequently used; and in one or two instances it was fired off, though without being attended with fatal consequences. (Tench 1979:55)

---

with the Aboriginal people their stay was so brief that no impression of any linguistic influence can be found in the extant records for language contact. Tench commented that the people were treated with care by the French (Tench 1979:55). However, after their bitter experience of attack on the Samoan Island of Tutuila, they were more wary than the British and 'built a stockade to protect themselves and their longboats from the natives' (Berzins 1988:21). Their opinion of the people of Botany Bay was not favourable. La Perouse complained that 'the Indians of New Holland, who tho' very weak and few in number, like all savages are extremely mischievous, and would burn our boats if they possessed the means and could find a favourable opportunity, since they even threw spears at us immediately after our presents and our greetings' (La Perouse, quoted in Berzins 1988:21).

In late January 1788, John Hunter made a survey of Port Jackson and recorded his impressions of what were some of the earliest attempts at cross cultural communication in the Sydney district. He found that mutual curiosity was a powerful prompt for communication which mainly took the form of each imitating the other, 'they danced and sung with us, and imitated our words and motions, as we did theirs' (Hunter 1968:37). Hunter persisted in his attempts to establish communication with Aboriginal people whenever he encountered them, even under threatening circumstances.

High up the harbour, Hunter came across a huge group of people, who appeared to be armed and hostile, probably gathered for a festive or ceremonial occasion. Hunter withdrew his small party, at the same time 'making signs of friendship'. He returned two days later better armed but with a view to opening up a communication (Hunter 1968:38-9). The gathering had by then reduced and Hunter felt more at ease. His party interacted in a wary but friendly way with the Aboriginal people relying almost entirely on gesture for communication. They also demonstrated their superior fighting strength by firing a ball from a pistol through the thickest part of an Aboriginal shield. Hunter believed the exercise made the desired impression (Hunter 1968:39).

During encounters of this kind, the colonists usually gave Aboriginal people gifts such as beads and rags of white linen in an attempt to ingratiate themselves. The people appeared to be pleased to accept the gifts but often discarded them when the colonists had gone. After one four hour session with the people Hunter commented that 'both parties apparently well satisfied with all that passed' (Hunter 1968:40).

These initial interactions encouraged the colonists to hold high hopes of developing a good working relationship with the Aboriginal population.

> ...it will be no very difficult matter, in due time, to conciliate their friendship and confidence; for although they generally appear armed on our first meeting, which will be allowed to be very natural, yet, whenever we have laid aside our arms, and have made signs of friendship, they have always advanced unarmed, with spirit, and a degree of confidence scarcely to be expected...from that appearance of a friendly disposition, I am inclined to think, that by residing some time amongst, or near them, they will soon discover that we are not their enemies; a light they no doubt considered us in on our first arrival. (Hunter 1968:41)

However, in spite of the initial amicable and frequent interactions the local Aboriginal people became increasingly aloof in their dealings with the colonists.

> ...we had been but very few days at Port Jackson, when an alteration in the behaviour of the natives was perceptible; and I wish I could add, that a longer residence in their neighbourhood had introduced a greater degree of cordiality and intermixture between the old, and new, lords of the soil...The result, however, of our repeated endeavours to induce them to come among us has been such as to confirm me in an opinion, that they either fear or despise us too much, to be anxious for a closer connection...opportunities of communication are so scarce, as to have been seldom obtained. (Tench 1979:46)

People who had frequented Sydney Cove before it was colonised by the English gradually quit the area.

> The Indians for a little while after our arrival paid us frequent visits, but in a few days they were observed to be more shy of our company. From what cause their distaste arose we never could trace, as we had made it our study, on these occasions, to treat them with kindness, and load them with presents. No quarrel had happened... (Tench 1979:40)

David Collins was surprised that Aboriginal people showed little interest in the colony.

> It was natural to suppose that the curiosity of these people would be attracted by observing, that, instead of quitting, we were occupied in works that indicated an intension of remaining in their country; but during the first six weeks we received only one visit, two men strolling into the camp one evening, and remaining in it for about half an hour. They appeared to admire whatever they saw, and after receiving each a hatchet (of the use of which the eldest instantly and curiously shewed his knowledge, by turning up his foot, and sharpening a piece of wood on the sole with the hatchet) took their leave, apparently well pleased with their reception. The fishing-boats also frequently reported their having been visited by many of these people when hauling the seine, at which labour they often assisted with cheerfulness, and in return were generally rewarded with part of the fish taken. (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:13)

Late at night on 27 July 1788 the sentinel guards reported that a party of twenty or thirty Aborigines entered the settlement to examine it unobserved. However, the

report was regarded with much suspicion by the authorities (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:27). Collins' remarks above suggest that the majority of the Aboriginal population may have been waiting to hear the reports of scouts sent to observe the colonists before making contact themselves.

Nine months into the first year of settlement, Phillip was unable to report the establishment of what he regarded as a satisfactory intercourse with the indigenous population. He believed the people were unhappy that the colonists were remaining in Sydney Cove.

> The natives though very friendly whenever they are met by two or three People who are armed, still continue to attack any of the Convicts when they meet them in the Woods, and two or three have been lately wounded by them. I have been with a small Party to examine the Land between this Harbour and Broken Bay: we went as far as Pitt Water, and saw several of the Natives, but none came near us...On our return to the Boats near the Mouth of the harbour, we found about Sixty of the Natives, Men, Women, and Children, with whom we stayed some Hours: they were friendly, but, as I have ever found them, since they find we intend to remain, they appeared best pleased when we were leaving them, though I gave them many useful Articles: and it is not possible to say, whether it was from Fear, or Contempt that they do not come amongst us. (Phillip 1788b:67)

Phillip's orders that the Aboriginal people should not be estranged by hostile behaviour towards them were flaunted by the colonists. Theft of Aboriginal artefacts was motivated by a developing illegal trade in ethnographic goods. The French scientific expedition captained by La Perouse, which arrived just after the First Fleet, encouraged the trade.

> Every precaution was used to guard against a breach of this friendly and desirable intercourse, by strictly prohibiting every person from depriving them of their spears, fizgigs, gum, or other articles, which we soon perceived they were accustomed to leave under the rocks or loose and scattered about upon the beaches. We had however, great reason to believe that these precautions were first rendered fruitless by the ill conduct of a boat's crew belonging to one of the transports, who, we were told afterwards, attempted to land in one of the coves at the lower part of the harbour, but were prevented, and driven off with stones by the natives...the convicts were every where straggling about, collecting animals and gum to sell to the people of the transports[27], who at the same time were procuring spears, shields, swords, fishing-lines, and other articles from the natives, to carry to Europe; the loss of which must have been attended with many inconveniences to the owners...although some of these people had been punished for purchasing articles of the convicts, the practice was carried on secretly...We also had the mortifcation to learn, that M. De la Perouse had been compelled to

[27]The French transports of La Perouse's expedition.

> fire upon the natives at Botany Bay, where they frequently annoyed his people who were employed on shore. This circumstance materially affected us, as those who had rendered this violence necessary could not discriminate between us and them. (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:13)

Some Aboriginal people retaliated by stealing from the colony and relations between the people deteriorated markedly.

> A party of them, consisting of sixteen or eighteen persons, some time after landed on the island[28] where the people of the *Sirius* were preparing a garden, and with much artifice, watching their opportunity, carried off a shovel, a spade, and a pick-axe. On their being fired at and hit on the legs by one of the people with small shot, the pick-axe was dropped, but they carried off the other tools...To such circumstances as these must be attributed the termination of that good understanding which had hitherto subsisted between us and them, and which Governor Phillip laboured to improve whenever he had an opportunity. (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:13)

It is inevitable that enmity as well as amity is produced in any cross-cultural interactions. The potential for misunderstanding and misuse of either group by the other is high. In spite of Phillip's attempts to monitor and control interactions between the peoples some colonists repeatedly took advantage of Aboriginal people. They met with violent retribution at the hands of those people when discovered. Phillip was as keen as the Aboriginal population to punish the offenders. However, in the early months of contact it was impossible for him to determine the true nature of any encounter. Phillip had no common language in which he could obtain the Aboriginal side of any story. Therefore, 'the natives themselves, however injured, could not contradict' assertions made by colonists against them (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:19).

Phillip showed keeness of judgement in deciding how tolerant the Aboriginal people were of the colony and a vigilance in effecting his own policies. Therefore, altercations between the cultures were few and 'every accident that had happened was occasioned by a breach of positive orders repeatedly given' (Collins, vol. 1,

---

[28]Garden Island.

1975:29). However, the few 'accidents' made a strong impression on the Aboriginal people around the settlement and resulted in acute shyness on their part.

> There was...too much reason to believe that our people had been the aggressors, as the governor on his return from his excursion to Broken Bay, on landing at Camp Cove, found the natives there who had before frequently come up to him with confidence, unusually shy, and seemingly afraid of him and his party; and one, who after much invitation did venture to approach, pointed to some marks upon his shoulders, making signs they were caused by blows given with a stick. This, and their running away, whereas they had always before remained on the beach until the people landed from the boats, were strong indications that the man had been beaten by some of our stragglers. Eleven canoes full of people passed very near the Sirius, which was moored without the two points of the cove, but paddled away very fast upon the approach of some boats toward them. (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:19)

In May 1788, two unsupervised convicts cutting rushes stole an Aboriginal canoe and paid for the offense with their lives. The colonial authorities believed that the severe retaliation was a consequence of the 'ill-treatment which the natives received' from the convicts (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:24). Phillip was determined to uncover the full story behind the killings even though he did not have command of any language in which he could interrogate the Aboriginal people involved. He set off with 'a strong well-armed party' to find the killers. Between Botany Bay and Port Jackson 'he suddenly fell in with an armed party of natives, in number between two and three hundred, men, women and children. With these a friendly intercourse directly took place, and some spears, etc. were exchanged for hatchets; but the murderers of the rush-cutters, if they were amongst them, could not be discovered in the crowd. The governor hoped to have found the people still at the place where the men had been killed, in which case he would have endeavoured to secure some of them' (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:25).

Clearly, Phillip suffered in his attempts at cross-cultural mediation through having no common language in which to freely discuss events. The ad hoc nature of even the official attempts at communication are here plainly represented. Phillip could only manage very minor 'pleasantries' with the people. There was no possibility of

him discussing the murders. It is not surprising that Phillip became increasingly obsessed with the desire to open up a full communication with the people. He did all within his considerable power as governor to encourage the attainment of his objective.

Not all Aboriginal people were troubled by the aggression of the colonists and in the face of growing tension some continued to interact with the colonists. Collins commented that 'notwithstanding this appearance of hostility in some of the natives, others were more friendly' (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:29). Just after the last attacks 'a party of natives in their canoes went alongside the Sirius, and some submitted to the operation of shaving: after which they landed on the western point of the cove, where they examined every thing they saw with the greatest attention, and went away peaceably, and apparently were not under any apprehension of resentment on our parts for the murders above-mentioned' (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:24).

After the killings, a rumour circulated through the colony that a convict had killed or wounded an Aboriginal man who stole his jacket. Phillip took the matter so seriously that he 'issued a proclamation, promising a free pardon, with remission of the sentence of transportation, to such male or female convicts as should give information of any such offender or offenders, so that he or they might be brought to trial, and prosecuted to conviction' (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:27). However, no information was forthcoming. Convicts tended to conceal incriminating evidence about each other. Judge Advocate David Collins, who was in the best position to assess the mechanisms of the convict subculture in the colony, commented that it was very difficult to ever gain information about criminal activities.

> There was such a tenderness in these people to each other's guilt, such an acquaintance with vice and the different degrees of it, that unless they were detected in the fact, it was generally next to impossible to bring an offence home to them. (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:28).

Collins blamed the convicts for the estrangement of the Aborigines.

> No precautions, however, that could be taken, or orders that were give, to prevent accidents happening by misconduct on our part, had any weight with the convicts. (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:29)

In mid 1788, it seemed that in spite of Phillip's efforts the convicts had established a regular and sustained intercourse with the Aboriginal population.

> In one of the adjoining coves resided a family of them, who were 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 sung 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, vol. 1, 1975:29)

Although the convicts formed the largest segment of the first colonial population and they were not overly confined their opportunities to mix with Aboriginal people were limited by their being compelled to work most of the day. Phillip placed severe restrictions on their interactions with Aboriginal people. However, his orders were very difficult to enforce given the sheer numbers of convicts versus marines.

Marine officers made the most consistent and concerted efforts to establish good relations with Aboriginal people. They had the free time and the motivation of intellectual interest and real reward from the Governor for success in that sphere. However, none were successful in promoting permanent cross-cultural interactions within the first two years of settlement. Tench lamented:

> ...between the natives and us; that greater progress in attaching them to us has not been made, I have only to regret; but that all ranks of men have tried to effect it, by every reasonable effort from which success might have been expected, I can testify; nor can I omit saying, that in the higher stations this has been eminently conspicuous. The public orders of Governor Phillip have invariably tended to promote such a behaviour on our side, as was likely to produce this much wished-for event. (Tench 1979:53)

While acknowledging the injustices being done to the Aboriginal population the colonists criticised them for their aloofness. They claimed that their own determined attempts to establish communication were foiled by the unwillingness or inability of Aboriginal people to cope with people from other cultures.

> To what cause then are we to attribute the distance...I answer, to the fickle, jealous, wavering disposition of the people we have to deal with, who, like all

> other savages, are either too indolent, too indifferent, or too fearful to form an attachment on easy terms, with those who differ in habits and manners so widely from themselves. (Tench 1979:53)

However, the colonial official gradually realised that it was the hostility of their own people towards Aboriginal people that was the root of the communication problems.

> When they met with unarmed stragglers, they sometimes killed, and sometimes wounded them. I confess that, in common with many others, I was inclined to attribute this conduct, to a spirit of malignant levity. But a farther acquaintance with them, founded on several instances of their humanity and generosity...has entirely reversed my opinion; and led me to conclude, that the unprovoked outrages committed upon them, by unprincipled individuals among us, caused the evils we had experienced. To prevent them from being plundered of their fishing tackle and weapons of war, a proclamation was issued, forbidding their sale among us; but it was not attended with the good effect which was hoped for from us. (Tench 1979:135)

Conflict over resources became one of the main points of contention between the colonists and the Aboriginal population. During the summer, supplies of fish in the harbour were plentiful and the resources were not stressed by the extra population. However in the winter, the resources of the harbour became thin and usually the population moved away to areas with better hunting. However, local Aboriginal people began to see the colony as a resource in its own right and exploited, whenever possible, the hauls made by the colonists.

> They frequently attended our boats when hauling the seine, and were very thankful to the officer for any fish he might give them, as in cold weather the harbour is but thinly stocked; indeed when we arrived here it was full of fish, and we caught as many as we could use, but in the winter they seem to quit our neighbourhood. (Hunter 1968:45)

Demands on the colonists to share their hauls increased and when they were not satisfied Aboriginal people took what they wanted by violence.

> The natives who had been accustomed to assist our people in hauling the seine, and were content to wait for such reward as the person who had the direction of the boat thought proper to give them, either driven by hunger, or moved by some other cause, came down to the cove where they were fishing, and perceiving that they had been more successful than usual, took by force about half of what had been brought on shore. They were all armed with spears and other weapons, and made their attack with some shew of method, having a party stationed in the rear with their spears poised, in readiness to throw, if any resistance had been made. To prevent this in future, it was ordered that a petty officer should go in the boats whenever they were sent down the harbour. (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:29)

Tension between the cultures increased as the colony began to run short of supplies and the winter made lean pickings. Casual disregard for Aboriginal hostility made the colonists easy prey and unprovoked attacks became increasingly common. The permanence of the settlement was provocation enough for some Aboriginal people.

> The natives continued to molest our people whenever they chanced to meet any of them straggling and unarmed; yet, although forcibly warned by the evil and danger that attended their straggling, the latter still continued to give the natives opportunity of injuring them. (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:32)

Collins observed that 'nothing of the kind was known to happen, but where a neglect and contempt of all order was first shewn, every misfortune of the kind might be attributed, not to the manners and disposition of the natives, but to the obstinacy and ignorance of our people' (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:35).

Although some Aboriginal people showed friendly interest in the colonists none was prepared to become a regular visitor, let alone a member of the colony. This was a point of great frustration to the administrators who were convinced that a linguistic link between the two cultures was essential to their ultimate reconciliation.

> It was to be regretted, that none of them would place a confidence in and reside among us; as in such case, by an exchange of languages, they would have found that we had the most friendly intention toward them, and that we would ourselves punish any injury they might sustain from our people. (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:32-33)

On 17 August 1788, Hunter was engaged, once again, on a survey of Port Jackson. In January he had found his interactions with the local people very agreeable. However, on this later expedition he had a very different reception which reflected the general change of attitude amongst the people.

> I did every thing in my power to prevent their being alarmed, or in any respect uneasy, by keeping at a distance from them and making every friendly signal I could...there were many men upon the shore, who spoke to us in their usual familiar and chearful manner, and invited us with much apparent earnestness and friendship to come on shore, which, however, I declined...we went as near as possible to the shore, I believe within twenty yards, and whilst in friendly conversation with them, and lying upon our oars, we observed one of them place his lance upon the throwing-stick, but had no idea that he meant to throw it

> amongst us, after so friendly an invitation as we had received from them to land...I was now convinced...they only wanted us within their reach...What reason they could have had for this treacherous kind of conduct, I am wholly at a loss to guess, for nothing hostile or mischievous had appeared on our part; on the contrary, the most friendly disposition had been manifested in every thing we said or did; even when their women took the alarm upon our approach, I spoke to them, and made such signs of friendship as we judged they would understand, and went round at a distance to prevent their apprehension of any insult. (Hunter 1968:56-7)

Hunter's account suggests that cross cultural communication had advanced in spite of the standoff between the cultures. He was able to use an established repertoire of communicative tools in his interactions with the people.

In October 1788, Phillip noted that relations between Aboriginal people and colonists had deteriorated to the point where sporadic violence was commonplace.

> ...the Natives now attack any Stragler they meet unarmed; and though the strictest Orders have been given to keep the Convicts within Bounds, neither the fear of Death or Punishment prevents their going out in the Night, and one has been killed since the Sirius sailed. The Natives, who appear strictly honest amongst themselves, leave their Fiz-gigs, Spears, &c. on the Beach, or in their Huts when they go a fishing: these Articles have been taken from them by the Convicts, and the People belonging to the Transports buy them at the Risk of being prosecuted as Purchasers of stolen Goods, if discovered. The Natives, as I have observed, revenge themselves on any they meet unarmed; it is not possible to punish them, without punishing the innocent with the Guilty, and our own People have been the Aggressors. (Phillip 1788c:72-3)

Through the end of 1788, Aboriginal aloofness and frequently outright hostility towards the colonists hindered cross-cultural communication. Phillip decided that, in spite of his aim to promote communication, in order to safeguard the colony he would discourage Aboriginal people from approaching the settlement (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:36).

2.2.5 The use of the Cook expedition's Guugu Yimidhirr wordlist

In their earliest attempts to communicate with Aboriginal people in NSW the colonists used a Guugu Yimidhirr wordlist collected by Cook's expedition in 1770 at the Endeavour River, northern Queensland[29]. Language differences and the colonists' unfamiliarity with the pronunciation of Aboriginal languages resulted in

---

[29]Sydney Parkinson, one of Bank's team of scientists recruited for the voyage, was largely responsible for the wordlist attributed to the Cook expedition (Haviland 1974).

their attempts being singularly unsuccessful. However, one product of their experiment was that Sydney Aboriginal people, for a while, thought that the colonists' word for all animals except dogs was *gangurru* a Guugu Yimidhir word meaning 'a species of large, black kangaroo'[30]. Conversely, the colonists thought that the area in which they settled had little fauna because the people called all animals *kangaroo*.

> ...we have never discovered that...they know any other beasts but the kangaroo and dog. Whatever animal is shewn them, a dog excepted, they call kangaroo: a strong presumption that the wild animals of the country are very few...Soon after our arrival at Port Jackson, I was walking out near a place where I observed a party of Indians, busily employed in looking at some sheep in an inclosure, and repeatedly crying out, Kangaroo, kangaroo! As this seemed to afford them pleasure, I was willing to increase it by pointing out the horses and cows, which were at no great distance. (Tench 1979:51)

The colonists later realised their mistake and that they had inadvertantly taught the local people a word from another Aboriginal language.

> Kanguroo, was a name unknown to them for any animal, until we introduced it. When I showed Colbee the cows brought out in the Gorgon, he asked me if they were kanguroos. (Tench 1979:269)

Phillip observed that in addition to the word 'kangaroo' the colonists mistakenly taught the people another Guugu Yimidhirr word. However, he did not identify the word.

> It is remarkable, that of all the Words given in the Vocabulary by Captain Cook, there are only two we have ever heard the natives make Use of. (Phillip 1790b:107)

2.2.6 Phillip's linguistic experiments

The first Aboriginal people to maintain extended communication with colonists were captives detained, under Phillip's orders, for that specific purpose. In late 1788, Phillip decided to end the standoff between the indigenous and colonial population by capturing and detaining an Aboriginal person. He planned to teach that person to

---

[30]Haviland (1974 and 1979) is my guide to spelling and glossing of Guugu Yimidhirr. The word is now familiar in Australian English as 'kangaroo'.

speak English so that they would understand the colonists' 'peaceful intentions' and could then convey those intentions to the wider Aboriginal population.

> The Natives still refuse to come amongst us, and those who are supposed to have murthered several of the Convicts, have removed from Botany-Bay, where they have always been more troublesome than in any other Part. I now doubt whether it will be possible to get any of those people to remain with us, in order to get their Language, without using force; they see no Advantages that can arise from us, that may make Ammends for the loss of that part of the Harbour in which we occasionally employ the Boats in fishing (Phillip 1788c:73)

> Not succeeding in my Endeavours to persuade some of the Natives to come and live with us, I ordered one to be taken by Force, which was what I would gladly have avoided, as I knew it must alarm them; but not a Native had come near the Settlement for many Months, and it was absolutely necessary that we should attain their Language, or teach them ours; that the Means of Redress might be pointed out to them, if they were injured; and to reconcile them, by showing the many Advantages they would enjoy by mixing with us (Phillip 1790a:99).

2.2.6.1 Arabanoo

In late December 1788, the marines captured a man named Arabanoo. He became the first Aboriginal person to enter into prolonged communication with the colonists, albeit not of his own volition. Arabanoo's name remained a mystery for two months after his capture.

> Many unsuccessful attempts were made to learn his name; the governor therefore called him Manly, from the cove in which he was captured: this cove had received its name from the manly undaunted behaviour of a party of natives seen there, on our taking possession of the country. (Tench 1979:141)

However, as 'his reserve, from want of confidence' eroded he told the colonists his name 'and Manly gave place to *Ar-ab-a-noo*' (Tench 1979:143). The success was a measure of the advances made in their mutual ability to communicate.

Arabanoo's initial reaction to his capture was to 'set up the most piercing and lamentable cries of distress' while his companions attempted, unsuccessfully, to release him (Tench 1979:139). 'His grief, however, soon diminished: he accepted and eat of some broiled fish which was given to him, and sullenly submitted to his destiny' (Tench 1979:139). Although he was detained and manacled by the wrist he was kept in the most comfortable circumstances the colony could provide (Collins,

vol. 1, 1975:40). A hut was built for him at a time when many of the colonists were still in temporary dwellings[31]. A convict was assigned 'to sleep with him and to attend him wherever he might go' (Tench 1979:141).

The capture of Arabanoo marked the inception of extended language contact between British colonisers and Aboriginal people in Australia. Certainly, there were previous attempts at cross-cultural communication. However, none are likely to have contributed more than a few lexical items and perhaps some gestural conventions to the communicative repertoire of either group. Access to an Aboriginal person on a daily basis provided the colonists with an opportunity to develop their skills in cross-cultural communication.

The colonists began their experiments by exposing Arabanoo to their own culture and language and watching him for his reactions. They hoped this process would reveal something of Arabanoo's culture and language. Arabanoo, although described as most anxious about his detention, 'shewed the effect of novelty upon ignorance; he wondered at all he saw' (Tench 1979:140). The colonists noted any Aboriginal words he used which they could identify.

> To prevent his escape, a handcuff with a rope attached to it, was fastened around his left wrist, which at first highly delighted him; he called it *'Ben-gàd-ee'* (or ornament), but his delight changed to rage and hatred when he discovered its use...seeing the smoke of fire lighted by his country men, he looked earnestly at it, and sighing deeply two or three times, uttered the word *'gweè-un'* (fire). (Tench 1979:141)

Phillip and his officers claimed to be interested in acquiring Arabanoo's language. However, it is clear that their main objective was to teach Arabanoo English. They were fortunate in that Arabanoo 'readily pronounced with tolerable accuracy the names of things which were taught him' (Tench 1979:140). Music was another medium employed in Arabanoo's enculturation and he seemed to show pleasure in imitating the colonists 'tunes' (Tench 1979:142).

---

[31]The convicts were better cared for than the marines and were housed ahead of them. The marine barracks were not finished until the end of February 1789 (Collins 1975:46).

Pictures were also employed by the colonists in their experiments with Arabanoo. Their interpretations of his reactions to the pictures demonstrate that the level of communication was very rudimentary and the colonists had little idea of what Arabanoo was saying. The comments also indicate that Arabanoo was acquiring at least a few English lexical items.

> When pictures were shewn to him, he knew directly those which represented the human figure: among others, a very large handsome print of her royal highness the Dutchess of Cumberland being produced, he called out, woman, a name by which we had just before taught him to call female convicts. Plates of birds and beasts were also laid before him and many people were led to believe, that such as he spoke about and pointed to were known to him. But this must have been an erroneous conjecture, for the elephant, rhinoceros, and several others, which we must have discovered did they exist in the country, were of the number. Again, on the other hand, those he did not point out, were equally unknown to him. (Tench 1979:140)

A few days after his capture Arabanoo was taken to visit 'his countrymen' in order to allay their supposed fears at his demise (Tench 1979:142). During his trip down the harbour he 'described the names by which they distinguish its numerous creeks and headlands' (Tench 1979:142) adding to the colonists' knowledge of local place names. Some of his 'countrymen' approached the boat.

> At length they began to converse. Our ignorance of the language prevented us from knowing much of what had passed; it was, however, easily understood that his friends asked him why he did not jump overboard, and rejoin them. He only sighed, and pointed to the fetter on his leg, by which he was bound...he was now often heard to repeat...*Weè-rong* (Sydney), which was doubtless to inform his countrymen of the place of his captivity; and perhaps invite them to rescue him. By this time his gloom was chaced away, and he parted from his friends without testifying reluctance. (Tench 1979:142)

The local Aboriginal people received this visit well, but, the next met with the more usual reserve.

> Two days after he was taken on a similar excursion; but to our surprise the natives kept aloof, and would neither approach the shore, or discourse with their countryman: we could get no explanation of this difficulty, which seemed to affect us more than it did him. (Tench 1979:143)

The colonists did not realise their hopes for greater interaction with the Aboriginal community via the medium of Arabanoo. The people showed no obvious reaction to his detention (Tench 1979:144). Tension between the peoples continued to be aggravated by disputes over property, both artefact and territorial. Aboriginal people became more adept at pilfering the colonists' possessions and in defiance of Phillip's orders the colonists retaliated with violence. Collins was convinced that the deteriorating situation was solely caused by provocation of Aboriginal people by the colonists.

In late February 1789, after a lull in the ongoing conflict, a convict strayed from the settlement while collecting 'sweet tea'[32] and was killed by Aboriginal people. In early March 1789, a party of convicts set off towards Botany Bay to revenge themselves on any Aboriginal people they met. However, they were attacked by a large group of people and driven back to the settlement. They met the governor's wrath and punishment for having 'daringly and flagrantly broken through every order which had been given to prevent their interfering with the natives' (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:47). The incident was unique and one which Phillip intended noone would repeat. He was determined that the Aboriginal population would know he did not approve of violence on either side.

> The same day two armed parties were sent, one toward Botany Bay, and the other in a different direction, that the natives might see that their late act of violence would neither intimidate nor prevent us from moving beyond the settlement whenever occasion required. (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:48)

Arabanoo came to be well liked by the colonists for the 'gentleness and humanity of his disposition' and for his tenderness towards children (Tench 1979:143). In May

---

[32]Botany Bay tea, Australian tea or false sarsparilla *hardenbergia violacea* used by the colonists in place of leaf tea. Hunter wrote that it was 'an herb which the people use by way of tea, and which is so palatable they can drink it without sugar; it has exactly the taste of liquorish root' (Hunter 1968:112).

1789, Hunter met Arabanoo for the first time[33] and commented on his excellent memory for names.

> He very soon learnt the names of the 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 boat or other vessel upon the water...The day after I came in, the governor and his family did me the honour to dine on board, when I was also favoured with the company of *Ara-ba-noo*, whom I found to be a very good natured talkative[34] fellow; he was about thirty years of age, and tolerably well looked. (Hunter 1968:93)

Although Arabanoo never fulfilled the role of cultural interlocutor he provided the colonists with their first substantial body of knowledge about Aboriginal languages and cultures. The knowledge provided a foundation for later interactions with the wider Aboriginal community.

> One of our chief amusements, after the cloth was removed, was to make him repeat the names of things in his language, which he never hesitated to do with the utmost alacrity, correcting our pronunciation when erroneous. Much information relating to the customs and manners of his country was also gained from him... (Tench 1979:143)

One of the earliest recorded uses made by the colonists of linguistic information they had gained from Arabanoo was in an encounter between an exploring party and an Aboriginal woman at 'Pitt-Water', Broken Bay, on 6 June 1789.

> She was discovered by some person who having fired at and shot a hawk from a tree right over her, terrified her so much that she cried out and discovered herself...we all went to see this unhappy girl...she appeared to be about 17 or 18 years of age, and had covered her debilitated and naked body with the wet grass, having no other means of hiding herself; she was very much frightened on our approaching her, and shed many tears, with piteous lamentations: we understood none of her expressions, but felt much concern at the distress she seemed to suffer. We endeavoured all in our power to make her easy, and with the assistance of a few expressions which had been collected from poor Ara-ba-noo while he was alive, we soothed her distress a little... (Hunter 1968:96)

Hunter's account of their treatment of this terrified girl is evidence that some of the colonists desired to make friends with Aboriginal people and treat them well[35].

---

[33]In September 1788, Phillip despatched Hunter in command of the Sirius to the Cape of Good Hope to obtain supplies for the starving colony. He arrived back in Port Jackson in May 1789 (Hunter 1968:61, 90).

[34]'This is "tractable" on p. 195 of the MS [manuscript]' (Brach writing in Hunter 1968:408).

[35]It was observed that the Aboriginal people always showed 'civility' to the officers 'whenever any of them were met' (White 1962:135) which suggests that the officers took very seriously their governor's

It can also be seen that their communicative abilities were still rudimentary. They relied mainly on gesture and a little on the language they had acquired from Arabanoo and through brief contacts with other Aboriginal people. We know from Hunter that they shared at least two words with the girl, **badu** 'water' and **magra** 'fish'.

> ...the sailors were immediately ordered to bring up some fire, which we placed before her: we pulled some grass, dried it by the fire, and spread round her to keep her warm; then we shot some birds...skinned them...laid them on the fire to broil, together with some fish, which she eat; we then gave her water, of which she seemed to be much in want, for when the word *Baa-do* was mentioned, which was their expression for water, she put her tongue out to shew how very dry her mouth was...Before we retired to rest for the night, we saw her again, and got some fire-wood laid within her reach, with which she might, in the course of the night, recruit her fire; we also cut a large quantity of grass, dried it, covered her well, and left her to her repose, which, from her situation, I conjecture was not very comfortable or refreshing...Next morning we visited her again; she had now got pretty much the better of her fears, and frequently called to her friends, who had left her, and who, we knew, could be at no great distance from her; she repeated their names in a very loud and shrill voice, and with much apparent anxiety and concern for the little notice they took of her intreaties to return: for we imagined, in all she said when calling on them, she was informing them, that the strangers were not enemies, but friends; however, all her endeavours to bring them back were ineffectual, while we remained with her; but we were no sooner gone from the beach, than we saw some of them come out of the wood. ...*[the next day]* Our tents were no sooner up, than we went to visit our young female friend...she was not alone...but had with her a female child...the night being cold and rainy, and the child terrified exceedingly. ...On our speaking to her, she raised herself up...and...was at that moment...the most miserable spectacle in the human shape I ever beheld...We supplied her, as before, with birds, fish, and fuel, and pulled a quantity of grass to make her a comfortable bed, and covered her little miserable hut so as to keep out the weather. She was now so reconciled to our frequent visitis, seeing we had nothing in view but her comfort in them, that when she wanted *baa-do*, or *ma-gra*, which signifies fish, she would ask for them, and when she did, it was always supplied her...We gave her all the fish we had remaining, and having put a quantity of fire-wood and water within her reach, we took our leave. (Hunter 1968:96-8)

On the same expedition they also saw many Aboriginal people who fled on sight. In an attempt to overcome the people's shyness, the colonists continued their attempts to communicate using words they had learnt from Arabanoo. Once again they had a small success.

---

orders to 'conciliate' the Aboriginal population. This incident, which is not isolated, is a good example of the care taken by officers and marines in their dealings with Aboriginal people. The assiduous study of Aboriginal languages by the officers is further evidence of their desire to communicate and ameliorate.

> We called to them in their own manner, by frequently repeating the word *Co-wee*, which signifies, come here At last two men came to the water-side with much apparent familiarity and confidence. I thought from this circumstance, that they had certainly seen us before, either at Botany-Bay, Port Jackson, or Broken-Bay. They received a hatchet, and a wild duck...in return they threw us a small coil of line...and also offered a spear...they were the first we had met with who apeared desirous of making a return for any present they received. (Hunter 1968:104)

In April 1789, Arabanoo showed so much confidence in the colonists that he was freed from his fetters and allowed to wander the colony at will (Tench 1979:148). However, the hopes held by Phillip that Arabanoo would be the colony's link with the wider Aboriginal community were finally dashed by his death from a smallpox like disease which was ravaging the Aboriginal population, on 18 May 1789 (Tench 1979:149). Arabanoo's selfless attempts to save two sick Aboriginal children had exposed him to their illness. 'He fell a victim to the disease in eight days after he was seized with it, to the great regret of every one who had witnessed how little of the savage was found in his manner, and how quickly he was substituting in its place a docile, affable, and truly amiable deportment' (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:54). The colonists believed that Arabanoo had become quite reconciled to living in the colony, never felt inferior to the colonists and shared a mutual high regard with Phillip (Tench 1979:150).

> For the last three or four weeks of his life, hardly any restraint was laid upon his inclinations: so that had he meditated escape, he might have effected it. He was, perhaps, the only native who was ever attached to us from choice; and who did not prefer a precarious subsistence among wilds and precipices to the comforts of a civilized system. (Tench 1979:150-1)

In spite of the knowledge gained from Arabanoo, Phillip's linguistic experiment was regarded as a disappointment. But, only because Arabanoo did not learn English to the level desired by the colonists.

> He did not want docility; 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. (Tench 1979:150)

Hunter believed that Arabanoo would have eventually mastered enough English to enable him to be the interlocutor that the colonists believed they desperately needed.

The ability to communicate fully with Aboriginal people became an increasingly urgent concern for Phillip as attacks against lone colonists became frequent in 1789. Unable to study an Aboriginal language because of the shyness of the Aboriginal people, the focus of official policy continued to be on training an Aboriginal captive to speak English.

> The want of one of the people of this country, who, from a habit, of living amongst us, might have been the means of preventing much of this hostile disposition in them towards us, was much to be lamented. If poor Ara-ba-noo had lived, he would have acquired enough of our language to have understood whatever we wished him to communicate to his countrymen; he could have made them perfectly understand, that we wished to live with them on the most friendly footing, and that we wished to promote, as much as might be in our power, their comfort and happiness. (Hunter 1968:114)

2.2.6.2 Nanbaree and Boorong

New hopes for the establishment of a cross-cultural link were raised through the adoption into the families of colonial officials of two Aboriginal children. They were orphaned in a devastating smallpox like epidemic which swept through the Aboriginal population, in mid 1789.

> Boats were often Sent down the Harbour for no other Purpose than to bury Dead Bodies...in one boat A Man and his Son who were found very ill were brought up and tho every assistance was given the old Man he died in a few Days...The Boy Recovered and is still alive and seems very happy in his Situation and not having the least wish to return to his former Way of living. His Name is Nanbarry, Bolderry Bockenbau...he is always called Nanbarry. He is about 9 years old and it would Surprize you to hear what Particular Accounts he gives of their Customes and Manner of Living. (Fowell 1988:113)

Surgeon General White adopted Nanbarry and he was treated as a member of his family (Tench 1979:148).

> The remains of another family was afterwards found in a very Miserable Condition...Only an old Man and a Girl of about 12 years old...Her name is Abooren[36]...Her father Died but She Recovered. (Fowell 1988:113)

Reverend Johnson, the colony's chaplain, adopted Abaroo into his family (Tench 1979:148). Tench observed that the girl's name 'was Bòo-ron; but from our mistake

---

[36]The name of this girl is spelt in many different ways throughout the First Fleet accounts. She is referred to in this thesis as Boorong as this is the most commonly used form and was identified by many sources as her name as opposed to Abaroo and its variants.

of pronunciation she acquired that of Ab-ar-òo, by which she was generally known' (Tench 1979:148).

It was expected that the children would become bicultural and bilingual and thereby bring about 'a more intimate and friendly intercourse' with the Aboriginal community (Hunter 1968:94). The continuing emphasis on verbal communication meant linguistic experimentation was a major activity of at least the colonial officials.

The two children rapidly acquired enough English to communicate. However, as they acquired English, the colonists became concerned that the children might lose the ability to communicate fluently in their first language. It was also held that they were too young and lacking in influence to be of real value in communicating with the wider Aboriginal community. Phillip was convinced that only adult men had a firm enough grasp on their first language not to lose it while living in the settlement and had the social position to influence all members of Aboriginal society (Hunter 1968:114).

Nanbaree and Boorong had different reactions to their life in the colony. Nanbaree only briefly returned to Aboriginal society and was so shocked that he afterwards remained permanently with the colonists. Boorong rejoined Aboriginal society but became one of the people who drifted in and out of the settlement. She seemed to have difficulty readjusting to an Aboriginal lifestyle. In late November 1790, when the Aboriginal people around the settlement were beginning to move into the colony, she took the opportunity to re-establish herself amongst her family group and to marry. However, she vacilated between Aboriginal and colonial life. The colonists attributed her lack of decision to what they perceived as the violent and difficult life of Aboriginal women.

> *Boorong*, the native girl who lived with the clergyman, returned to him again after a week's absence. Some officers had been down the harbour, and she was very happy to embrace that opportunity of getting from the party she had been with. By her own account, she had joined the young man she wished to marry, and had lived with him three days; but he had another wife, who the girl said was jealous, and had beat her; indeed, evident marks of this appeared about her head, which was so bruised as to require the surgeon's attention. In return for this unkind treatment, it seems her favourite had beat his wife. (Phillip 1968:319)
>
> When Governor Phillip's guest left him, the girl who lived with the clergyman went away with them, and slept at their hut, nor would she probably have returned till she was compelled by hunger, or had received a beating; but being seen the next morning in a canoe, fishing, she very readily returned with the person who had been sent to look after her. (Phillip 1968:324)

2.2.6.3 Bennelong and Colby

In the last months of 1789, conflict between the Aboriginal population and the colonists abated and records show only two minor incidents in September. The apparent 'truce' did not diminish Phillip's desire to establish permanent communication with the Aboriginal population. He relentlessly pursued the capture of more Aboriginal men who could be interrogated 'for the purpose of knowing whether or not the country possessed any resources, by which life might be prolonged, as well as on other accounts' (Tench 1979:158-59).

In late 1789, marines captured two men in the north part of the harbour on a sandy beach (Hunter 1968:114).

> From the Time our Native died, Orders had been given to take another, whenever an Opportunity offered; but they were always on their Guard, and I was desirous of its being done without being under the Necessity of firing upon them. Towards the End of November, two Natives were taken, and, one of them proved to be a Chief, who had been frequently mentioned to us as a great Warrior. The necessary Precautions were taken to prevent their Escape, but which was effected by the Chief, a Fortnight after he was taken, from the Neglect of those who had the Care of him: the other remains, he lives with me, and every possible Means are used to reconcile him to us, and in which I make no Doubt but that we shall succeed. (Phillip 1790a:100-1)

Both men were 'well known to the children', Nabarry and Boorong, who were used as interpreters to assure them of their safety (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:71).

> On their landing in Sydney Cove Nanberry called them both by their Names and he gave us to understand they were two Chiefs. The Principal one of the two is

> called Gringerry Kibba Coleby...The other is called Vul-al-a-varry Wogletrowey Benalong. (Fowell 1988:115)

When the men arrived in Sydney they were treated to 'the same scences of awkward wonder and impatient constraint, which had attended the introduction of Arabanoo' (Tench 1979:159). 'Nanbaree and Abaroo welcomed them on shore; calling them immediately by their names, Bàn-ee-lon, and Còl-bee' (Tench 1979:159). The children also told the colonists that Colby 'was a man more distinguished in his tribe than *Ban-nal-lang*'[37] (Hunter 1968:116). Phillip ordered they be treated 'indulgently' and closely guarded[38]. However, as observed above, Colbee soon escaped and the guards only just prevented Bennelong from following. In a letter to his parents, written in July 1790, Newton Fowell observed that both men were 'very sullen Coleby in Particular but after his escape Benalong became very lively and very intelligent' (Fowell 1988:115).

> Baneelon, though haughty, knew how to temporize. He quickly threw off all reserve; and pretended, nay, at particular moments, perhaps felt satisfaction in his new state. Unlike poor Arabanoo, he became at once fond of our viands, and would drink the strongest liquors, not simply without reluctance, but with eager marks of delight and enjoyment. He was the only native we ever knew who immediately shewed a fondness for spirits: Colbee would not at first touch them. Nor was the effect of wine or brandy upon him more perceptible than an equal quantity would have produced upon one of us, although fermented liquor was new to him. ...In his eating he was alike compliant. When a turtle was shewn to Arabanoo, he would not allow it to be a fish, and could not be induced to eat of it. Baneelon also denied it to be just a fish[39]; but no common councilman in Europe could do more justice than he did to a very fine one, that the Supply had brought from Lord Howe Island, and which was served up at the governor's table on Christmas-day. (Tench 1979:159-60)

The above remarks indicate that the colonists had made progress in their ability to communicate with Aboriginal people. This is also evident in their ability to interrogate Bennelong about his names. The several months it took to obtain

---

[37]Bennelong was from the 'tribe of 'Wahn-gal' (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:463).

[38]'To prevent any attempt to escape being at all probable, they had each an iron-shackle put on one of their legs, to which a piece of rope was spliced, and a man was ordered for each, who was to be answerable for their security; wherever they went those keepers accompanied them, holding one end of the rope' (Hunter 1968:115).

[39]Colonists and Aborigines debated about the nature of things according to their own world view and in this way discovered more about each other's culture and languages. Another example was given by Tench—'It deserves remark, that the natives deny the cassowary to be a bird, because it does not fly' (Tench 1979:271).

Arabanoo's name is in stark contrast to the detailed information they early obtained from Bennelong. They quickly discovered that he 'was called by several different names, such as *Ban-na-lang*, *Vogle-troo-ye*, or *Vo-la-ra-very;* the first we thought his proper name, the others we understood from himself were names by which some of his particular connections were distinguished and which he had, upon their death, taken up' (Hunter 1968:116).

Bennelong became an important member of the colony and he was observed to adapt very well to its society. 'His temper seemed pliant, and his relish of our society so great, that hardly any one judged he would attempt to quit us, were the means of escape put within his reach' (Tench 1979:161). He was regarded as a great success linguistically because he rapidly acquired facility with English. Through his superior ability to communicate, he imparted to the colonists far more information about Aboriginal culture and language than had any other Aboriginal person. In July 1790, Fowell commented that 'a large Vocabulary has been got from him' (Fowell 1988:115). Bennelong became the first major catalyst for complex cross-cultural and linguistic interactions.

> His powers of mind were certainly far above mediocrity. He acquired knowledge, both of our manners and language, faster than his predecessor had done. He willingly communicated information; sang, danced, and capered: told us all the customs of his country, and all the details of his family economy. (Tench 1979:160)

As supplies of food and other essentials became alarmingly low, the colonists became increasingly desperate to discover possible uses for local resources. Trial and error was a dangerous process and many people poisoned themselves eating the inedible. Bennelong became a vital source of information about the environment and in order to better understand him some of the officials conscientiously studied his language. Aboriginal knowledge about the environment was eagerly sought and in their attempts to survive, the colonists applied what they had learnt about Aboriginal foodstuffs and technology.

> Our fishing tackle began now, with our other necessaries, to decrease. To remedy this inconvenience, we were driven by necessity to avail ourselves of some knowledge which we had gained from the natives; and one of the convicts (a rope-maker) was employed to spin lines from the bark of a tree which they used for the same purpose. (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:91)

There is evidence that Bennelong also saw advantage in his relationship with the colonists. One of his objects was to use the fighting strength of his new allies in disputes with his enemies from Botany Bay. The advantages Bennelong saw in his association with the colonists gave him a high degree of motivation to communicate. 'The most violent exclamations of rage and vengeance against his competitors in arms, those of the tribe called Cam-ee-ra-gal in particular, would burst from him. And he never failed at such times to solicit the governor to accompany him, with a body of soldiers, in order that he might exterminate this hated name' (Tench 1979:160). Phillip agreed to help Bennelong in the event that he had a valid grievance and Bennelong saw Phillip as a powerful ally.

> Bannelong told the governor that the Cammeragals had killed his *friend*, or *relation*, for we are not clear that these words in their language, which had been supposed to mean Father or Brother, are made use of by the natives in that sense. He said they had burnt his body, which he seemed to lament; and being told that Governor Phillip would take the soldiers and punish them, he prest him very much to go and kill them. (Phillip 1968:324)

However, it was observed that Bennelong was inconsistent in his claims that the Botany Bay people were his enemies. The colonists were still unable to discuss esoteric ideas with him and in the absence of a common language confusion continually arose.

> He was seen soon afterwards with some of the Cammeragals, who were collecting the wild fruits which were now in season, so that he must have been misunderstood as to his intention of fighting with the Cammeragals. Nor can we account for his being frequently with a tribe whom he always spoke of as bad, and desired Governor Phillip to kill; and what was equally mysterious, a man belonging to the Botany-Bay tribe had for more than a fortnight slept at his hut, though he said the man was bad, and spoke of him as his enemy. ...Indeed, from the first day he was able to make himself understood he was desirous to have all the tribe of Cammeragal killed, yet he was along with that tribe when Governor Phillip was wounded, and, as hath already been observed, was seen with them since the loss of his friend, or brother. (Phillip 1968:323-24)

Bennelong and Phillip spent a lot of time together and developed a mutual affection and respect.

> He walks about constantly with the governor, who, to make him sensible of the confidence he placed in him, always took off a small sword which he usually wore, and gave it to Wolle-warrè, who put it on, and was not a little pleased at this mark of confidence. (Hunter 1968:269)

One of Bennelong's expressions of friendship with the governor was to bestow on him one of own his personal names, *Wolarawaree* [40] and adopted the name 'governor' in exchange. Bennelong also called the governor **biyanga**[41] 'father' while the governor called him **duru** 'son' (King 1968:269). The colonists learnt that the interchange of names was 'a constant symbol of friendship' amongst Aboriginal people (Tench 1979:160).

Much time and thought went into Phillip's plan for training Bennelong to be a bicultural as well as bilingual aide. He was schooled in the norms of British society and Phillip showed some ingenuity in his attempts to ensure that Bennelong adhered to those norms.

> His dress is a jacket, made of the coarsest red kersey[42], and a pair of trowsers; but on Sundays he is drest in nankeen[43]. The governor's reason for making him wear the thick kersey is that he may be so sensible of the cold as not to be able to go without cloaths...considering the state of nature which he has been brought up in, he may be called a polite man, as he performs every action of bowing, drinking healths, returning thanks, &c. with the most scrupulous attention. He is very fond of wines, but cannot bear the smell of spirits, although they have tried to deceive him by mixing very weak rum or brandy and water, instead of wine and water; but he would instantly find out the deception, and on these occasions he was angry. His appetite is very good, for he soon began to perceive the difference between a full and short allowance. (Hunter 1968:269)

Significant progress was made by the colonists in developing linguistic means for communicating with Aboriginal people through experimenting with Bennelong. In

---

[40]This was the name Bennelong preferred of all the names he was known by (Hunter 1968:269).
[41]Sydney Language items which are bolded follow the reference orthography devised for Troy 1994.
[42]A coarse woollen cloth.
[43]A yellowish-buff cotton cloth.

April 1790, King commented on Bennelong's intelligence and the prospect of gaining more information from him when he could be easily understood.

> He is a very intelligent man, and much information may, no doubt, be procured from him when he can be well understood...He is very good-natured, being seldom angry at any jokes that may be passed upon him, and he readily imitates all the actions and gestures of every person in the governor's family... (Hunter 1968:269)

Bennelong spoke a reduced and jargonised English[44]. Later, when Aboriginal people were looking to Bennelong for guidance in their dealings with the colonists, Bennelong's jargon had every opportunity of providing input to any developing pidgin as it was emulated and used by his kin. Aboriginal people were acquiring some facility with English and colonists were acquiring some facility with at least the Sydney Language both in an attempt to overcome the linguistic barrier. It was inevitable that language could occur and that some stabilisation of those mixed forms would occur in the processes of establishing a stable means of communication. Data available in First Fleet documents, discussed below, provides tangible evidence for the early development of contact language in Sydney.

2.2.7 Devastation of the Aboriginal population by disease

In July 1788, he colonial administration undertook the first official survey of the Aboriginal population around the harbour of Port Jackson. They counted 'Sixty seven canoes, and 147 people'. However, they observed that although the data was the best they could obtain it would not provide them with an accurate estimate of the population (Tench 1979:136). In the absence of detailed information, the conclusion was that Sydney was a densely populated area, particularly in summer when the resources of the harbour were plentiful.

---

[44]See below, comment by Tench that after Bennelong escaped he was recognised amongst a group of Aboriginal people by his ability to speak 'broken English' (Tench 1979:176).

In April 1789, an epidemic of a disease similar to smallpox devastated the Aboriginal population physically and emotionally[45]. The disease did not affect the colonists which suggests that although it may have been brought by them it was latent in the population. Large numbers of corpses were found, particularly in caves used as shelters in coves within the harbour. It was thought that a considerable portion of the Aboriginal population also quit the district in an attempt to run away from the epidemic.

> In the year 1789 they were visited by a disorder which raged among them with all the appearance and virulence of the small-pox. The number that it swept off, by their own accounts, was incredible. At that time a native was living with us; and on our taking him down to the harbour to look for his former companions, those who witnessed his expression and agony can never forget either. He looked anxiously around him in the different coves we visited; not a vestige on the sand was to be found of human foot; the excavations in the rocks were filled with the putrid bodies of those who had fallen victims to the disorder; not a living person was any where to be met with. It seemed as if flying from the contagion, they had left the dead to bury the dead. He lifted up his hands and eyes in silent agony for some time; at last he exclaimed, 'All dead! all dead!' and then hung his head in mournful silence, which he preserved during the remainder of our excursion. Some days after he learned that the few of his companions who survived had fled up the harbour to avoid the pestilence that so dreadfully raged...He fell a victim to his own humanity when Boo-roon, Nan-bar-ray, and others were brought into the town covered with the eruptions of the disorder. On visting Broken Bay, we found that it had not confined its effects to Port Jackson, for in many places our path was covered with skeletons, and the same spectacles were to be met with in the hollows of most of the rocks of that harbour. (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:496)

Noone will ever now know the geographical spread of the epidemic, but the colonists later found evidence for its far-reaching effects inland and along the coast. Phillip hoped that the weakened population would turn to the colony for help and would be impressed with the kindness of the colonists.

---

[45]James Watt examined the evidence for the epidemic and concluded that 'the evidence for smallpox is by no means conclusive and some other viral infection with a heavily infected vesicular eruption is a possible explanation, since the first exposure of a non-immune population to a new infection results in anomalous clinical features' (Watt 1989:145). He concluded that 'it seems clear that the surgeons probably carried pustular material for the purposes of inoculation, that this had become inactive before 1789, that it played no part in the epidemic among the Aborigines, that there is no unequivocal evidence of the epidemic being caused by smallpox and that the surgeons acted entirely in a caring, compassionate and professional manner towards the Aborigines' (Watt 1989:151). The connection between the epidemic and the colonists was debated at the time and often since. Collins revealed that the only colonist who contracted the disease was a north American Indian sailor who after visiting the Aboriginal people became sick and died (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:54, 496). He was surprised that none of the colonists' children caught the disease as they often visited sick Aboriginal people who were staying with the colonists. Hunter commented that the marks of smallpox were not seen on Aboriginal people before the outbreaks and therefore it was likely to have been introduced since the arrival of the First Fleet (Hunter 1968:93). Collins was convinced that the plague was in Australia before their arrival because the Aboriginal people had a word for the illness (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:53).

> In the Beginning of the following April [1789], Numbers of the Natives were found dead with the Small-Pox, in different Parts of the Harbour; and an Old Man and a Boy of about Eight Years of Age were brought to the Hospital: the Man died, but the Boy recovered, and now lives with the Surgeon. An Elderly Man and a Girl of ten or eleven Years of Age were found soon after, and brought up; of the Man there was no Hopes of Recovery, and he died the third Day, but the Girl recovered and lives with the Clergyman's Wife[46]. I brought these People up with the Hopes, that their being cured and sent away with the many little Necessaries we could give them, would be the means of reconciling them to live near us; but unfortunately both the Men died, and the Children are too young to have Weight with the Natives, with whom since they have frequently conversed...one half of those who inhabit this Part of the Country, died; and as the Natives always carried with them it must have been spread to a considerable Distance, as well as in-land as along the Coast. We have seen the Traces of it where ever we have been. (Phillip 1790b:106)

On his return from the Cape of Good Hope in May 1789, Hunter was very shocked to find that the large Aboriginal population evident around the harbour when he left, in September 1788, had vanished. He discovered many of them reduced to rotting cadavers.

> I expressed...much surprize, at not having seen a single native on the shore, or a canoe as we came up in the ship; the reason of which I could not comprehend, until I was informed that the small-pox had made its appearance, a few months ago, amongst these unfortunate creatures, and that it was truly shocking to go round the coves of this harbour, which were formerly so much frequented by the natives; where, in the caves of the rocks, which used to shelter whole families in bad weather, were now to be seen men, women, and children, lying dead. (Hunter 1968:93)

The devastation of the epidemic was a catalyst for change in many ways. As noted above, it became the means by which Aboriginal children were first taken into the houses of the colonists and thereby exposed to the intimate details of the culture and language of the strangers. With the partial reconciliation of the Aboriginal people to the colony in the early 1790s, many surviving Sydney district people moved into the town proper. They lived in and around the houses of the colonists and, at least in part, depended on them for sustenance.

---

[46]The accounts of Boorong's acceptance into the colony all say that the man with her died and most indicate that he was her father. Therefore, Boorong is usually referred to as a 'smallpox plague orphan' as she is in this thesis. However, Phillip later referred to a living man as her father and described his interference in her marriage plans:- 'Mau-go-ran, the father of the native girl who lived with the clergyman, had a bad wound on the back of his head, which, he told the surgeon who dressed it, was done by a spear. It seems a dispute had taken place amongst these people about sharing the whale, in which several lives were lost, and this man got his wound; and on the girl naming to her father a youth at Kay-yee-my, who she said would marry her, he told her not to go there, for they had quarrelled, and would throw, spears...' (Phillip 1968:311-12).

The movement of Aboriginal people who attempted to escape from the disease by fleeing inland and along the coast, would have precipitated unprecedented language contact amongst the Aboriginal population. Furthermore, the destruction of whole communities of people meant the destruction of speakers of the languages used in and around the Sydney district. The linguistic results of the plague would have been cataclysmic. The traditional linguistic context of Sydney and environs was permanently altered. There is some evidence for the creation of new alliances between Aboriginal social groups as a direct result of the devastation of the epidemic.

> As proof of the numbers of those miserable people who were carried off by this disorder, Bennillong told us, that his friend Cole-be's tribe being reduced by its effects to three persons, Cole-be, the boy Nan-bar-ray, and some one else, they found themselves compelled to unite with some other tribe, not only for their personal protection, but to prevent the extinction of their tribe. Whether this incorporation ever took place I cannot say; I only know that the natives themselves, when distinguishing between this man and another of the same name as Botany Bay, always styled him Cad-i cole-be; Cad-i being the name of his district; and Cole-be, when he came into the field some time after, appeared to be attended by several very fine boys who kept close by his side, and were of his party. (Collins, vol. 1, 1975)

2.2.8 Arrival of the Second Fleet

In early 1790, cross-cultural relations were still very strained. Phillip wrote that 'it is impossible to prevent the Convicts from straggling, and the Natives having been robbed and ill treated, now attack those they meet unarmed' (Phillip 1790a:99). In spite of his having taken 'every precaution' to prevent the robberies the colonists continued to plunder the possessions of local Aboriginal people. Phillip blamed their actions as the sole cause for Aboriginal hostility (Phillip 1790b:105). However, Phillip was now almost sure that although sporadic violence was likely to continue, warfare waged by an Aboriginal army was unlikely. He was confident that a limited force could maintain the security of the settlement (Phillip 1790b:107). The firearms of the colonists were already a great deterrant to Aboriginal hostility (Phillip 1968:299).

In mid 1790, the so-called Second Fleet arrived from England bringing much needed provisions to the near starving colony. The fleet also brought more male convicts, a large number of female convicts, some free settlers and the first detachment of the New South Wales Corps. The company was to be officered from the marines and expanded through enducements to enlist offered by Phillip to non-commissioned officers and private men (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:105). The presence of a specially raised military corps in NSW made the likelihood of open confrontation between Aboriginal people and colonists even more inevitable.

The arrival of the Second Fleet considerably expanded the population of the colony. Subsequently, the Aboriginal population was further traumatised with greater advances into their territory and increased demands on their environment. Using the new labour force, Phillip developed and enlarged the settlement at Rose Hill[47]. Phillip also received new instructions to develop the colony by grants to non-commissioned officers and free men who intended to settle in the colony (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:104). Disregarding any Aboriginal claims to the land, Phillip consolidated and expanded the settlement by this policy of land development. By mid 1790, he had still not succeeded in establishing a substantial communication with the Aboriginal population. Therefore, he had no way of interpreting Aboriginal territorial claims or land rights and did not make any provision for later interpretations of the situation. The settlement became a permanent fixture through the granting of land to colonists. The result of this permanency was to make it inevitable that Aboriginal people and colonists would at some point establish a regular communication with each other if Aboriginal people continued to inhabit the Sydney district.

---

[47]Renamed Parramatta in 1791.

2.2.9 Establishment of permanent communication between Aboriginal people and the colony

On 3 May 1790, Bennelong escaped and in so doing he temporarily terminated the linguistic progress of the colonists (Tench 1979:167).

> The native who had been taken in November last convinced us how far before every other consideration he deemed the possession of his liberty, by very artfully effecting his escape from the governor's house, where he had been treated with every indulgence and had enjoyed every comfort which it was in his excellency's power to give him. He managed his escape so ingeniously, that it was not suspected until he had completed it, and all search was rendered fruitless. The boy and the girl appeared to remain perfectly contented among us, and declared that they knew their countryman would never return. (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:92)

For some months after Bennelong's escape nothing was heard of him and the Aboriginal community in general kept a low profile. In September 1790, an exploring party, including the Aboriginal boy Nanbaree, surprised a large group of Aboriginal people feasting on a whale at Manly Cove.

> Nanbaree stepping forward, harangued them for some time, assuring them that we were friends...Nanbaree, all this while, though he continued to interrogate his countrymen and to interpret on both sides, shewed little desire to return to their society, and stuck very close to his new friends. (Tench 1979:176-77)

Bennelong was present but concealed his identity until Surgeon White called his name. When he heard his name he 'came forth, and entered into conversation. He was greatly emaciated, and so far disfigured by a long beard, that our people not without difficulty recognized their old acquaintance. His answering in broken English, and inquiring for the governor, however, soon corrected their doubts. He seemed quite friendly' (Tench 1979:176). Bennelong's ability to speak 'broken English' was evidently a characteristic not yet common to Aboriginal people in general. This quote is the first reference to a jargon variety of English being used by an Aboriginal person to communicate with the colonists.

Bennelong seems to have been comfortable with his relationship with the colonists. Most importantly, he was already acting as an interlocutor and cultural go-between.

> When Baneelon was told that the governor was not far off, he expressed great joy, and declared that he would immediately go in search of him; and if he found him not, would follow him to Sydney. "Have you brought any hatchets with you?" cried he. Unluckily they had not any which they chose to spare; but two or three shirts, some handkerchiefs, knives, and other trifles, were given to them, and seemed to satisfy. Baneelon, willing to instruct his countrymen, tried to put on a shirt, but managed it so awkwardly that a man...was directed to assist him....The length of his beard seemed to annoy him much, and he expressed eager wishes to be shaved, asking repeatedly for a razor. A pair of scissors was given to him, and he shewed he had not forgotten how to use such an instrument, for he forthwith began to clip his hair with it. (Tench 1979:176)

Bennelong told White that he and Colbee would go to Sydney if the governor came for them. He also sent the governor a piece of the whale which they had been feasting on. As soon as he was told of Bennelong's intentions, Phillip proceeded to the cove after having 'got together every thing that he could find, which he though would be acceptable to his old friends...he also took with him four muskets' (Hunter 1968:140).

> Baneelon...notwithstanding his former eagerness,would not suffer the other to approach him for several minutes. Gradually, however, he warmed into friendship and frankness...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. He asked also particularly for a lady from whom he had once ventured to snatch a kiss; and on being told that she was well, by way of proving that the token was fresh in his remembrance, he kissed lieutenant Waterhouse, and laughed aloud. (Tench 1979:178)

Phillip spoke to Bennelong using what he knew of Bennelong's language rather than English and Bennelong replied in both English and his own language. It is also evident from Hunter's comments that some Aboriginal people had acquired a few English lexical items.

> 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)...he followed them into the wood, and one of them frequently called out governor and father. In consequence of this, and having shook hands in a friendly manner, the governor returned to the boat, and desired one of the men to bring up some wine, beef, and bread, and a jacket or two, which had been brought on purpose, and went back with those articles to them: on his holding up a bottle, one of them called out wine, and repeated several English words. Two of the natives came forward and received the things and one drank a little wine; they had likewise received from the governor a few knives (Hunter 1968:141)

> Hatchets still continued to be called for with redoubled eagerness, which rather suprized us, as formerly they had always been accepted with indifference. But Baneelon had probably demonstrated to them their superiority over those of their own manufacturing. To appease their importunity, the governor gave them a knife, some bread, pork, and other articles; and promised that in two days he would return hither, and bring with him hatchets to be distributed among them, which appeared to diffuse general satisfaction. (Tench 1979:179)

The meeting ended in disaster when Phillip was speared as a result of miscommunication (Tench 1979:180). Phillip met Bennelong and his compatriots unarmed so that the meeting would be friendly and pacific. When Phillip and his small party were encircled by the twenty or thirty Aboriginal men, who had come forward to meet him, he thought it prudent to retire. However, Bennelong detained him briefly with a further introduction. To please Bennelong, Philip approached the man introduced with both hands outstretched in the most open spirit of friendliness demonstrable in British custom. To an Englishman, the defenceless attitude indicated complete trust and was a mark of high respect. However, the man became alarmed and threatened Phillip with a spear.

> The governor made a sign for him to lay it down, and continued to approach him, at the same time repeating the words—*weree weree*, which the natives use when they wish any thing not to be done that displeases them...Nothwithstanding this, the native, stepping back with his right leg, threw the spear with great violence, and it struck against Governor Phillip's collar bone, close to which it entered, and the barb came out close to the third vertebrae of the back. Immediately after throwing the spear, the native ran off, as did Bannelong and Colebe, with those that were standing to the right and left: and the latter, in their retreat, threw several spears, which, however, did no farther mischief. (Phillip 1968:308)

> No other motive could be assigned for this conduct in the savage, than the supposed apprehension that he was about to be seized by the governor, which the circumstance of his advancing toward him with his hands held out might create. But it certainly would not have happened had the precaution of taking even a single musket on shore been attended to. The governor had always placed too great a confidence in these people, under an idea that the sight of fire arms would deter them from approaching... (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:111)

> unarmed. Several little presents, which had been purposely brought, were distributed among them...A bottle of wine was produced, and Baneelon immediately prepared for the charge. Bread and beef he called loudly for, which were given to him, and he began to eat, offering a part of his fare to his countrymen, two of whom tasted the beef, but none of them would touch the bread. Having finished his repast, he made a motion to be shaved, and a barber being present, his request was complied with, to the great admiration of his countrymen, who laughed and exclaimed at the operation. They would not, however, consent to undergo it, but suffered their beards to be clipped with a pair of scissars. On being asked where their women were, they pointed to the spot, but seemed not desirous that we should approach it. However, in a few minutes, a female appeared not far off, and Abaroo was dispatched to her. Baneelon now joined with Abaroo to persuade her to come to us, telling us she was Barangaroo[49], and his wife, notwithstanding he had so lately pretended that she had left him for Colbee. At length, she yielded, and Abaroo, having first put a *petticoat* on her, brought her to us. But this was the prudery of the wilderness, which her husband joined us to ridicule, and we soon laughed her out of it. The petticoat was dropped with hesitation and Barangaroo stood "armed cap-a-pee[50] in nakedness". At the request of Baneelon, we combed and cut her hair, and she seemed pleased with the operation. Wine she would not taste, but turned from it with disgust, though heartily invited to drink by the example and persuasion of Baneelon...she behaved so well, and assumed the character of gentleness and timidity to such advantage... To heighten the good humour which pervaded both parties, we began to play and romp with them. Feats of bodily strength were tried, and their inferiority was glaring. (Tench 1979:184-85)

The colonists further solicited their goodwill by telling Bennelong that they would return all the stolen Aboriginal artefacts, still in the colony, the following day. In this way a very successful third meeting was undertaken in which Aboriginal people began to trust and interact more freely with the colonists. The visits and a gift of about forty fish presented to Bennelong's camp by the colony were calculated to establish a permanent communication between the Aboriginal community and the colony. The 'recently-opened intercourse' was regarded as a linguistic bonus.

> These circumstances, and the visit to the native, in which it was endeavoured to convince them that no animosity was retained on account of the late accident, nor resentment harboured against any but the actual perpetrator of the fact, created a variety in the conversation of the day; and those who were desirous of acquiring the language were glad of the opportunity which the recently-opened intercourse seemed to promise them. (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:112)

For several weeks, communication between Aboriginal people and the colony remained infrequent. The state of flux was attributed to Bennelong's refusal to visit

49'Ba-rang-a-roo was of the tribe of Cam-mer-ray (Bennillong himself was a Wahn-gal)...' (Collins 1975:463).
50*Cap-a-pie* 'head to foot' (Gase 1873).

Sydney. Meetings were set up between him and the governor, he was humoured and bribed 'but Baneelon still resisted coming among us' (Tench 1979:187). On 8 October 1790, Bennelong and his colleagues called a meeting with the colonists. Goods were produced for barter and many people 'consented to be shaved' by the colonists' barber (Tench 1979:187). It was the first organised, large-scale meeting of its kind. On his way back from Rose Hill, Phillip sailed provocatively past the scene in apparent indifference hoping that his gesture would arouse their curiosity. His inaction prompted Bennelong and three other men to row up to him, for which they were rewarded with presents of hatchets and fishing lines (Phillip 1968:313). They then followed Phillip into Sydney town and in so doing became the first Aboriginal people to venture unreservedly into the settlement since early 1788 (Tench 1979:188).

> We landed our four friends opposite the hospital, and set out for the governor's house. On hearing of their arrival, such numbers flocked to view them, that we were apprehensive, the croud of persons would alarm them; but they had left their fears behind, and marched on with boldness and unconcern. When we reached the governor's house, Baneelon expressed honest joy to see his old friend, and appeared pleased to find that he had recovered of this wound. The governor asked of Wileemarin, and they said he was at Broken Bay. Some bread and beef were distributed among them; but unluckily no fish was to be procured, which we were sorry for, as a promise of it had been one of the leading temptations by which they had been allured over. A hatchet a-piece was, however, given to them, and a couple of petticoats and some fising tackle sent for Barangaroo, and the other women....The ceremony of introduction being finished, Baneelon seemed to consider himself quite at home, running from room to room with his companions, and introducing them to his old friends, the domestics, in the most familiar manner. Among these last, he particularly distinguished the governor's orderly serjeant, whom he kissed with great affection, and a woman who attended in the kitchen; but the gamekeeper, M'Entire, he continued to hold in abhorrence, and would not suffer his approach. (Tench 1979:189)

> Baneelong appeared very much at his ease, and not under the least aprehension of being detained; promising, when he went away, to bring his wife over, which he did two days afterwards. His sister and two men came like-wise, and a third soon followed. Blankets, and some cloathing were given them, and each had a belly-full of fish. Bannelong sat down to dinner with Governor Phillip, and drank his wine and coffee as usual. (Phillip 1968:323)

Bennelong's return to the colony signalled the beginning of permanent relations between the Aboriginal people of Sydney and the colonists.

> Thus ended a day, the events of which served to complete, what an unhappy accident had begun. From this time our intercourse with the natives, though partially interrupted, was never broken off. We gradually continued, henceforth, to gain knowledge of their customs and policy... (Tench 1979:190)

His importance as cultural and linguistic interpreter was very apparent in all the early interactions between his people and the colonists.

> 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[51] for candle," which the others not comprehending, he opened the snuffers, and holding up the fore-finger of his left hand, to represent a candle, made the motion of snuffing it. Finding, that even this sagacious interpretation failed, he threw down the snuffers in a rage, and reproaching their stupidity, walked away...It was observed, that a soft gentle tone of voice, which we had taught him to use, was forgotten, and his native vociferation returned in full force... (Tench 1979:189)

Within the Aboriginal community, Bennelong was responsible for initiating and maintaining successful social and linguistic intercourse between Aboriginal people and colonists beyond the brief encounters previously experienced. He briefed other Aboriginal people on the material culture of the colonists, their social behaviour and language allaying their fears and encouraging cross-cultural interaction. The colonists witnessed Bennelong's influence over other Aboriginal people in matters relating to themselves and their settlement and recognised the catalytic role he played in establishing permanent communication between themselves and Aboriginal people in general. Nanbaree and Abaroo were also instrumental in this process, particularly in reestablishing a relationship between Bennelong and the colonists.

However, from the end of 1790 forward, Aboriginal people began to arrive in the settlement of their own accord, unaccompanied by Bennelong. By November 1790, Tench was able to comment that 'with the natives we are hand and glove. They throng the camp every day, and sometimes by their clamour and importunity for bread and meat (of which they now all eat greedily) are become very troublesome.

---

[51]'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' (Tench 1979:189).

God knows, we have little enough for ourselves!' (Tench 1979:192). James Campbell reported home that the spearing of the governor 'some how or other...produced one advantage, for the natives have, almost ever since, appeared perfectly reconciled to us, and, which they never did before, are now morning noon and night,—men women and children, and all, without even madam Eve's covering, rambling about our Huts' (Campbell 1791).

2.2.10 The incorporation of Aboriginal people into colonial society

The colonists took advantage of the new laissez faire they enjoyed with the Aboriginal population. Language was seen as the only barrier to successful integration of the people into colonial society. Bennelong became indispensible to the colonists in their endeavours to communicate and his own self-importance grew with the knowledge.

> During the intervals of duty, our greatest source of entertainment now lay in cultivating the acquaintance of our new friends, the natives. Ever liberal of communication, no difficulty, but of understanding each other, subsisted between us. Inexplicable contradictions arose to bewilder our researches, which no ingenuity could unravel, and no credulity reconcile...Baneelon, from being accustomed to our manners, and understanding a little English, was the person through whom we wished to prosecute inquiry: but he had lately become a man of so much dignity and consequence, that it was not always easy to obtain his company. (Tench 1979:200)

Phillip indulged Bennelong as an example to other Aboriginal people of the treatment they would receive in the settlement. Bennelong took full advantage of his indulgence.

> Bennillong solicted the governor to build him a hut at the extremity of the eastern point of the cove. This the governor, who was very desirous of preserving the friendly intercourse which seemed to have taken place, readily promised, and gave the necessary directions for its being built. (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:113)

> Clothes had been given to him at various times; but he did not always condescend to wear them: one day he would appear in them; and the next day he was to be seen carrying them in a net, slung around his neck...to please him, a brick house, of 12 feet square, was built for his use, and for that of such of his countrymen as might chuse to reside in it, on a point of land fixed upon by himself. A shield, double cased with tin, to ward off the spears of his enemies, was also presented to him, by the Governor...Elated by these marks of favour,

> and sensible that his importance with his countrymen arose, in proportion to our patronage of him, he warmly attached himself to our society. (Tench 1979:200)

In late 1790, after visiting 'the settlement daily with his wife, several children, and half a dozen of his friends, and Colebe', Bennelong moved into Sydney town permanently.

> Bannelong, with his wife and two children, who appeared to have been adopted by him when their parents died, now lived in a hut built for them on the eastern point of the cove. They were frequently visited by many of the natives, some of whom daily came to the barracks. All of them were very fond of bread, and they now found the advantage of coming amongst the settlers. (Phillip 1968:316)

Bennelong's hut became such a congregating point for people visiting the settlement that he occasionally escaped to Phillip's residence which was viewed by all Aboriginal people as a 'safe house'.

> In the evening of the 21st of November, Bannelong and his wife came to Sydney, and he requested leave to sleep in governor Phillip's house, as there were a great number of people at *Tubow-gule*, the point on which their hut stood...After Bannelong and his wife had supped they retired to sleep in a back room, and he was particularly anxious for the governor to lock the door and put the key in his pocket; from which circumstance it is probable he had other reasons for coming that evening to sleep at the governor's house, besides that of having a number of people at his own habitation. (Phillip 1968:324)

Bennelong was encouraged to regard the governor's residence as also his own. So comfortable was Bennelong in the residence that 'he told the governor that his wife intended doing him the honour of being brought to bed in his house; but the governor at length persuaded him that she would be better accommodated at the hospital' (Phillip 1968:360).

The governor's residence became a major centre for interaction between Aborigines and colonists[52]. Whenever a group of Aboriginal people visited Sydney they made an appearance at the residence and received presents from the governor. Phillip often invited Aboriginal people to stay with him and, as noted above, many others sought asylum with him from the depredations of other Aboriginal people. A

---

[52]McBryde (1989a) wrote a comprehensive account of the importance of the Governor's residence as focal point for Aboriginal people in early colonial NSW.

prime example of the convenience Aborigines made of Phillip's residence were the comings and goings of Colbee and his friends, in late December 1790. Colbee, his wife and baby and a family of his wife's friends from Botany Bay 'took up their residence for that night in Governor Phillip's house' (Phillip 1968:330). The husband of the family had earlier left his first wife, Mawberry, at the residence after beating her and breaking her arm.

> Mawberry...happened to be at the governor's house when he came in, and did not seem pleased at the meeting. This man, with his wife and child, after remaining at Governor Phillip's two days, were going away; and, as usual had bread and fish given them for their journey; but it should seem that they could not agree, for he took away his first wife and left the woman and child who came along with him behind. The poor woman shed tears when Governor Phillip enquired into the matter, and after repeatedly using the word *yalloway*, which is a term of execration, she said she would live with his servants, which she was permitted to do. (Phillip 1968:330)

Some Aboriginal people, at their own request, joined the governor's staff and became working members of the household. 'Governor Phillip had a further addition to his family of a young woman, who for some time had been desirous of being received amongst his maid servants, and a youth about fourteen years of age, both of whom appeared much pleased with their situations' (Phillip 1968:330).

Initially, Aboriginal people were a bonus to the colony. They provided entertainment for the colony's leisured administration[53] and most importantly they supplied vital information about the resources of the local environment. Phillip was very gratified by the developments in communication and hoped also for some clues about the territory beyond the confines of settlement. Aboriginal people also used their skills in guarding the welfare of the colonists. For example, in November 1790, a small fishing boat manned by convicts was wrecked at Middle Head and Aboriginal people who witnessed the incident were the first to report it to the settlement. A party of colonists headed by White, with the assistance of Colbee and

---

[53]Collins wrote that they 'were thus amusing ourselves with these children of ignorance' (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:113)

his friends, recovered part of the vessel and the seine. This incident was seen as the beginning of real cooperation between the peoples. Phillip became convinced that the settlement was safe from attack. However, he was concerned that some Aboriginal people would use the weapons of the colonists in their own disputes.

> This appeared to be a striking instance of the good effect of the intercourse which had been opened with these people; and there seemed only to be a good understanding between us and them wanting to establish an harmony which would have been productive of the best consequences, and might have been the means of preventing many of the unfortunate accidents that had happened. The governor, however, thought it neccesary to direct, that offensive weapons should not be given to these people in exchange for any of their articles; being apprehensive that they might use them among themselves, and not wishing by any means to arm them against each other. (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:117)

In order to further develop the social relationships between Aboriginal people and colonists, Phillip planned to establish regular trade[54]. In setting a precedent for trade he again used Bennelong as a catalyst. Phillip taught the people, through Bennelong, about the etiquette of English trade offering them goods unique to the colony in exchange for food, artefacts or services. The development of trade between the cultures provided impetus for the development of a common lingua franca.

> The governor bought a spear from one of his visitants, and endeavoured to make them understand that spears, lines, birds, or any thing they brought should always be purchased. At the same time he promised Bannelong a shield, for which he was to bring a spear in return, as accustoming these people to barter was judged the most likely means of bringing them to reside amongst the colonists. The next day a large party came over for the shield, but it was not finished. Two men of this party were owned by the native girl, who lived with the clergyman, as her brothers, and for whom she procured two hatchets, which appeared to be the most valuable articles that could be given them. When Bannelong came for his present, those who accompanied him, after staying a short time, went away, but he staid to dinner, and left the place highly delighted with his shield, which, being made of sole leather and covered with tin, was likely to resist the force of their spears. (Hunter 1968:313)

---

[54]McBryde studied the records of 'cross-cultural exchange' at Port Jackson and observed that 'both British and Aboriginal people at Port Jackson expected exchange of goods to take place between arriving strangers' (McBryde 1989b:170). The First Fleet arrived equipped with trade goods for bartering with the local people in NSW. McBryde commented that given the precedents for trade amongst Aboriginal people 'it is likely that the peoples of the Sydney district had long-standing traditions of inter-group trading relationships, of thus acquiring rare goods, and of the political and social uses of exchange and prestation...Aboriginal societies could adjust to new social situations and use new items of material culture in ways which enhanced rather than diminished their own conventions' (McBryde 1989b:174). It is not surprising then that 'barter or exchange proved a constant feature of interaction between British and Aborigines at Port Jackson' (McBryde 1989b:174). McBryde identified several kinds of exchange evident in the literature, 'diplomatic gifts, exchange of names, barter for 'artificial curiosities', commercial ventures and provision of services' (McBryde 1989b:174-5).

By mid 1791, a number of Aboriginal people were regularly trading their excess fish for bread, rice and vegetables with the colonists at Parramatta. Phillip hoped that 'a pretty good fish-market would be established the ensuing summer' and that the advantages to the colonists would keep them fair in their dealings with the Aboriginal people (Phillip 1968:352). The officers at Parramatta encourage Aboriginal people 'to visit them as often as they could bring them fish' (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:137). The process of barter induced regular and sustained language contact. Unfortunately, there is no hard evidence for the linguistic results of the trade.

In mid 1791, a canoe belonging to one of the most regular traders, Boladeree, was destroyed by some colonists. In solidarity with Boladeree other Aboriginal people ceased trading for some weeks. Cross-cultural misunderstandings and the arrogant way in which some colonists treated Aboriginal people were the major causes for communication breakdown. Relationships were completely destroyed through callous acts such as the destruction of precious canoes. The emphasis placed on this particular account by First Fleet officers indicates the extent of their frustration with other colonists who damaged relations between the colony and the Aboriginal population. Boladeree was a particular loss as his goodwill had been fostered for some time by Phillip who hoped eventually to take him to England (Phillip 1968:354). He was reinstated by Phillip when it became known that he was gravely ill. Phillip allowed him to be treated at the hospital which had come to be viewed as a most important facility by the Aboriginal community (Phillip 1968:374).

A symbiotic relationship developed out of necessity between the peoples, each exploiting the other. In the process communicative strategies were developed. Aboriginal people rapidly acquired enough English to make themselves understood.

> Every gentleman's house was now become a resting or sleeping place for some of them every night; whenever they were pressed for hunger, they had immediate recourse to our quarters where they generally got their bellies filled. They were

> now become exceedingly fond of bread, which when we came here first they could not bear to put into their mouths; and if ever they did, it was out of civility to those who offered it; but now the little children had all learnt the words, *hungry*, *bread*; and would to shew that they were hungry, draw in their belly, so as to make it appear quite empty. (Hunter 1968:139)

> Before I left Port Jackson, the natives were become very familiar and intimate with every person in the settlement; many of them now took up their rest every night in some of the gentlemen's houses; their very unprovoked attack on the governor and his party being passed over and almost forgot. (Hunter 1968:143)

By the end of 1790, Aboriginal people had so much confidence in the colonists that they were even leaving their children in their care for several days at a time. Children left in the colony needed to communicate with the colonists and would have grown up using any developing contact language.

> Many of the natives had recently visited the settlement; they had all been well received, and some of their children frequently remained there for several days without their parents ever seeing them; and if any of them were going where their children would be an incumbrance, they used to leave them at Sydney. (Phillip 1968:327)

2.2.11 Development of an Aboriginal coterie in Sydney

An Aboriginal coterie developed in Sydney. It was composed of Aboriginal people who were most active within the colony. Bennelong was the undisputed leader of the group through his influence with Phillip. As the recognised leader of the colonists, Phillip's movements were followed closely by the Sydney coterie (Phillip 1968:325). Much rivalry existed amongst the other members of the coterie for positions of favour with the colonists. Aboriginal people often singled out particular officers (or were perhaps singled out by the officers) to whom they became most faithfully attached. Following local custom they exchanged names with their colonist friend, as Bennelong had done with Phillip. A new social environment was developing for the Aboriginal people living in Sydney town. As the colonists were attempting to incorporate Aboriginal people into their environment Aboriginal people also attempted to incorporate the colonists into their social milieu. Tench's thumbnail sketch of Imeerawanyee's treatment of Nanbaree demonstrated the skill

with which Aboriginal people played the colonists' social 'games' and the rivalry between individuals playing the game.

> This good-tempered lively lad, was become a great favourite with us, and almost constantly lived at the governor's house. He had clothes made up for him; and to amuse his mind, he was taught to wait at table. One day a lady, Mrs M'Arthur, wife of an officer of the garrison, dined there, as did Nanbaree. This latter, anxious that his country man should appear to advantage in his new office, gave him many instructions, strictly charging him, among other things, to take away the lady's plate, whenever she should cross her knife and fork, and to give her a clean one. This Imeerawanyee executed, not only to Mrs. M'Arthur, but to several of the other guests. At last Nanbaree crossed his knife and fork with great gravity, casting a glance at the other, who looked for a moment with cool indifference at what he had done, and then turned his head another way. Stung at this supercilious treatment, he called in rage, to know why he was not attended to, as well as the rest of the company. But Imeerawanyee only laughed; nor could all the anger and reproaches of the other prevail upon him to do that for one of this countrymen, which he cheerfully continued to perform to every other person. (Tench 1979:202-203)

The Sydney coterie became very possessive about their position within the colony and the material and social advantages they gained through association with the colonists.

> It was also conceived by some among us, that those natives who came occasionally into the town did not desire that any of the other tribes should participate in the enjoyment of the few trifles they procured from us. If this were true, it would for a long time retard the general understanding of our friendly intentions toward them; and it was not improbable but that they might for the same reason represent us in every unfavourable light they could imagine. (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:122)

Bennelong's key role as an interlocutor between colonists and Aboriginal people gradually declined as more people came to be on familiar terms with the colonists. In early 1791, Bennelong fell out with Phillip over the theft of a hatchet and he stormed out of the colony. His departure had little effect on relations between Aboriginal people and the colony although their visits became less frequent (Phillip 1968:333-34). Bennelong returned two months later and attempted to re-establish his relationship with Phillip. However, Phillip would not restore him to his previously privileged position until he absolved himself by helping to save the crew of a fishing boat.

> The services he had rendered the boat's crew when they were in danger of being lost being considered as an atonement for his past offences, he was admitted into Governor Phillip's house. In consequence of this reconciliation, the number of visitors greatly increased, the governor's yard being their headquarters. (Phillip 1968:339)

The most cooperative Aboriginal people were always selected by the colonists as key individuals to cultivate and use in their plans for conciliating the local people and expanding the colony. They elevated those people to a position, at least within colonial society, above the wider Aboriginal community. The benefits of a privileged position were powerful inducements to those people to remain within the colony.

2.2.12 First encounters with inland Aboriginal people

On 11 April 1791, Colby and Boladeree[55] went as guides on Phillip's expedition which aimed 'to ascertain whether or not the Hawkesbury and the Nepean, were the same river' (Tench 1979:223). Colby requested that the colonists protect and provide for his wife and child in while he was away (Tench 1979:223).

> We expected to have derived from them much information relating to the country; as no one doubted that they were acquainted with every part of it between the sea-coast and the river Hawkesbury. We hoped also to have witnessed their manner of living in the woods, and the resources they rely upon in their journies. (Tench 1979:225)

The two Aboriginal men thought the colonists were making the expedition to gather food and artefacts. Communication was still difficult and the colonists were not able to make their intentions clear.

North west of Rose Hill, the Aboriginal guides observed that the party had entered the country of the *Bidjigals*, but that most of the tribe had died during the epidemic (discussed in 2.2.7). However, beyond that point the guides were out of their known territory and they relied almost completely on the colonists for sustenance, shelter and fire during the rest of the expedition (Tench 1979:225).

---

[55]Also spelt Ballederry (Phillip 1968:340); 'the young man who has been mentioned as living chiefly at Governor Phillip's house' (Phillip 1968:340).

During the expedition, the guides were relied upon for communications with the inland Aboriginal people. On 11 April, they encountered some people identified by Colby as *Boò-roo-ber-on-gal* [56] and which 'he said were bad' (Tench 1979:225) 'and their enemies' (Phillip 1968:341). However, their meeting was peaceful and Colby and Boladeree had no difficulty speaking with them. Tench noted that the explorers were able to understand the basic introductions, but little else.

> The first words which we could distinctly understand were, 'I am Colbee, of the tribe of Càd-i-gal.' The stranger replied, 'I am Bèr-ee-wan[57], of the tribe of Boorooberongal.' Boladeree informed him also of his name, and that we were white men and friends, who would give him something to eat...By the light of the moon, we were introduced to this gentleman, all our names being repeated in form by our two masters of the ceremonie, who said that we were Englishmen, and *Bùd-yee-ree* (good), that we came from the sea coast, and that we were travelling inland. (Tench 1979:226)

On 14 April, the colonists entered into 'conversation' with Gombeeree[58], Yellomundee[59] and Deeimba[60], three men from the Hawkesbury 'of the tribe of *Bu-ru-be-rong-al*' (Phillip 1968:345). 'Colebe and Balledery, in describing that tribe on the second day's journey, had called them *climbers of trees*, and men who lived by hunting' (Phillip 1968:345). The colonists were able to bribe Gombeeree, with a biscuit, into climbing a tree so they could observe his technique (Phillip 1968:345). Colbee and Boladeree were able to communicate freely with the men and the colonists understood some of what was said (Tench 1979:230). When Yellomundee performed a healing operation on Colbee[61], the colonists debated Colbee's explanation of the procedure, using their knowledge of the Sydney Language.

> Colebe, after the ceremony was over, said it was what he had sucked from his breast, which some understood to be two barbs of a fiz-gig, as he made use of the

---

[56]Also spelt Bu-ru-be-ron-gal (Phillip 1968:341).
[57]Also spelt Bu-ro-wan (Phillip 1968:342).
[58]Also spelt Go-me-bee-re (Phillip 1968:345).
[59]Also spelt Yal-lah-mien-di (Phillip 1968:345).
[60]Also spelt Jim-bah (Phillip 1968:345).
[61]Yellomundee sucked an old chest wound of Colbee's and claimed to have extracted a piece of stick or stone which Phillip noted he picked up and only pretended to draw from his mouth (Phillip 1968:346).

> word *Bul-ler-doo-ul*[62]; but Governor Phillip was of the opinion he meant two pains. (Phillip 1968:346)

Colby and Boladeree satisfied the curiosity of the inland men about the township of Sydney and the lifestyle of the colonists.

> The two doctors were amused by Colebe and Ballederry, with an account of the buildings at Sydney and Rose-Hill, and in what manner the colonists lived. In this history names were as particularly attended to as if their hearers had been intimately acquainted with every person who was mentioned. (Phillip 1968:347)

It is important that they carefully noted the names of colonists and the particulars of their lifestyle because the descriptions provided the men with their first experience of English lexical items. The names of the colonists and English words used to explain Sydney and the colonial lifestyle would have been the first exposure of the people to English.

So impressed was Gombeeree that he marked the encounter by giving Phillip several presents 'two stone hatchets, two spears, and a throwing-stick. This present was made in consequence of our two natives telling him who all the party were. In return for the old man's present, he had some bread, some fish-hooks, and a couple of small hatchets given him' (Phillip 1968:345).

The increasing dependence of Aboriginal people upon the settlement and the life that revolved around it was demonstrated in Colby's and Boladeree's pleas to return to the settlement.

> Colebe talked about his wife and said his child would cry; and Ballederry lost all patience when the rain began, telling the governor that there were good houses at Sydney and Rose-Hill, but that they had no house now, no fish, no melon (of which fruit all the natives are very fond); and there is no doubt they would have left the party had they been acquainted with the country through which they had to return. (Phillip 1968:347)

On their return to the settlement Colby and Boladeree told their kin about 'the novelties they had seen' (Tench 1979:234).

---

[62]**bula** 'two', **duwal** 'a short spear with two barbs' (Troy 1994).

2.2.13 Deterioration of relations between the Aboriginal population and the colonists

From the end of 1790 forward, relations between Aboriginal people and colonists were generally amicable with only sporadic instances of violence. However, new problems were developing in Sydney through Phillip's encouragement of the Aboriginal population. Aboriginal people began to take for granted the handouts of food, clothes and any other artefacts they desired and the administration's tolerance of their camping anywhere within the settlement that they chose. When their requests were resisted by less enthusiastic colonists some Aboriginal people became hostile and demanding or resorted to stealing what they wanted. Phillip did not want to destroy the hard-won confidence of the Aboriginal population so he tolerated many of the thefts. He believed that Aboriginal people would eventually become fully reconciled, contributing members of the colonial society (Phillip 1968:338).

However, the colonists began to regard the Aboriginal population in general as a great nuisance and a danger. Colonists resorted to banning Aboriginal people from their land. The Aboriginal people retaliated by threatening to spear people who did not accomodate their demands (Phillip 1968:331). 'The tribe known by the name of Bid-ee-gàl' who lived on the penininsula at the head of Botany Bay were the chief aggressors against the colony (Tench 1979:208). Adding to the problems were the convict absconders living in the bush around the settlement, further antagonising the Aboriginal population and plundering colonists' farms at night. In December 1791, Tench reported that thirty-eight convict men were missing and living as bushrangers (Tench 1979:247).

On 9 July 1791, the first ship of the Third Fleet, the transport *Mary Ann*, arrived in Sydney Cove with a cargo of female convicts and the news that nine more transports were following. A total of two thousand and fifty convicts were expected to swell the population of the colony. The British government also sent word that

they intended to send two embarkations of convicts and provisions to the colony per year (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:140). The colonists heralded the news as marking the end of their sufferings. For the Aboriginal population of New South Wales it meant disaster. A continuous supply of people was to arrive in the colony necessitating the regular expansion of the limits of settlement. Aboriginal territory would decrease as the colony expanded. The choices between ignoring the colonists, resisting them or joining them became a daily part of the life of all Aboriginal people who were touched by colonial expansion in NSW.

To accommodate the first wave of new arrivals, Phillip again expanded the settlements at Parramatta and created a series of farms at Prospect Hill, about four miles west of Parramatta and at the Ponds two miles north-east of Parramatta. The Aboriginal residents strongly objected to the expansion. In late 1791, they made their opinion clear when the largest gathering ever seen attacked a settlement of thirteen convict farmers at Prospect Hill, burnt a house and almost murdered its occupant. However, Aboriginal people were still a minor threat compared to the convict bushrangers who constantly plundered farms (Tench 1979:252). Phillip, against his official orders, decided to leave no bushland in which Aboriginal people could conceal themselves between Sydney and Parramatta (Phillip 1968:356). It was this final destruction of their environment coupled with the enducements to live in Sydney that forced the Aboriginal people of the district to make the town their base.

In late 1791, a fourth fleet of convict transports arrived in the colony. From a linguistic point of view this fleet was significant in that it brought the first contingent of convicts directly from Ireland, per the transport *Queen.* The Irish who spoke English did so in one or more dialects of Irish English. They were also the first group to contain people whose native language was not English. In Ireland at the time, Irish was still the mother tongue for most of the population (Troy 1991).

The expansion of the colony decreased its manageability and changed its social character. The authorities attempted to keep control of the population but, according to some officers, the task was made more difficult through the increase in the availability of alcohol. 'The town was beginning to fill with strangers (officers and seamen from the transports) and spirituous liquors finding their way among the convicts, it was ordered that none should be landed until a permit had been granted by the judge-advocate' (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:146). The expanded social context subjected Aboriginal people to a much wider experience of the foreigners than they had to that period encountered. The colony contained many more free people, particularly itinerant sailors, who were not subject to the same rigorous controls as were the convicts.

After the arrival of the Fourth Fleet authorites expressed the fear that the large number of sailors in the colony would disturb the lifestyle that they had carefully cultivated. However, Phillip instituted firm controls and there was surprisingly little trouble.

> It was not to be doubted but that the tranquillity and regularity of our little town would in some degree be interrupted by the great influx of disorderly seamen who were at times let loose from the transports. Much less cause of complaint on this score, however, arose than was expected. The port orders, which were calculated to preserve the peace of the place, were from time to time enforced... (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:153)

The convict transports engaged in whaling and trading activities on their return voyages. Thereby, the colony became a trade port and its function expanded admitting of an itinerant seafaring population. The increasingly cosmopolitan atmosphere of Sydney presented the Aboriginal population with a linguistically diverse milieu in which to interact. Sailors were accustomed to crossing linguistic boundaries, both at sea where crews were often a culturally diverse band and in their ports of call. Merchant sailors added their sea jargon to the linguistic mix in Sydney.

On 13 December 1791, most of the marines left the colony to return to England (Collins, vol.1, 1975:159). The few who remained did so to supplement the NSW Corps until the rest of that detachment arrived. The marines and convicts of the First Fleet had laid the cultural and linguistic foundations for the colony. However, from that point forward the majority of free people in the colony were military rather than naval. Marine officers remained in charge of the colony until February 1792. They were relieved by a large detachment of the NSW Corps whose officers eventually assumed full administrative duties (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:168). The arrival of the NSW Corps heralded the beginning a military influence on the early development of Australian lingusitic and cultural forms.

In late December 1792, Phillip announced his decision to return to England and end his governorship. He gave as his reason failing health and a hope that he might regain his strength in England. On 10 December 1792, he sailed with his detachment of marines on the *Atlantic*. Collins eulogised on Phillip's governorship praising his 'zeal and perserverance that alone could have enabled him to surmount the natural and artificial obstacles which the country and its inhabitants had thrown in his way' (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:208).

By the time Phillip quit NSW he had fulfilled his orders with regard to the Aboriginal people at least in so far as he had reconciled a proportion of the population to the settlement and had established a regular communication between the two cultures. On a personal level he had established a firm friendship with Bennelong, and through that friendship had acted as a major catalyst in the development of contact culture and contact language. Phillip's friendship with Bennelong had made such an impression on the man that he accompanied Phillip when he sailed for England. With them was another Aboriginal man who had also become very fond of Phillip. They were the first Aboriginal people to visit Europe and participate in the society from which the colonists derived.

> With the governor there embarked, voluntarily and cheerfully, two natives of this country, Bennillon and Yem-mer-ra-wan-nie, two men who were much attached to his person; and who withstood at the moment of their departure the united distress of their wives, and the dismal lamentations of their friends, to accompany him to England, a place that they well knew was at a great distance from them. (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:211)

2.2.14 The development of the colonists' knowledge about Aboriginal languages[63]

In the absence of any knowledge about the structure of Aboriginal languages the colonists initially reacted to Aboriginal speech as simply uninitelligible and unattractive sounds[64]. However, as they studied the Sydney language the sounds became separate and pleasant and were ultimately recognised as meaningful units[65].

> We were at first inclined to stigmatize this language as harsh and barbarous in its sounds; their combinations of words, in the manner they utter them, frequently convey such an effect. But if not only their proper names of men and places, but many of their phrases, and a majority of their words, be simply and unconnectedly considered, they will be found to abound with vowels, and to produce sounds sometimes melifluous, and sometimes sonorous...Their tone of voice is loud, but not harsh...in some ...very pleasing. (Tench 1979:291-2, 275)

The colonists began to recognise phonological word boundaries in Aboriginal languages. However, they discovered that reproducing the sounds was very difficult.

> Not only their combinations, but some of their simple sounds, were difficult of pronunciation to mouths purely English: dipthongs often occur: one of the most common is that of a e, or perhaps, a i, pronounced not unlike those letteres in the French verb haïr, to hate. The letter y frequently follows d in the same syllable:

---

[63]Peter Newton (1987) wrote a detailed history of the study of Aboriginal languages Australia-wide, from 1788 to 1860. He credits the First Fleeters with greater progress in their discoveries about Aboriginal languages than is widely recognised.

[64]Aboriginal music was also conceived as very unpleasant. 'We always found their songs disagreeable, from their monotony: they are numerous, and vary both in measure and time. They have songs of war, of hunting, of fishing, for the rise and set of the sun, for rain, for thunder, and for many other occasions' (Tench 1979:289). While many commented briefly on their experiences with Aboriginal music, very few non-Aboriginal people in colonial Australia ever studied or attempted to appreciate Aboriginal music. Conversely, Aboriginal people seem to have appreciated the colonists' music and enjoyed imitating it. However, in Tasmania, January 1793, on the d'Entrecasteau expedition's second visit they noted that while Aboriginal people enjoyed most of their music they 'closed their ears to the violin' (Berzins 1988:23). Another example of Aboriginal people objecting to the colonists' music was provided by William Dawes. He appears to have transgressed Aboriginal social propriety in singing *mutigoré* (this may mean 'in a muted voice' or it could be a Sydney Language word) to an Aboriginal man, Ngalgear. Ngalgear became very angry about Dawes' singing and Patye told Ngalgear that the singing was about him:- 'Having sung Ngalgear mutigoré and Ngalgear being very angry at it; I ask'd Patye...D.: Minyin gūlara Ngalgear? Why is Ngalgear angry?...P.: Berialwārin - Because you sung...On singing the same again at some distance from Ngalgear; Patyegarang said Kamarāta, berīadinye. My friend he sings about you' (Dawes 1790-91). It is possible that Ngalgear thought Dawes was 'singing him' in the Aboriginal sense of controlling his health or destiny in this manner.

[65]The prejudice against Aboriginal languages was so reduced by this new understanding that 'Mrs Johnson, wife of the chaplain of the settlement...christened her little girl, born in Port Jackson, Milba Maria Johnson' (Tench 1979:292). Milba was the name of an Aboriginal woman known to the colonists.

> thus the word which signifies a woman is Dyin; although the structure of our language requires us to spell it Dee-in. (Tench 1979:292-3)

In spite of the problems of pronuciation, the colonists attempted to use whatever knowledge they had acquired of Aboriginal languages in their attempts at cross-cultural communication. First attempts were necessarily ad hoc and linguistically simple, generally relying on single lexical items used creatively and with gestural enhancement. These early attempts at communication were often visited with misunderstanding and misuse of language. A more sophisticated understanding of Aboriginal languages developed as contact between Aboriginal people and colonists became more extensive and the colonial officials could actively pursue their philanthropic interests. The lexical differences between Cook's list and the language of Sydney suggested to the colonists that there was more than one Aboriginal language[66]. However, the reality of multilingual Australia was not discovered by the colonists until April 1791.

> How easily people, unused to speak the same language, mistake each other, every one knows.—We had lived almost three years at Port Jackson (for more than half of which period, natives had resided with us) before we knew that the word Bée-al, signified no, and not good, in which latter sense, we had always used it, without suspecting that we were wrong; and even without being corrected by those with whom we talked daily. The cause of our error was this.—The epithet Wee-ree, signifying bad, we knew; and as the use of this word, and its opposite, afford the most simple form of denoting consent, or disapprobation, to uninstructed Indians, in order to find out their word for good, when Arabanoo was first brought among us, we used jokingly to say, that any thing, which he liked, was Weeree, in order to provoke him to tell us that it was good. When we said Weeree, he answered Beeal, which we translated, and adopted for good; whereas he meant no more than simply to deny our inference, and say, no—it is not bad.—After this, it cannot be thought extraordinary, that the little vocabulary, inserted in Mr. Cooke's account of this part of the world, should appear defective; even were we not to take in the great probability of the dialects at Endeavour river, and Van Dieman's land, differing from that spoken at Port Jackson. And it remains to be proved, that the animal, called here Pat-a-ga-ram, is not there called Kanguroo. (Tench 1979:231)

Phillip and his officers eagerly investigated Aboriginal taxonomy. In the best tradition of eighteenth century science they wanted to know the names given by

---

[66]The word 'dialect' was used interchangeably with 'language' in the eighteenth and well into the nineteenth century.

Aboriginal people to the natural (and supernatural) world. As ethnographers, the colonists avidly collected lists of names of local people, the social groups with whom they were affiliated (designated by the colonists as 'tribes'), their artefacts and their ceremonial and secular rituals. They also collected botanical, zoological and geographical labels from the local people and listed them for future reference. The colonists did not simply collect Aboriginal lexicon they also appropriated some of the words into English. As interactions between Aboriginal people and the colony increased the colonists' use of Aboriginal names for things Australian became so commonplace that they renamed geograhical features using the Aboriginal names. For example, on 2 June 1791, 'Rose Hill, was changed, by order of the governor, to that of Par-ra-màt-ta, the native name of it' (Tench 1979:239).

Scattered throughout the accounts of First Fleet writers are words from the Sydney language which had evidently become part of the developing dialect of Australian English. Words from the Sydney language were used to describe the new environment and its people. The early colonists were very conscious of the distinctions made by Aboriginal people in classifying their material and cultural world and the environment around them. For example, in his writing, Phillip distinguished at least two different different kinds of kangaroo and used their Aboriginal names. For example, he wrote—'in the course of the day, they had seen numbers of Pattagorong and Baggaray; in one herd, it was supposed there could not be less than forty (Phillip 1968:341). So comfortable was Phillip with the lexicon that he did not even consider it necessary to inform the reader that *pattagorong* was 'red kangaroo' and *baggaray* 'grey kangaroo'. It was important that the colonists understood the diversity of Aboriginal classification of flora and fauna because they relied on Aboriginal knowledge of the natural world as part of their survival strategy.

As already noted, in mid April 1791, an exploring party, led by Phillip and accompanied by Aboriginal guides Colby and Boladeree, travelled forty miles west

of Sydney to the Hawkesbury River. They discovered Aboriginal people with a language and culture different to that of the Port Jackson people. Colbee and Boldaderee could converse with the Hawkesbury people which suggests that either they were familiar with the local language or it was a dialect of one of their own first languages.

> Although our natives and the strangers conversed on a par, and understood each other perfectly, yet they spoke different dialects of the same language; many of the most common and necessary words, used in life, bearing no similitude, and others being slightly different...That these diversities arise from want of intercourse with the people on the coast, can hardly be imagined, as the distance inland is but thirty-eight miles; and from Rose Hill not more than twenty, where the dialect of the sea coast is spoken. It deserves notice, that all the different terms seemed to be familiar to both parties, though each in speaking preferred its own. (Tench 1979:231)

> Though the tribe of Buruberongal, to which these men belonged, live chiefly by hunting, the women are employed in fishing, and our party were told that they caught large mullet in the river. Neither of these men had lost their front tooth, and the names they gave to several parts of the body were such as the natives about Sydney had never been heard to make use of. Ga-dia (the penis), they called *Cud-da*; Go-rey (the ear), they called *Ben-ne*; in the word mi (the eye), they pronounced the letter I as an E. And in many other instances their pronunciation varied, so that there is good reason to believe several different languages are spoken by the natives of this country, and this accounts for only one or two of those words given in Captain Cook's vocabulary having ever been heard amongst the natives who visited the settlement. (Phillip 1968:347)

The available evidence suggests that the colony's officials acquired the most impressive knowledge of Aboriginal languages. However, the general population were increasingly exposed to Aboriginal people and it is very likely that they had some common means of communication. The convict artist Thomas Watling had a low opinion of the efforts of the officers to learn the Sydney Language. He claimed they were not advanced beyond his own limited knowledge. In December 1791, he wrote:-

> It were presumption in me to speak of their language, with which I am but little acquainted. Glossaries have been attempted by some of our pretending and aspiring gentry, who, I am conscious, are as much ignorant of it as myself. I think it is by no means copious, but rather confined to a few simple sounds; but whether this is, or is not a beauty, I leave to the learned to determine. To an European ear the articulation seems uncommonly wild and barbarous; owing, very likely, to those national prejudices every man imbibes, and perhaps cannot entirely divest himself of. One thing they have in common with more refined communities, that marks a clannish propinquity of kindred; which is a similarity

> in the termination of their sir-names: Terribi-long, Bennalong, By-gong, Wye-gong, Cole-bree, Nan-bree, &c., &c., are full as striking as Thomson, Johnson, and Robson. (Watling 1945:30-31)

In December 1790, Tench observed that Phillip's convict gamekeeper, M'Entire, was able to speak to Aboriginal people 'in their own language' although it did not save him from being speared (Tench 1979:205). He was speared by a young man from Botany Bay called Pemulwy[67] (Tench 1979:202; Collins, vol. 1, 1975:118) of the *Bidjigal* people who had recently visited the settlement (Phillip 1968:327). Bennelong had several times shown 'much dread and hatred' of M'Entire and he was regarded among the colonists as of bad character. It was commonly believed that M'Entire had killed Aboriginal people although he denied it (Tench 1979:202). However, he was not universally disliked and 'was well known to those natives who frequented Sydney, and when they saw him at the hospital they expressed great marks of sorrow, all the women and several of the men shedding tears' (Phillip 1968:327). M'Entire must have had considerable association with Aboriginal people in order to have acquired a knowledge of local languages.

Some evidence suggests that, by May 1791, the colonists were able to communicate with Aboriginal people from beyond the confines of settlement without the aid of an Aboriginal interpreter. For example, on a second expedition to find the junction of the Hawkesbury and Nepean Rivers, the marines William Dawes, Watkin Tench and Isaac Knight and a private soldier found that they were able to communicate with Hawkesbury district Aboriginal people (Tench 1979:235-36). However, there is no comment in the records of the extent of their ability to communicate with the people. The same Aboriginal people were familiar with some of the Aboriginal people who lived in the settlement and it is very likely that they had learnt some strategies for communicating with the colonists from Sydney people.

---

[67]Variously spelt as:- Pim-el-wì (Tench 1979:202; Collins, vol. 1, 1975:118), Pemullaway (Phillip 1968:327), Pe-mul-wy (Collins 1975:118). 'Pe-mul-wy, a wood native...' (Collins 1975:466). Pemulwy was the hero of a semi-fictional book about his life written by Eric Willmot (1987).

2.2.15 Acquisition of knowledge of English by the Aboriginal population

In his detailed account of the recent state of knowledge about Aboriginal languages Dixon claims that 'from the time of the first fleet, European colonists have shown little interest or aptitude for learning Australian languages' (Dixon 1980:69). The evidence discussed above demonstrates that the claim is not well founded. Some colonists made a concerted effort to learn at least the Sydney Language. However, Aboriginal people living in and around the settlement were more rapidly acquiring a knowledge of English. The problem for the colonists was not one of lack of aptitude, but, lack of access to Aboriginal languages.

The observed ability of Aboriginal people to acquire some facility with English[68] is not surprising when one considers that they moved unrestrictedly amongst the colonists. They had an advantage most colonists did not share in their own let alone in Aboriginal society. Before the 1820s, when free immigration to NSW dramatically accelerated, most colonists were convicts who did hard physical work for long hours. In their leisure time convicts associated with Aboriginal people but only within the confines of the settlement where English was the lingua franca. Aboriginal people were encouraged to enter the colonists' society, while the reverse was not true. Under the circumstances, it is logical that Aboriginal people could have acquired English with greater ease than colonists could have acquired an Aboriginal language. In rare cases, where colonists became part of an Aboriginal society they usually acquired some facility in an Aboriginal language[69]. Incentive

---

[68]The 'English' referred to by contemporary commentators is likely to be the contact jargon developed in Sydney in during this time and discussed in more detail below (see 2.3).

[69]The incidences of colonists living amongst Aboriginal people are of minor significance to early language contact. Minor because it was rare that people remained at large and even rarer that they were accepted by any Aboriginal group. One of the earliest groups of convict escapees to remain successfully at large lived with a group of Aboriginal people was at Port Stephens, from 1790 until 1795. They had been long presumed to be dead as their boat was very inadequate and their provisions scanty. A search had been made but abandoned with no trace of the men or their craft (Phillip 1968:312). Following the arrival of the Third and Fourth Fleets, in the second half of 1791, the number of convict absconders increased. Their attempts were fueled by a rumour spread amongst the Irish convicts that China or a settlement where they would not have to work was near the colony (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:154-5). Survivors were usually found starving and exhausted and there was no evidence that Aboriginal people helped them in their endeavours. Phillip took the matter very seriously and made it known that runaways would be treated harshly (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:155).

was also high for Aboriginal people to acquire English as an adjunct to their study of the colonists. Only a very few high-ranking officials amongst the colonists had the time to study Aboriginal society and language.

Aboriginal people were not the only people in the colony attempting to acquire its lingua franca, English. It is difficult to be sure of numbers, but, even within the first fleets there were non-English-speaking colonists, particularly amongst the Irish (Troy 1991). In order to gain full access to life in the colony it was necessary to know English. However, the fact that English was the language of the colonising country can only be seen as a linguistic starting point because even amongst the native English-speakers in the colony a wide variety of dialects was spoken.

> A leading distinction, which marked the convicts on their outset in the colony, was an use of what is called the *flash*, or *kiddy* language. In some of our early courts of justice, an interpreter was frequently necessary to translate the deposition of the witness, and the defence of the prisoner. This language has many dialects. The sly dexterity of the pickpocket; the brutal ferocity of the footpad; the more elevated career of the highwayman; and the deadly purpose of the midnight ruffian, is each strictly appropriate in the terms which distinguish and characterize it. I have ever been of opinion that an abolition of this unnatural jargon would open the path to reformation. And my observation on these people have constantly instructed me, that indulgence in this infatuating cant, is more deeply associated with depravity, and continuance in vice, than is generally supposed. I recollect hardly one instance of a return to honest pursuits, and habits of industry, where this miserable perversion of our noblest and peculiar faculty was not previously conquered. (Tench 1979:297)

In the earliest cross-cultural communications the colonists discovered that Aboriginal people enjoyed imitating English speech. In July 1788, the surgeon John White and two other men had a pleasant interlude with a group of Aboriginal people in canoes near the point on which the hospital was built at Sydney.

> One of the gentlemen with me sung some songs; and when he was done, the females in the canoes either sung one of their own songs, or imitated him, in which they succeeded beyond conception. Any thing spoken by us they most accurately recited, and this in a manner of which we fell greatly short in our attempts to repeat their language after them. (White 1962:153)

It was a skill often commented on during this period. In December 1791, the convict Thomas Watling observed that 'in imitation they are extremely apt, particularly in mimicry' (Watling 1945:27).

However, just as the colonists had trouble with the pronunciation of Aboriginal words so Aboriginal people found English difficult.

> But if they sometimes put us to difficulty, many of our words were to them unutterable. 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. (Tench 1979:293)

> 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. (Tench 1979:189)

Aboriginal people showed great interest in the colonists and their culture. There is evidence that they borrowed words from English and made new coinages by using the resources of their own languages or by adapting existing terms to label the new things they were experiencing in the colony.

> Their translation of our words into their language is always apposite, comprehensive, and drawn from images familiar to them: a gun, for instance, they call Goòroobeera, that is—a stick of fire.—Sometimes also, by a licence of language, they call those who carry guns by the same name. But the appellation by which they generally distinguished us was that of Bèreewolgal, meaning—men come from afar... (Tench 1979:292)

> The first time Colbee saw a monkey, he called *Wùr-ra* (a rat); but on examining its paws, he exclaimed, with astonishment and affright , *Mùl-la* (a man). (Tench 1979:270)

Tench made an important observation about the terminology used by Aboriginal people to describe colonists. The colonists referred to Aboriginal people as 'blacks' and non-Aboriginal people of European extraction 'whites'. Aboriginal people borrowed those words but understood the word 'white' to mean the colour of skin not the literal meaning which is the shade 'white'.

> It may be remarked, that they translate the epithet white, when they speak of us, not by the name which they assign to this white earth[70]; but by that with which they distinguish the palms of their hands. (Tench 1979:278)

The first Aboriginal captive, Arabanoo, died before he re-established extended communication with other Aboriginal people. Therefore, it is very unlikely that he passed on much information about the English language to the wider Aboriginal population. However, as observed above, Bennelong returned to living with his people after several months of captivity and with a degree of proficiency in English. After observing Bennelong's linguistic progress, Daniel Southwell remarked in April 1790 that 'their progress in attaining English is but slow, but their parts are tolerable and understanding by no means despicable' (Southwell 1790:348-49).

One fragment of English that Bennelong taught his people was the loyal toast 'the King' which he believed was purely an indication that wine was to be drunk[71].

> At length a bottle was held up, and on his being asked what it was, in his own language, he answered, "*the King*;" for as he had always heard his Majesty's health drank in the first glass after dinner at the governor's table, and had been made to repeat the word before he drank his own glass of wine, he supposed the liquor was named "the King;" and though he afterwards knew it was called wine, yet he would frequently call it King. (Phillip 1968:307)

As discussed above, by the end of 1790, many Aboriginal people had followed Bennelong's example and taken up at least temporary residence in the colony. Some had even become members of Phillip's household. Daily exposure to English provided those people with a model for communication with the colonists.

2.2.16 Opinions held by the Aboriginal community about the colony

Within the First Fleet accounts there is a little evidence of the attitudes of Aboriginal people towards the colonists and their colony. Their opinions were rarely solicited

---

[70]White ochre.

[71]Aboriginal people from Roma, Queensland, now use *King* as a generic for alcohol (John Ward Watkins, personal communication, Brisbane, May 1988) which may be a testimony to the durability and extent of Bennelong's early influence.

or reported. However, it is clear they were angry about the permanence of the colony and its interference in their use of the land and the harbour. For example, in September 1790, two Aboriginal people 'said that they were inhabitants of Rose Hill, and expressed great dissatisfaction at the number of white men who had settled in their former territories. In consequence of which declaration, the detachment at that post was reinforced on the following day' (Tench 1979:181). Maugoran[72] said that the Aborigines at *Kayyeemy*[73] (Manly Cove) were so angry about the colony that they 'would throw spears at any white man' (Phillip 1968:312).

> Indeed, if this man's information could be depended on, the natives were very angry at so many people being sent to Rose-Hill. Certain it is that whereever our colonists fix themselves, the natives are obliged to leave that part of the country. (Phillip 1968:312)

Aboriginal people were also fearful of the power of the colonists' guns and this fact was of major assistance to the British in subduing Aboriginal resistance to the colony. At the first demonstration of gunfire the Aboriginal people present displayed slight alarm overcome by astonishment and later shyness (Tench 1979:37). By 1790, Aboriginal people were very familiar with the aggressive use of guns. For example, Dawes' friend, Patye, told him that the *Kamarigals* wounded a colonist because they were angry about the colonists remaining in NSW.

> I then told her that a whiteman had been wounded some days ago in coming from Kadi to Wárang and asked her why the black men did it. - Answer. Gūlara[74] ... (Because they are) angry.
> Dawes: Mínyin gūlara eóra?[75] Why are the b.m.[76] angry?
> Patye: Imyám ngalauoí w.m.[77] Because the white men are settled here.
> Patye: Tyérun kamarigál.[78] The kamarigals are afraid.

---

[72]Father of Boorong and a kinsman of Bennelong—indicated by the context in which he is mentioned in Phillip (1968:311) and by the fact that Boorong claimed to be related to Bennelong.

[73]'The place where the Governor was wounded' (Phillip 1968:310).

[74]**gulara** 'anger'

[75] **minyin** **gulara** **yura**
why angry people
Why are the people angry?

[76]b.m. 'black men'

[77]w.m. 'white men'
inyam **ngala-wi** **waidiman**
because sit-3.PL white men
Because the non-Aboriginal people remain.

[78] **dyirun** **gamarigal**
fear Gamari people
The Gamari people are afraid.

D.: Mínyin tyérun k-gal?[79] Why are the k- afraid?
P.: Gúnin.[80] Because of the Guns. (Dawes 1790-91)

Blinded by their own self-righteousness, the colonial administration regretted that the Aboriginal population would not accept that the colonisers had any territorial rights. They believed that the hostility between the two peoples rested mainly on this point. In February 1791, Collins commented 'it was much to be regretted...that we had not yet been able to reconcile the natives to the deprivation of those parts of this harbour which we occupied. While they entertained the idea of our having dispossessed them of their residences, they must always consider us as enemies; and upon this principle they made a point of attacking the white people whenever opportunity and safety concurred' (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:122). Tench offered a rare insight into the reaction of the Aboriginal people to the colonists and their assessment of colonial culture.

> I do not hesitate to declare, that the natives of New South Wales possess a considerable portion of that acumen, or sharpness of intellect, which bespeaks genius. All savages hate toil, and place happiness in inaction: and neither the arts of civilized life can be practised, or the advantages of it felt, without the application and labour. Hence they resist knowledge, and the adoption of manners and customs, differing from their own...The tranquil indifference, and uninquiring eye, with which they surveyed our works of art, have often, in my hearing, been stigmatized as proofs of stupidity, and want of reflection. But surely we should discriminate between ignorance and defect of understanding. The truth was, they often neither comprehended the design, nor conceived the utility of such works: but on subjects in any degree familiarized to their ideas, they generally testified not only acuteness of discernment, but a large portion of good sense. I have always thought that the distinctions they shewed in their estimate of us, on first entering into our society, strongly displayed the latter quality:—when they were led into our respective houses, at once to be astonished and awed by our superiority, their attention was directly turned to objects with which they were acquainted. They passed without rapture or emotion our numerous artifices and contrivances: but when they saw a collection of weapons of war, or of the skins of animals and birds they never failed to exclaim, and to confer with each other on the subject. The master of that house became the object of their regard as they concluded he must be either a renowned warrior, or an expert hunter. Our surgeons grew into their esteem from a like cause. (Tench 1979:282)

---

79 **miny-in** **dyirun** **gamarigal**
why-ABL fear Gamari people
Why are the Gamari people afraid?

80 **gan** **-in**
gun ABL
From the guns.

The major inducement offered to the Aboriginal population to become part of the colony was the availability of goods not obtainable from any other source. However, cultivating Aboriginal interest in the food and artefacts of the colony was difficult and took many years of exposure. In early 1788, Tench commented that 'if bread be given to the Indians, they chew and spit it out again, seldom choosing to swallow it. Salt beef and pork they like rather better, but spirits they never could be brought to taste a second time' (Tench 1979:48). Persistent attempts to introduce Aboriginal people to new foodstuffs were successful by the early 1790s. On an expedition inland (discussed above), in April 1791, Tench observed that the Aboriginal people they met were very attracted to the new sources of food. The Aboriginal who accompanied the expedition continually complained that they would rather be at Rose Hill where 'said they, "are potatoes, cabbages, pumpkins, turnips, fish, and wine: here are nothing but rocks and water"' (Tench 1979:229). However, the colonists soon found that they could not supply the Aboriginal population's new found desire for the goods and foodstuffs of the colony. Aboriginal people began stealing whatever they wanted and violent disputes over thefts of garden produce and stores became commonplace.

The metal tools of the colonists had an early appeal to some Aboriginal people. The tools used by convicts were occasionally seized, perhaps as retaliation for the theft of Aboriginal artefacts. For example, in May 1788, a party of Aboriginal men killed some convicts and took their tools leaving their provisions and clothes (Tench 1979:50). By the early 1790s, stealing of the colonists' artefacts was commonplace. Most popular were tools such as hatchets and garden implements. Aboriginal people stole the clothes belonging to people they attacked. They rarely wore the garments but they fashioned pieces of fabric into ornaments. An outstanding example of the audacity of Aboriginal people in stealing from the colonists was the removal of the signal colours, in February 1791.

> About the middle of the month a theft of an extraordinary nature was committed by some of the natives. It had been the custom to leave the signal colours during the day at the flagstaff on the south head, at which place they were seen by some of these people who watching their opportunity, ran away with them, and they were afterwards seen divided among them in their canoes, and used as coverings. (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:122)

The Aboriginal woman who taught William Dawes to speak the Sydney Language, Patye, cooperated with him in return for material rewards. In the minds of people such as Patye life with the colonists was easy and a bit of linguistic adaptation on their part was no trial.

> Dawes: Minyin ngyíni bial piabúni whiteman?[81] Why don't you (scorn to) speak like a whiteman? Patye: Mangabunínga bial.[82] "Not understanding this answer I asked her to explain it which she did very clearly, by giving me to understand it was because I gave her victuals, drink and every thing she wanted, without putting her to the trouble of asking for it. (Dawes 1790-1)

Sydney Aboriginal people passed on information about the colonists and their goods to other Aboriginal groups. They often had a chance to do so when accompanying exploring parties. For example, Colby exchanged information about the colonists with a man from the inland for information about his people.

> Colbee in return for this communication, informed him who we were; of our numbers at Sydney and Rose Hill; of the stores we possessed; and above all, of the good things which were to be found among us, enumerating potatoes, cabbages, turnips, pumpkins, and many other names which were perfectly unintelligible to the person who heard them, but which he nevertheless listened to with profound attention. (Tench 1979:232)

2.2.17 Attempts by Aboriginal people to adapt to colonial society

There is evidence that, faced with radical and seemingly permanent change to their environment, some Aboriginal people made an early decision to exploit colonial society. They chose a non-Aboriginal lifestyle over their traditional one or integrated aspects of the culture of the colonists into their own. Bennelong was one of the first people to live in the settlement of his own free will and to openly exploit

---

81 **miny-in** why-ABL **ngyini** 2SG **biyal** NEG **baya-buni** speak-PRIV **waidiman** non-Aboriginal

82 **man-nga-buni-nga** take-ACC-NEG-ACC **biyal** NEG
Get it for nothing.

the material and cultural opportunities it afforded. One of his main objectives was to manipulate Phillip and through him other colonists into cooperating in his social aspirations within the Aboriginal communities in and around the colony. He used his position as the key interlocutor as a bargaining point in both the colonial and Aboriginal communities. Bennelong played intricate social games that confused the colonists. They were never sure who he classed as friend, nor whether he was working with or against the colony.

> Bannelong, Colebe and two or three others now lived at Sydney three or four days in the week, and they all repeatedly desired those natives might be killed who threw spears. At the same time, Governor Phillip began to suspect, though very unwillingly, that there was a great deal of art and cunning in Bannelong; he had lately been at Botany-Bay, where he said, they danced, and that one of the tribe had sung a song, the subject of which was his house, the governor, and the white men at Sydney. The people of that tribe, he said, would not throw any more spears, as they and the Cammeragals were all friends, and were good men. This was only a few days after he said that he liked his house at the point, because the Botany-Bay men and the Cammeragals would not come to it on account of the white men; and had, as usual, whenever those tribes were mentioned, requested the governor to kill them all. (Phillip 1968:327)

It was difficult for children, in particular, who had lived amongst the colonists to return to a fully Aboriginal lifestyle and to be accepted by their communities. For example, when Nanbarry returned to live with his people 'he did not remain long among them, but when he came back—The poor little fellow was from top to toe all over besmirch'd, saying, when asked the cause by Mr. White, that the—Toras/Natives/ did it while he would never go near them again' (Campbell 1791).

On 20 February 1791, Bòn-del, an orphaned Aboriginal boy raised by Captain Hill requested that he accompany Hill to Norfolk Island. He became the first Aboriginal person from Sydney to leave leave the colony on a European vessel. His 'countrymen...inquired eagerly for him; and on being told that the place he was gone to afforded plenty of birds and other good fare, innumerable volunteers presented themselves to follow him;—so great was their confidence in us, and so little hold of them had the *amor patriæ*' (Tench 1979:218-19).

Aboriginal people were selective about what they incorporated into their culture from that of the colonists. They experimented with what the colony had to offer and helped themselves when offers were not forthcoming. Attempts by colonists to impose their culture on the Aboriginal population met effective resistance, usually passive and occasionally violent. Aboriginal people who attached themselves to the colony also attempted to maintain their own cultural traditions. They continued their sacred as well as their secular life within the confines of the colony in areas which came to be designated as reserved for their use alone. The colonists tolerated and even enjoyed, as spectators, the various public activities of the Aboriginal population. Physical contests or corroborees were particularly popular[83]. Colonists took advantage of the growing familiarity to closely observe Aboriginal cultural practices.

There were many Aboriginal traditions which the colonists were not prepared to tolerate. Aboriginal people often found themselves so culturally at odds with the colonists that they needed to detach themselves either temporarily or permanently from the settlement. For example, in spite of his acceptance within colonial society and his cooperation on exploring expeditions, Boladeree was forced to withdraw from colonial society or face reprisals against him for the way in which he handled a case of theft against himself (Tench 1979:239). The colonists were perfectly aware that Aboriginal people had their own means of social control. However, they had no tolerance for Aboriginal law and did not hesitate to inflict their own norms of control on the Aboriginal population. Aboriginal people were expected to understand and conform to British laws. Through insisting that British justice was the only valid system the damage done by colonial officials to cross-cultural relations was very serious (Fitzhardinge, in Tench 1979:325).

[83]Throughout the history of colonial NSW colonists attended Aboriginal corroborees – both ritual and festival. Reactions were variously of shock or delight but attendance at corroborees generally served to create a neutral ground on which Aboriginal people and colonists were able to interact freely and uninhibitedly (Troy 1990b).

However, in spite of negative interactions with the colonists, Aboriginal people increasingly helped the colonists in their attempts to settle into life in NSW. Aboriginal people less well known to the colonists also helped them as the extended web of social connections that existed between Aboriginal communities of the east coast of NSW gradually incorporated the colonists into their own world view.

2.2.18 Interactions between Aboriginal women and colonists

Aboriginal women were, at first, kept very much apart from the colonists by Aboriginal men.

> There is no part of the behaviour of these people, that has puzzled us more, than that which relates to their women. Comparatively speaking we have seen but few of them, and those have been sometimes kept back with every symptom of jealous sensibility; and sometimes offered with every appearance of courteous familiarity. (Tench 1979:49)

Hunter noted that the women 'had always shewn a desire, as much as possible, to avoid us' (Hunter 1968:56). However, in February 1790, an Aboriginal woman interceded on the part of a convict who was about to be killed by a group of Aboriginal men.

> A convict who had been employed to strike the sting ray, with another, on the flats, having gone on shore, engaged in some quarrel with the natives, who took all his clothes from him, severely wounded and would inevitably have killed him, but for the humane, friendly, and disinterested interference of one of their own women, who happened to be present. (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:77)

In the early establishment of permanent relations with the Aboriginal population, the colonists used Boorong in an attempt to influence other Aboriginal women to visit the settlement. They hoped the women would bring the men into the colony. In mid September 1790, Phillip instructed Boorong to encourage Bennelong's wife, Barangaroo, to visit Sydney. However, the experiment failed and resulted in Boorong wanting to return to her own people (Tench 1979:184). Phillip even went so far as to attempt to contract a marriage for Boorong via Bennelong. Phillip's

object was to attach Boorong's husband to the colony and to recruit Aboriginal people into the settlement.

With the lowering of the physical and social barriers between Aboriginal people and colonists many of the male colonists focussed their attention on Aboriginal women. They wrote of their horror at the way in which Aboriginal men treated women and criticised the casual way in which women were beaten for 'trifling offences', 'prostituted' to the colonists and swapped amongst themselves.

> The women seem to be under the greatest subjection to the men, and, if we may judge from the number of them that come in, with broken heads, which the men boast of having given them, they are most cruelly treated, – Inclination, whim or caprice seems to be the only tye of the man to the woman who cohabits with him, as they are often known to turn off one - woman and take up with another, and, very lately, one of them made the Governor a gift of his thin Ding/wife/ and carried off with him another woman that was there. (Campbell 1791)

Some Aboriginal women formed liaisons with colonists on their own initiative (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:126). One man's wife 'frequently visited Sydney, and was said to have granted favours to several of the convicts' (Phillip 1968:334).

Male colonists experienced mixed feelings about their involvement with Aboriginal women. Some men saw the women as 'an antidote to all desire' (Campbell 1791) while others made fast friendships with particular individuals. William Dawes filled his notes with references to the young woman, Patye, who taught him the Sydney Language and who he taught to speak and read English. The sentences he collected from her are as much a record of their friendship as they are linguistic data.

Aboriginal domestic violence was a major source of culture shock for the colonists. In an effort to alleviate their mystification they repeatedly wrote about the violence and frequently attempted to intervene.

> Opportunities were not now wanting to shew that the women are in general treated very roughly; for Colebe brought his wife to visit Governor Phillip, and though she was big with child, and appeared to be within a very few days of her

> time, there were several wounds on her head, which she said he had lately given her. He seemed to be pleased that she could shew her marks, and took some pains to to inform the governor that he had beat her with a wooden sword. ...Bannelong... brought his wife...she appeared to be very ill, and had a fresh wound on her head, which he gave Governor Phillip to understand she had merited, for breaking a fiz-gig and a throwing stick. The governor's reasoning with him on this subject had no effect; he said she was bad, and therefore he had beat her. Neither could it be learned what inducement this woman could have to do an act which she must have known would be followed by a severe beating; for Bannelong either did not understand the questions put to him or was unwilling to answer them. When these people had finished their breakfast, they all went to the hospital to get the women's heads dressed; for, besides Bannelong's wife, a woman who was a stranger had received a blow on the head which had laid her scull bare. (Phillip 1968:319)

The behaviour of Aboriginal men towards their women was a great puzzle to the colonists. They could not reconcile what they saw as extremes of attitude—men able to beat their wives savagely and yet also be tender with them. 'Bannelong's wife one day complaining of a pain in the belly, went to the fire and sat down with her husband, who, notwithstanding his beating her occasionally, seemed to express great sorrow on seeing her ill' (Phillip 1968:316).

> Making love in this country is always prefaced by a beating, which the female seems to receive as a matter of course. The native girl who still resided occasionally at the clergyman's had been absent two days when she returned with a bad wound on the head and some severe bruise on her shoulder. The girl whose life Governor Phillip had saved returned with her; she also had a wound on her head, and one of her arms was much bruised by a blow with a club. The story they told was that two men who frequently visited the settlement wanted to sleep with them, and, on their refusing, had, as usual on such occasions, beat them most unmercifully. (Phillip 1968:339)

The colonists often interfered in Aboriginal intersexual relations. In November 1790, Tench recorded two examples of such interference, both involving Bennelong. Bennelong threatened to punish his wife for breaking fishing equipment and the colonists successfully prevented him from carrying out his intention. His wife took full advantage of the colonists' intervention on her behalf and assumed a manner of reproach for which he husband would normally punish her further.

> During our absence, Barangaroo had never ceased whining, and reproaching her husband; now that he was returned, she met him with unconcern, and seemed intent on her work only: but this state of repose did not long continue: Baneelon eyeing the broken fish-gig, cast at her a look of savage fury, and began to interrogate her; and it seemed more than probable that the remaining part would

> be demolished about her head, had we not interposed to pacify him. Nor would we quit the place until his forgiveness was complete, and his good humour restored...elated at his condescension, and emboldened by our presence, and the finery in which we had decked her, she in turn assumed a haughty demeanour, refused to answer his caresses, and viewed him with a reproaching eye. (Tench 1979:190)

The second incident was very violent and the colonists' intervention almost caused a rift between themselves and Bennelong and his supporters. In late 1789, Bennelong captured the daughter of a Botany Bay man with a view to punishing her for injuries she and her father had inflicted on him. Although Bennelong claimed he was going to beat her severely, not kill her, his constant use of the word 'kill' made the Governor nervous that he might well murder the girl. Bennelong used the word 'kill' in the sense that it was commonly used in Irish English[84] and it is very possible that Baneelon acquired that usage from the large number of Irish people in the colony at the time (Troy 1991). Bennelong made a point of visiting the governor's residence to tell him of his plans which prompted Phillip to accompany him in an attempt to divert him. The Aboriginal community did not attempt to stop Bennelong, because he was acting under Aboriginal law, and were angry when the colonists thwarted him (Phillip 1968:319-21). After several days the dispute ended peacefully, although the colonists were even more determined to impress their social values on the Aborigines.

In mid 1791, Bennelong and his kin again aroused Phillip's anger through attempting to abduct the same girl. Phillip commented in exasperation 'the savage

---

[84]The following conversation between George Borrow and an Irishman provides an example of this usage:- '"And suppose I were to refuse to give you a blessing?"..."Och, your reverence will never refuse to bless the poor boys."..."But suppose I were to refuse?"..."Why in such a case, which by the bye is altogether impossible, we should just make bould to give your reverence a good big bating."..."You would break my head?"..."We would, your reverence."..."You would really put me to death?"..."We would not, your reverence."..."And what"s the difference between killing and putting to death?"..."Och, sure there"s all the difference in the world. Killing manes only a good big bating, such as every Irishman is used to, and which your reverence would get over long before matins, whereas putting your reverence to death would prevent your reverence from saying mass for ever and a day"' (Borrow 1955:217-219). Eric Partridge, the noted lexicographer of 'slang', observed that the Anglo-Irish and jocular item *kilt* was 'generally a gross exaggeration and merely meant severely hurt, beaten, defeated' (Partridge 1984:646). A.P. Elkin, a famous anthropologist of Aboriginal societies, observed that Aboriginal people used words borrowed from English such as 'kill', 'enemy' and 'bad' without the extreme meaning they had for English-speaking people. '"To kill" probably meant merely to strike or beat, as distinct from "kill 'im dead"' (Elkin, in Hunter 1968:434).

ferocity of these people shews itself whenever they find themselves thwarted' (Phillip 1968:349). The governor's residence became a regular asylum for Aboriginal people escaping attack from other Aboriginal people (Phillip 1968:349-50).

2.3 LINGUISTIC EVIDENCE

2.3.1 Introduction

In the discussion above, I explained that the colonists acquired some knowledge of the Sydney language through interacting with Aboriginal people who lived in and around Sydney. The records suggest that the administrators of the colony had the time and motivation to study the Sydney Language. The remaining records for the Sydney Language produced by some of the colony's administators are substantial enough to reconstruct a sizeable lexicon and a fullsome grammatical description of the language (Troy 1994). However, only a few people made a detailed and concerted study of the language. Throughout the period under discussion, most people made maximal use of a minimal, very limited knowledge of the Sydney Language.

Contemporary annecdotal comment indicates that language contact induced phenomena, such as language mixing, occurred during this period. However, linguistic data must be gleaned indirectly from the records. Although some writers of the time were motivated to document what they had learnt about the Sydney Language they did not concern themselves with deliberately recording any developing contact language.

In 1791, a few months after permanent contact was established, David Collins observed that communication between Aboriginal people and colonists in Sydney was limited to what could be achieved using a small shared lexicon. This very early jargon was certainly enhanced with gesture.

> Our knowledge of their language consisted at this time of only a few terms for such things as, being visible could not be mistaken; but no one had yet attained words enough to convey an idea in connected terms. (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:122)

The jargon could evidently only fulfil the most basic communicative needs. However, the humble beginnings of language contact in those first few months were gradually built upon and the lexical repertoire available to the jargon speakers was enlarged from the corpus of both the Sydney language and English.

Collins recorded the first evidence (albeit again anecdotal) for language mixing by an Aboriginal person. The person was Bondel, an Aboriginal orphan boy who had become very attached to Captain Hill and accompanied him when he went to Norfolk Island. When Bondel returned to Sydney, in September 1791, it was reported that he had acquired some English and was mixing it with his first language.

> Bondel, a native boy, who went thither with Captain Hill, to whom he was attached, in the month of March last, came back...to his friends and relations at Port Jackson. 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. (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:147-8)

In April 1792, Collins reported that 'a mutilated and incorrect language' had developed as a direct result of language contact. His was the earliest observation that a contact register had developed in Sydney.

> The natives had not lately given us any interruption by acts of hostility. Several of their young people continued to reside among us, and the different houses in the town were frequently visited by their relations. 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. (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:174)

Collins' remark indicates that the model for the contact register was the colonists' interlanguage attempts to speak the Sydney language. Without data for the 'mutilated and incorrect language' is is impossible to know whether the speech was ad hoc and idiosyncratic as is typical of jargon or whether it showed some stability of forms which would suggest an incipient pidgin. However, Collins' remark

indicates that a new language was developing out of the communications between Aboriginal people and colonists during the period under discussion. Aboriginal people did not learn English and colonists did not learn an Aboriginal language with the degree of fluency necessary to establish free communication. In the absence of a common language and through ad hoc efforts to communicate a contact register was being created. Clearly, the social context in which a pidgin language could develop existed by early 1792. The data discussed below demonstrate that some of the productive processes common in the inception of a pidgin language were in evidence during this time.

2.3.2 The sources and their reliability

There is some documentary evidence, in the form of manuscripts and published accounts, for the nature and development of contact language in this period. The documents were mainly produced by marine officers and other officials from the colony's administration. The writings of marine officers were 'obviously weighted towards an official and naval point of view' (Bach in Hunter 1968:xii). Given that they were authorities on the events surrounding the settlement of NSW they 'may surely be regarded as both responsible and knowledgeable' in their reporting (Bach 1968:xii). Officials were required to keep journals and they also wrote letters and kept private notebooks. Many people also wrote popular books, from their official and private notes, which were published within a few years of the establishment of the colony. The data from these sources is as reliable as any first-hand account could be, embellished as they were with personal opinion and often revised after the events occurred. The most important sources used for the present study are discussed below (2.3.2.1 and 2.3.2.2)

2.3.2.1 The Sydney language notebooks

A collection of three notebooks, held in the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, contain the earliest known manuscript material for the Sydney language[85]. William Dawes, an officer of the First Fleet, produced two of the notebooks. The other is a composite work produced by Governor Arthur Phillip and two other marine officers, John Hunter and David Collins [86]. The notebooks are the principal record of the now extinct Sydney Language and provide enough information to facilitate a reconstruction of the main features of that language (Troy 1994). However, in terms of what is now known about Australian languages the data contained in the notebooks document a reduced system suggestive of interlanguage rather than a full language. The discovery is not surprising because the data are the notes of people who were attempting, only sporadically and monolingually in the absence of any lingua franca, to acquire a working knowledge of the Sydney Language. Further interference in the colonist's acquisition of the language was likely to have been caused by Aboriginal people speaking a simplified version of their language to the colonists.

2.3.2.2 First Fleet journals, letters and diaries

In addition to the Sydney Language notebooks there are published journals and other unpublished general accounts of life in the colony in letters, journals and diaries[87] which contain small amounts of linguistic evidence for language contact. The authors of data used for the present study are:- Arthur Phillip, Governor of New South Wales and commander of the First Fleet; the marine officers David Collins, Watkin Tench, Phillip Gidley King, David Bradley, William Dawes, Newton Fowell;

---

[85]The notebooks are described in detail in Troy 1994.

[86]Attribution of authorship of the third manuscript is discussed in detail in Troy 1994.

[87]Victor Crittenden's (1982) bibliography of the First Fleet provides a comprehensive listing of surviving sources. A quantity of unpublished First Fleet material has since been published and some unknown material unearthed, such as the letters of Newton Fowell (Fowell 1988). Phyllis Mander-Jones' (1972) bibliography of manuscript material in the British Isles relating to Australia also contains relevant information about First Fleet sources.

surgeons to the colony Arthur Bowes Smyth, George Worgan and John White; chaplain to the colony Richard Johnson.

Literate First Fleeters were fully aware of the importance of the experiment in which they were involved and duly considered future publication of their experiences. There was a good market in England for novel scientific information and accounts of life in distant places. Those who could, planned to make money from publishing their experiences. Commenting on the journal of the marine officer, Watkin Tench, the historian Laurie Fitzhardinge wrote that 'like many of his colleagues, Tench was well aware that he was participating in the making of history; that in fact the event was unique, in that the European settlement of a continent was being deliberately recorded from its beginnings. He certainly envisaged publication from an early stage, and must indeed have arranged it before he sailed, since Worgan was able to write to his brother on 11th July 1788 that the book would be published by Debrett in Piccadilly' (Fitzhardinge 1979b:xxiv). Fitzhardinge also commented on the methods employed by officers in recording their accounts of the colonisation of New South Wales. 'Like all, or nearly all, the officers, he kept a journal in which events were written down as they occurred, not perhaps written-up every day, but at least while impressions were still fresh. Not only events, but impressions too went into the journal, and no doubt evenings would be whiled away in composing drafts of some of the "set pieces" for future use' (Fitzhardinge 1979b:xxiv).

Tench's published work comprised occasional verbatim quotes from his journal combined with selections that were generalised and polished and grouped together to form a narrative. His own comment confirms that he relied on eye-witness reporting to build his narrative.

> As this publication enters the world with the name of the author, candour will, he trusts, induce its readers to believe, that no consideration could weigh with him in an endeavour to mislead them. Facts are related simply as they happened, and when opinions are hazarded, they are such as, he hopes, patient inquiry, and deliberate decision, will be found to have authorised. For the most part he has

> spoken from actual observation; and in those places where the relations of others have been unavoidably adopted, he has been careful to search for the truth, and repress that spirit of exaggeration which is almost ever the effect of novelty on ignorance. (Tench 1979:5)

It is also worth noting Tench's comment that the book was written from material gained mostly in his limited spare time.

> The candid, it is hoped, will overlook the inaccuracies of this imperfect sketch, drawn amidst the complicated duties of the service in which the Author is engaged, and make due allowance for the want of opportunity of gaining more extensive information. (Tench 1979:6)

Phillip Gidley King observed of his own journal published with that of John Hunter that 'it certainly carries Truth with it as it was wrote with no other design than to serve as...minutes' (King quoted by Bach in Hunter 1968:xx).

The journal of David Collins, who served in NSW until August 1796, is the most comprehensive and detailed account of the earliest settlement of NSW. The authors of most other accounts returned to England before the end of 1792 (Fletcher in Collins, vol. 1, 1975:xiii). Collins wrote his two volume work using, in the main, his personal journal as well as material supplied by King and possibly Hunter for the second volume (Fletcher in Collins, vol. 1, 1975:xxv-xxvi). He wrote the first volume over a period of about eight years while he was in NSW, and the second in about six months after he left the colony. 'According to his own account, he wrote to relieve "the tedium of many a heavy hour" and at first intended his manuscript for private circulation' (Fletcher in Collins, vol. 1, 1975:xv). However, by July 1788 he had decided to publish and George Worgan recommended it 'in preference to any other, because from his Genius I am certain it will be the most Entertaining, Animating, Correct and satisfactory of any that may appear' (Worgan quoted by Fletcher in Collins, vol. 1, 1975:xv). As a data source the reliability of Collins' work is increased by his lack of literary embellishment.

> His was a straightforward, somewhat unimaginative and uncomplicated mind that was not given to speculation or to deep probing into the mysteries of life. ...By recording events and impressions as they occurred, Collins conveyed a sense of the past gradually unfolding. This gave his writing a freshness and feeling of authenticity. (Fletcher in Collins, vol. 1, 1975:xxi)

Collins' account also contains the most detailed early description of Aboriginal people.

> He seems to have spent considerable time observing and conversing with the native peoples, establishing so much contact with them that one of their number assumed his name. This pursuit must have provided welcome relief from the monotonies of a life in which there was little to excite an officer of active mind during his off-duty hours. But his interest was shared by his fellow officers, from the governor onward, and was typical of his age...Collins also shared the sympathetic outlook of an era which sought to understand the natives. He could be critical of their behaviour, but he tried to see them as they were and preferred them to the convicts, from whose presence he was glad to escape. (Fletcher in Collins, vol. 1, 1975:xix)

His conscientiousness and prowess in learning the Sydney language was noted by Hunter who wrote that 'Mr Collins, the judge-advocate, is very assiduous in learning the language, in which he has made a great progress' (Hunter 1968:269).

2.3.3 Gestural communication

In first contact situations nonverbal means of communication are extremely important. They may have some influence on developing pidgins (Dutton 1987). Dutton, in writing about first contact situations in the Pacific, observed that gestural conventions may have contributed more to the general structure of pidgins than is usually credited (Dutton 1987:163). Using apposite examples, he proposed a set of 'methods and conventions used by Europeans in making first contact with people of the south-west Pacific' that were a 'useful if crude substitute for a real human language'.

Mühlhäusler observed that in 'socially or geographically marginal varieties of otherwise more developed pidgins' there is 'a pronounced reliance on extralinguistic signals'[88] (Mühlhäusler 1986:53). He claims that 'the development of a linguistic means of intercommunication' should not be studied 'in isolation from its gestural

---

[88]He cites as an example his study of Bush Pidgin 'the bush varieties of Tok Pisin' (Mühlhäusler 1986:53) and Todd's (1982) study of West Africa where there is a 'very basic sort of English...consisting of little more than lexical strings augmented by gesture' (Todd, in Mühlhäusler 1986:54).

predecessors' (Mühlhäusler 1986:54). However, he does acknowledge that the paucity of historical information about gestural communication in early contact situations hinders such a study (Mühlhäusler 1986:51). So that while 'there appears to be an interesting relationship between the complexity of a sign language and that of the simultaneously employed verbal means of communication' it is only with the modern technology of video recording that detailed research can be carried out in this area' (Mühlhäusler 1986:54).

As discussed above, gestural communication was relied upon in the earliest encounters between Aboriginal people and colonists. Some of the conventions used in first contact situations discussed by Dutton (1987:158-59) were used in those early encounters (1:1-6 and a perusal of Appendix 1 would provide many other examples). For example, green leafy branches were waved by Aboriginal people as a 'symbol of peace' (1:6). Spears were brandished and launched as a distinct threat (1:3). The colonists followed the convention of gift-giving with presents of beads, mirrors, axes, food and coloured handkerchiefs. They also used cautious body contact such as hand grasping and patting to suggest friendliness.

Through trial and error colonists came to know which gestures produced the desired results. Phillip's near fatal encounter, discussed above (2.2.9), is a good example of misreading of gesture and the subsequent modification of those gestures. Aboriginal people also warmed to particular gifts such as fishhooks, axes and other metal tools and food items of which bread became very popular. A good example of the combining of gestural and verbal signs to make a request is found in the comment that children had learnt to rub their stomachs and say 'bread, hungry' to solicit the desired food.

Unfortunately there is not enough data from this period to provide a detailed description of the gestural strategies used in cross-cultural communication in

Sydney. However, contemporary writers often referred to gesture as having provided the sole means (see for example 1:4) or a major adjunct to communication between themselves and Aboriginal people. The small quantity of data that exists provide clear evidence that although the gestural code was gradually replaced by a verbal code, for a long time gesture continued to reinforce verbal communication.

2.3.4 Analysis of the linguistic data for contact language

The contact language data within the sources are of different types (i) borrowings, (ii) lexical innovations, (iii) language mixing and (iv) simplification of language. When considered with the anecdotal comments noted above (2.3.1) and given the conducive social environment (discussed in 2.2), the data suggest the presence of at least the early beginnings of a pidgin language. That is, a developing set of core lexical items and some grammatical conventions suggesting stabilisation within the jargon spoken in Sydney.

The Sydney Language notebooks are the richest source for evidence of language contact induced phenomena and contain all four types of data. Other documents produced by First Fleeters also provide supporting evidence for language contact. The notebooks contain a substantial wordlist of about one thousand lexical items. However, all the other sources for the Sydney Language recorded much smaller wordlists. It is likely that those lists contain the basic vocabulary known to all the people who had taken an interest in learning something of the language. The list is the notebooks is longer because it was the product of a deeper investigation into the language.

As discussed above (2.2.14), the colonists borrowed a number of items from the Sydney Language to label their features of the natural world in and around Sydney and aspects of the culture of the Aboriginal people with whom they became familiar. The Sydney Language material also suggests borrowings from English into that

language by its speakers. However, lexical borrowing alone does not provide evidence for the inception of a contact language within this period. But when taken together with the several short sentences included in the material they do suggest that the colonists were using some kind of contact language.

2.3.4.1 Borrowings and lexical innovations

First Fleet sources contain evidence that through language contact a number of lexical items borrowed from the Sydney Language entered the burgeoning Australian dialect of English. However, the data do not permit many conclusions about the borrowings used by colonists in daily conversation. All the Aboriginal artefact and natural environment vocabulary known to the colonists were candidates. The colonists certainly used a wider range of borrowings from the Sydney language than are now evident in Australian English[89]. For example, they distinguished at least two types of kangaroo which they used for food, the **badagarang** 'eastern grey kangaroo' and the **bagarai** 'swamp wallaby'. There are items on the Sydney Language wordlists which are now common in Australian English. However, the set of borrowings used in modern Australian English is not a comprehensive guide to the vocabulary known to the colonists. The writings of the First Fleeters indicate that the colonists had a much greater command of Sydney Language vocabulary than the residual remnants now used in Australian English. In the absence of better evidence it is safest to simply observe that borrowing into Australian English from the Sydney Language occurred at this time and continued into at least the early nineteenth century.

An example of the problems for the researcher attempting to determine which of the Sydney Language words were commonly used by colonists is found in the use of the words **biyanga** 'father' and **duru** 'son'. Many First Fleet writers observed that

[89]For a discussion of some borrowings into Australian English from Aboriginal languages in general, including the Sydney Language, see Dixon, Ramson and Thomas (1990).

Bennelong called Phillip **biyanga** and Phillip called him **duru**. The colonists learnt, very early, that Aboriginal people exchanged names as a sign of intimacy (2.2.6.3). Therefore, it is likely that colonists used these two honorary terms in establishing relationships with Aboriginal people. Unfortunately, there is no hard evidence to support this suggestion. However, there is evidence that the colonists were confused about kin terms. On 21 November, 1790, 'Bannelong told the governor that the Cammeragals had killed his *friend*, or *relation*, for we are not clear that these words in their language, which had been supposed to mean Father or Brother, are made use of by the natives in that sense' (Phillip 1968:324).

A source, more reliable than anecdote, is fortunately available for lexical borrowings from English into the Sydney Language (Table 1). The Sydney Language wordlists are records of part of the lexicon of the Aboriginal people who were in constant contact with the colonists[90]. The wordlists contain thirteen borrowings from English, each of which was specific to the culture of the colonists. Only two items are also represented amongst the coinages (Table 2), **winda**[91] 'window' and **wadyiman** 'non-Aboriginal person'. The English lexical items used by Bennelong should perhaps be included on the list of borrowings. In some cases there is evidence of his teaching the items to other Aboriginal people. For example, as noted above, he carefully explained what candle snuffers were to his friends but was enraged that they could not fully comprehend the meaning (see 2.2.9). Bennelong's use of 'king' for 'wine' (see 2.2.15) is a possible candidate for inclusion on the list because there is evidence that although it was initially an idiosyncrasy of his it has even survived in the English of some Aboriginal people today.

---

[90]These wordlists are compiled into a single wordlist in Troy 1994.
[91]The bolded items which are borrowings from English into the Sydney Language follow the reference orthography devised for Troy 1994.

TABLE 1: Borrowings from English into the Sydney Language

BORROWING	ENGLISH SOURCE
badadu	potato
balagaman	Aboriginal person, lit. black man
barat	bread
bidjigat	biscuit
buk	book
buragubatj	breakfast
djagat	jacket
dyi	tea
dyuga	sugar
gandal	candle
hangadyara	handkerchief
wadyiman	non-Aboriginal person, lit. white man
winda	window

Besides borrowings a number of items were innovated. 'Lexical innovation' is used here to mean lexical items which were coined as a result of culture contact. Each of the innovations was the product of attempts by both colonists and Aboriginal people to overcome the problems of cross-cultural communication within the colony.

There is some data which demonstrate that colonists initially coined English labels for the Sydney environment and its flora and fauna and artefacts of Aboriginal culture. However, as the colonists acquired some knowledge of Aboriginal languages they usually replaced the coinages with a local name. For example, 'Rose Hill' was replaced by 'Parramatta', 'the sceptre flower' by 'waratah' and 'scimitar or sword' by 'bumerrit' and 'womarang'[92]. There were only two English coinages in use at this time, but not created in Sydney, which also appear on the NSW Pidgin wordlist (Appendix 21)—**blakman**[93] 'Aboriginal person' from 'black man' and **waitman** 'non-Aboriginal person' from 'white man'. Both these items are of some antiquity; 'black man' meaning 'negro, negrito, etc.' was used as early as 1625 (*OED*) and 'white man' meaning 'a man belonging to a race having naturally light-

[92]By the early nineteenth century this had become 'boomerang'. *AND* gives 1825 as the earliest citation.
[93]These items are given in the reference orthography devised for this thesis and as they appear on the NSW Pidgin wordlist at Appendix 21.

coloured skin or complexion, chiefly applied to those of European extraction' was in use as early as 1695 (*OED*).

Aboriginal people also innovated lexical items through culture contact. They coined labels from their own languages and used semantic extension to adapt lexical items to identify the colonists and their cultural artefacts. Of the approximately one thousand lexical items recoverable for the Sydney Language seventeen are innovations, evidence of culture contact in the early colonial period (Table 2). Each item is specific to the culture of the colonists. There is no evidence that Aboriginal people replaced these items with English borrowings during this period. Two items 'window glass' and 'non-Aboriginal people' are also represented amongst the English borrowings (Table 1) but they co-existed with the innovations from the Sydney Language.

TABLE 2: Culture contact induced innovations in the Sydney Language

COINAGE	MEANING	LEXICAL SOURCE
barawalgal	non-Aboriginal person	**barawal** 'very far', **-gal** 'people'
dalangila	window glass	**dalang** 'tongue'[94], **-ila**?[95]
djarraba	musket non-Aboriginal person	**djarraba** 'fire stick, giver of fire'
garadyigan	non-Aboriginal surgeon	**garadyigan** 'healer, clever man, sorcerer'
garani	biscuit	?
garrangal	jacket	?
gunya	house or hut	**gunya** 'artificially constructed shelter'
marri nuwi	the ship *Sirius*	**marri** 'big', **nuwi** 'canoe'
mati	petticoat	?[96]
namuru	compass	**na-** 'see', **muru** 'path'
nananyila	reading glass	**nana-** 'very see', **-nyila** ?
nanyila	telescope	**na-** 'see', **-nyila** ?
narang nuwi	the ship *Supply*	**narang** 'little', **nuwi** 'canoe'
ngalawi	house	**ngalawa-** 'sit', **-wi** 'them'
ngunmal	palisade fence	?

[94]Openings in dwellings are frequently associated with the human mouth and the obvious connection between **dalang** 'tongue' and 'mouth' reinforces the likelihood of this item having 'tongue' as the stem form.

[95]On this list three items **dalangila**, **nananyila** and **nanyila** appear to share a common suffix or enclitic **-nyila** for which a number of analyses are possible based on comparative evidence. The form is most like Dharawal (a neighbouring language) *-nyila* '3SG.OBJ' (Eades 1976:52). However, evidence from data for the Sydney Language is not conclusive. It is also possible that the second part of this word is the nominal **gili** 'light, spark, candlelight' and refers to the glass which could be seen as something sparkling and reflecting light.

[96]It is possible that Aboriginal people borrowed **mati** from the first part of English 'petticoat', i.e. 'petti'. However, they are likely to have retained 'p' in a borrowing as 'p' is a phonetic variant of 'b' in the Sydney Language.

wanyuwa	horse	?[97]
wulgan	a pair of stays	?

Some First Fleet writers commented on the productive processes of coining.

> Of our compass they had taken early notice, and had talked much to each other about it: they comprehended its use; and called it "*Nàà-Mòro*,"literally, "To see the way";—a more significant or expressive term cannot be found. (Tench 1979:227)

> ...a gun they call Goòroobeera, that is...a stick of fire...sometimes also by a licence of language, they call those who carry guns by the same name. (Tench 1979:292)

There is no evidence that coinages created by the colonists became part of any developing contact language. However, amongst the list of Aboriginal coinages there are several items which are part of the lexicon for NSW Pidgin (see Appendix 21)—**gunya**, **garadyigan** (**karadji** in NSW Pidgin), **marri**, **nuwi**, **narang** and **nuwi**. **Nuwi** modified with both **narang** and **marri** is also in evidence in NSW Pidgin. **Marri** 'very, great' is a very important NSW Pidgin adverb which was also used as a nominal qualifier (discussed further in Chapters 3-7). **Marri** is noted below in two constructions which appear to have been contact induced (4, 5).

2.3.4.2 Language mixing

A number of texts from this early period contain evidence for language mixing. The texts are largely evidence for individualised responses to language contact. However, the speech they record must represent something of the establishing bounds of acceptability for cross-cultural communication. For example, in one text English 'bye and bye' was used as a future marker in combination with a fully inflected Sydney language verb (1).

(1) *Bye and bye patabángoon Dawes, Benelong. ...'Bye and bye we Dawes and Benelong shall eat.'* (Dawes 1790)

baimbai	**bada-ba-ngun**	**Dawes**	**Benelong**
soon	eat-FUT-1PL	Dawes	Benelong

Soon we, Dawes and Bennelong, will eat.

Baimbai is one one of the most frequently occurring future tense markers in NSW Pidgin (see Appendix 21). Another text contains the English item 'Governor'

---

[97]This may be **wuna-dya-wu** 'throw-PAST-1SG.S'. In the nineteenth century the word **yaraman** 'horse' is attested in the language records for the Sydney area. Ridley (1875) claimed the word derived from *yarra* 'throw fast', i.e. **yara-** 'throw' **man-** take.

modified with an Aboriginal verb used adverbially, as in English, and without any of the predictable Sydney language inflections (2).

(2) *Governor nangorar (asleep).* (Phillip 1968:306)
gabana nangara
governor sleep
The governor is asleep.

In another example of language mixing, a Sydney Language nominal was pluralised with English pluraliser '-s' (3).

(3) *Car-ra-dy-gans* (doctors). (Phillip 1968:347)
garadygan-s
doctor-PL

2.3.4.3 Simplification of language

A small number of texts from this period contain evidence for simplified English produced in response to language contact. For example, in late 1790, Hunter commented that 'now the little children had all learnt the words, *hungry*, *bread*' (Hunter 1968:139). Aboriginal children used the simple stative combination to solicit food from the colonists. Utterances such as the last are interlanguage produced as individual responses to language learning. However, colonists may have provided the model for this utterance by simplifying their English to facilitate communication with Aboriginal people.

It also is very likely that Aboriginal people simplified their language in order to facilitate communication. There is some evidence for this simplification in the reduced nature of the grammar of the Sydney Language recoverable from contemporary records (Troy 1994). However, in the absence of a full description of the language it is impossible to recover the pattern of simplification.

In communicating with each other, both Aboriginal people and colonists generally relied on simple statements produced using nominal strings, often enhanced with

gesture (see 2.3.3). For example, Tench recorded three simple nominal phrases which he attributed to Aboriginal speakers (4, 5, 6).

(4) *Bul-la Mur-ee Dee-in (two large women).* (Tench 1979:177)
bula **marri** **dyin**
two large woman/wife

(5) *Mùr-ree Mùl-la (a large strong man).* (Tench 1979:185)
marri **mula**
large man

(6) *Bùlla Mògo Parrabùgò (two hatchets tomorrow).* (Tench 1979:188)
bula **mugu** **barrabugu**
two hatchet tomorrow

Although free word order is common in Aboriginal languages these short phrases are not fully predictable in terms of what is known about the Sydney Language. It is also suspicious that each phrase conforms to English word order even in the placement of the temporal 'tomorrow' in (6). Aboriginal people may have provided the model for the phrases by modifying the nominal phrase structure of their language to conform to the English pattern. Evidence for the Sydney Language also suggests that **bula** should suffix to the head noun rather than precede it as a free qualifier (Troy 1994) which in this instance (4) may have been another concession to English by an Aboriginal speaker. The phrases are very characteristic of NSW Pidgin nominal phrase structure as revealed in Chapters 3 to 7. Three of the lexical items in the phrases are found in the lexicon for NSW Pidgin—**marri**, **dyin** (**jin** in NSW Pidgin) and **mugu** (**mago** in NSW Pidgin) (see Appendix 21).

Two of the earliest adjectives acquired by the colonists were **wiri** 'bad' and **budyari** 'good'[98]. Aboriginal people used the words in speaking to the colonists as short-hand markers of pleasure or disgust.

> Their method of testifying dislike to any place is singular: they point to the spot they are upon, and all around it, crying *Weè-ree*, *Weè-ree*, (bad) and immediately after mention the name of any other place to which they are attached, (Rose Hill or Sydney for instance) adding to it *Bud-ye-ree*, *Bud-ye-ree* (good). (Tench 1979:229)

[98]**Budjari** became a very widespread item via NSW Pidgin. It is even found as a borrowing into the north Queensland language Yir-Yoront where it is *pochrry* 'peace, peaceful (Alpher 1991:457). Alpher claims the item was 'commonly used by arriving whites in early days to announce their peaceful intentions.

The items were likely to have been amongst the earliest to stabilise. However, while **budyari** (**budjari** in NSW Pidgin, see Appendix 21) entered the lexicon of NSW Pidgin as one of its core items, **wiri** only appears in the very early data (3.3.2). The items were often used by the colonists in reduplicated form for emphasis. For example, when threatened with a spear by an Aboriginal man Phillip cried out '*Weè-ree, Weè-ree* ...bad...you are doing wrong' (Tench 1979:180).

Budjari became one of the most popular adjectives in NSW Pidgin and was well established by the early nineteenth century. There is one example from this time of a nominal phrase used by the colonists and dated to 1791 in which **budjari** modifies a head noun as it would in later NSW Pidgin (7).

> They very frequently, at the conclusion of the dance, would apply to us for our opinions, or rather for marks of our approbation of their performance; which we never failed to give by often repeating the word *boojery*, which signifies good; or *boojery carib-berie*, a good dance. These signs of pleasure in us seemed to give them great satisfaction, and generally produced more than ordinary exertions from the whole company of performers in the next dance. (Hunter 1968:145)

(7) **budyari** **garabara**
good dance

Interjections, particularly greetings and expletives were acquired by both Aboriginal people and colonists and used with maximal effect. The Sydney language hail now known as 'cooee' was an early borrowing into the repertoire of the colonists[99]. Expletives borrowed from the Sydney Language were often recorded by the colonists although it is not known whether or how they were used by the colonists. For example (8), 'their general favourite term of reproach is *Go-nin-Pat-ta*, which signifies, *an eater of human excrement.*—Our language would admit a very concise and familiar translation. They have, besides this, innumerable others, which they often salute their enemies with' (Tench 1979:227). Aboriginal people likewise learnt to swear in English and to use English greetings such as 'good bye' (1:7).

[99]Discussed in Troy 1992b.

(8) **guni-in** **bada**
excrement-ABL eat

2.4 CONCLUSION

Between January 1788 and December 1792, colonists and Aboriginal people in the Sydney district developed communicative strategies which facilitated cross-cultural communication. The evidence for communication, discussed above, demonstrates a range of linguistic responses by both colonists and Aboriginal people. A few colonists attempted to learn the Sydney Language and the evidence suggests they did achieve some fluency. Equally, a few Aboriginal people were exposed to English through the attempts by the colonial administration to teach them the language. However, the historical evidence suggests that the social context in Sydney was most conducive to the development of contact language rather than second language acquisition. The combined data confirms that the most salient response to the problems of communication between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people in Sydney was, at the least, a complex of idiosyncratic jargons and possibly even an incipient pidgin. Anecdotal evidence suggests a communicative system developed that was not completely ad hoc, but, the paucity of substantive linguistic data makes firm conclusions about the nature of the communication impossible. However, the available data demonstrate familiar responses to language contact that are characteristic of pidgin genesis—borrowing and lexical innovation, language mixing and simplification of languages.

During this period it is certain that a small shared lexicon with a high degree of stability developed and was used as the core feature of cross-cultural communication between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people in NSW. In the absence of substantial textual evidence it is impossible to define a full lexicon shared between the cultures. However, that lexicon is likely to have included the items listed on Table 1 which were borrowed into the Sydney language from English and the

coinages listed in Table 2. The lexicon would also have included a large selection of items from the Sydney language known to the colonists—particularly those items they borrowed into English to label local flora and fauna and artefacts of Aboriginal culture. Notable amongst the lexical items discussed above which were salient in the contact language context are several which became part of the lexicon of NSW Pidgin—**marri** 'large', **narang** 'little', **budjari** 'good', **nuwi** 'canoe, ship', **marri nuwi** 'big ship', **narang nuwi** 'little ship', **garadyigan** (**karadji** in NSW Pidgin) 'Aboriginal or non-Aboriginal doctor', **wadyiman** (**waitman** in NSW Pidgin) 'non-Aboriginal person', **balagaman** (**blakman** in NSW Pidgin) 'Aboriginal person' , **dyin** 'woman, wife', **mugu** (**mago** in NSW Pidgin) 'hatchet', **garabara** (**koroberi** in NSW Pidgin) 'dance', **bada** (**pata** in NSW Pidgin) 'eat', **nangara** (**nangri** in NSW Pidgin) and **baimbai** a marker of future tense.

3

THE CUMBERLAND PLAIN AND BEYOND, 1792 TO 1830: THE INCEPTION AND EARLY STABILISATION OF NSW PIDGIN

3.1 INTRODUCTION

By the end of the eighteenth century British colonisation of NSW had radically and irreversibly changed the environment and lifestyle of the Aboriginal population in the Sydney district. In 1801, the Aboriginal population immediate to Sydney town was so diminished that a contemporary observer wrote 'very few of the natives is to be seen at Sydney, five or six canoes, with a man woman and child, with there fishing geer' (Scott 1801). The people who remained had to develop a symbiotic relationship with the colonists in order to survive. They supplied the colony with food and information about the country in return for the goods that many of them had become dependent upon, particularly the addictive substances alcohol and tobacco. In the nineteenth century some people attempted to integrate fully into colonial society by accepting government assisted farm grants and education for their children.

In the 1790s, a number of Aboriginal people took on the role of cultural emissaries. They acted as aides to the colonists in their dealings with other Aboriginal people and supplied the government with vital information about the resources of the country. Several Aboriginal people left the colony on ships and returned with new social and linguistic skills which were useful in colonial society. They shared those skills with other Aboriginal people.

Bennelong (2.2.6.3) was still the dominant Aboriginal personality in Sydney in the mid 1790s. He had embarked with Phillip and spent almost three years in England, returning with the new governor, John Hunter, in late 1795. His influence in the colony continued to be crucial until his chronic alcoholism destroyed his credibility.

Two other Aboriginal people are also outstanding in the records from this period—Pemulwy and Bungaree. Pemulwy, who was an inlander, became a famous adversary of the colonists leading raids on the settlers in the Hawkesbury district. The colonists believed that he had considerable assistance from two emancipated convict men, Wilson and Knight, who were living with Aboriginal people in the same district. Little is known of Pemulwy and his possible contribution to language contact during the period. Bungaree, was a well-documented figure who became a famous Sydney identity[100]. He, like Bennelong before him, became a confidant of the colonial hierarchy. Bungaree accompanied Mathew Flinders, the government's marine surveyor, in his coastal explorations as an ambassador and interpreter.

During this period settlement spread across the Cumberland Plain (Map 3) and then beyond its confines. The expanding population and the burgeoning 'rum trade', discussed below, created problems of social disorder that the administration was barely able to manage. However, for most colonists life had generally improved as the colony began to support itself and even enjoy some prosperity. Conversely, the expansion and prosperity of the settlement diminished the quality of life for the local Aboriginal population. Many people died from disease, privation and violence and the survivors either dispersed or came into the settlement. The inland or 'woods' people attempted to oppose the spread of settlement into their country and were regarded by the colonists as troublemakers. In spite of Aboriginal opposition, settlement spread across all the available land in the Cumberland Plain by the end of the second decade of the nineteenth century. Aboriginal people in the district were forced to either fight for their rights or conform to the demands of the colonists. It was a period during which they had to confront the reality of the permanence of the colony.

In the early nineteenth century the colonists increasingly stressed the resources of the Cumberland Plain. They occupied all the choice grazing and farming land and

---

[100] See Troy 1993b and 3:25, 26, 28, 29, 30, 40, 41, 45, 46, 47, 48.

depleted the timber resources. As a final blow, plagues of insect pests threatened life-supporting crops. Searching for choice lumber, timbergetters moved north to the Hunter River district and south into the Illawarra. In the north they became notorious for their violence towards Aboriginal people and the extreme hostility they provoked. Settlers moving into areas that were originally timber camps had to proceed with extreme caution in their dealings with the people who had been so badly abused. Very little productive language contact occurred on the northern frontier until it was occupied by government camps and free settlers. In the south cross-cultural relations were reportedly more amiable and language contact proceeded.

The first British settlement outside the Cumberland Plain was on the north coast at what is now Newcastle, in 1804. The government established a penal colony at Newcastle and it remained a place of punishment for locally convicted criminals until the early 1820s. The settlement was a catalyst for the introduction to colonial society of Aboriginal people from outside the confines of the plain. The new colony engaged the attention of Aboriginal people in the Hunter River area who had little previous contact with the Sydney settlement. They belonged to a different language group to that of Sydney and in the precolonial context had experienced limited interactions with the people of the area. Some Aboriginal people from Sydney travelled north with the colonists. However, the main traffic that developed involved Aboriginal people from the north travelling south to Sydney, often acting as messengers for the colonists. The core of north coast Aboriginal people who attached themselves to the Newcastle settlement made use of the emergent lingua franca, NSW Pidgin, used by both colonists and Sydney Aboriginal people. The value of the language in cross-cultural communication between Aboriginal people as well as between Aboriginal people and colonists ensured its survival and continuing stabilisation.

During this period, explorers found a path west over the Blue Mountains and into plains country that looked very promising for farming and grazing (Maps 6 and 7).

The government tentatively opened the vast and fertile Bathurst Plains, as they named the area, to pastoral enterprises and small farmers. By 1820, settlement was spreading into many areas outside the Cumberland Plain, slowly at first and then with gathering momentum ultimately leading to the great landrushes of the 1830s and 1840s. The spread of settlement north, south and west created social contexts that involved many Aboriginal language groups and large numbers of colonists. The necessity of coping with an expanded field of social contact meant that both Aboriginal people and colonists needed to acquire new skills, including linguistic skills. The early form of NSW Pidgin in use in the Sydney district became a useful tool for wider cross-cultural communication and the spread of settlement became the vehicle for its stabilisation and expansion.

Throughout the whole period under discussion there were dramatic social changes in the colony and rapid expansion of the non-Aboriginal population. During that time Aboriginal people became fully marginalised in the Sydney district and inroads were made into marginalising them in other parts of NSW. Some people resolved the conflict of interests by adapting to colonial society while others died from disease, privation and the violent reprisals inflicted on them as a result of the increasingly open conflict on the frontiers of settlement. The colonists' philanthropic interest in Aboriginal people waned as they came to be regarded as at the least nuisances and at the worst serious obstructions to the progress of the colony. Attempts by colonists to acquire an Aboriginal language were largely abandoned by the end of the eighteenth century. In the nineteenth century, missionaries and a few other people continued to study Aboriginal languages. However, for most colonists communication with Aboriginal people was effected in NSW Pidgin.

3.2 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

3.2.1 The Cumberland Plain

From the end of 1792 through to the end of the 1820s, six governors administered NSW—Captain John Hunter RN (1795-1800), Captain Philip Gidley King RN (1800-6), Captain William Bligh RN (1806-8), Major-General Lachlan Macquarie (1810-21), Major-General Sir Thomas Makdougall Brisbane (1821-25) and Lt General Ralph Darling (1825-1831) (*Australian Encyclopaedia*, vol. 4, p. 352). As noted above (3.1), the eighteenth and very early nineteenth century administrations faced a colony in a state of social, political and economic flux. The population was increasing with the steady arrival of convict transports from England and Ireland. Many of the convict transports involved themselves in trade and whaling ventures after offloading their human cargo. Collins wrote that, in 1800, 'in however insignificant or contemptible a point of view the colony may in general have been held, individuals have found in it either a port of refreshment after the fatigues of a long voyage, or an advantageous market for speculations' (Collins, vol. 2, 1975:228). Port Jackson became a focal point for economic ventures in the Pacific, a southern port of call for ships involved in the lucrative trade between England and Cape Town, China, America and India. From 1792 to 1800, up to ten ships per year arrived in the colony for purposes other than simply provisioning the government stores or transporting convicts (Collins, vol. 2, 1975:228-31).

Social disorder in the colony became a serious problem. It was increasingly difficult for the governors to control the population, if only for its sheer size in comparison to the administration. In the mid to late 1790s the ethnic makeup of the colony also changed as shiploads of Irish convicts began to arrive on a regular basis. The Irish almost surpassed the English as the dominant ethnic group in the colony and made an equally significant contribution to the linguistic makeup of the society (Troy 1990). The administration regarded the Irish as 'wild and lawless' and categorised

them as a politically separatist and ethnocentric social group who were a potential danger to the stability of the colony (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:262).

The administration calculated that by 30 June 1801 the settlement contained five thousand five hundred and forty-seven people 'of all descriptions' (Collins, vol. 2, 1975:241). The colonial government had little time for the local Aboriginal people and only those who had made a niche for themselves in the local economy were given any favourable consideration.

In the 1790s one of the main social problems faced by the administration was alcohol abuse promoted by the so-called 'rum trade'. The availability of imported spirits, generally rum, increased dramatically with the regular arrival of transports and traders. As early as 1792 the officers of the NSW Corps formed themselves into a cartel to obtain a monopoly on trade within the colony and exploited the popularity of liquor in their commercial dealings. In the absence of a local currency, rum became the basic unit of barter and the unofficial currency of the settlement. The convict workforce who serviced private individuals in their free time 'preferred receiving liquor for labour, to every other article of provisions or clothing that could be offered them' (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:219-20). The colonists blamed alcoholism promoted by the rum trade for increased incidences of crime within the colony.

> For the extent and population of the Colony great are the Crimes and depredations continually taking place therein which from the greater part of the inhabitants' character may in some measure be expected but it arises principally from great use of Spirituous Liquors which the Officers find so much to their Interest to encourage making Fortunes by monopolising and retailing Liquors at a very exorbitant price. (Paine 1983:35)

Any attempt by people outside the NSW Corps to participate in trade with incoming ships was very effectively suppressed (Palmer 1795).

3.2.1.1 Spanish explorers describe the colony in 1793

On 13 March 1793, a Spanish scientific expedition commanded by Don Alexandro Malaspina anchored in the lower part of Sydney harbour. Under his command were two corvettes of the Spanish Royal Navy—his own, the *Descuvierta* and Captain Don Josè de Bustamante y Guerra's *Atrevida*. 'They were well manned, and had, beside the officers customary in king's ships, a botanist and limner on board each vessel'. The colony had known of their intended arrival since 1790 and the English government had commanded the colonial government pay them every attention. Malaspina planned to make astronomical investigations while in Sydney and for their purposes they were allowed to erect a small observatory on the ridge above what is now Bennelong Point in Sydney. It was then the site of Bennelong's brick hut which was used to store their equipment. The hut was still a focal point for the activities of Aboriginal people living within the settlement and the Spanish attracted considerable interest (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:230-31).

The presence of strangers in the colony was a diversion for the administration for whom life had become routine and predictable. Trade ships were welcomed for their society as much as their goods and they regarded a scientific expedition as a bonus for the intellectual company it brought. The enquiries of the Spanish also encouraged the colonists to rekindle their interests in their surroundings and the Aboriginal population (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:232).

Included in the reports produced by the Spanish are observations about Aboriginal people and their relations with the colonists. The expedition's artist, Juan Ravenet, also produced some sketches of the people. The reports are the only non-English produced documents for this period and are provide useful for comparative material (King 1986:47). Malaspina's report largely agrees with the British colonists' own assertions that Aboriginal people were becoming settled within the colony due to fair and kind treatment.

> The measure taken by the English for their civilisation have been quite humane and prudent. We have seen gathered and cared for with the greatest kindness, several Boys and Girls. Others, both men and women, although entirely naked and disgustingly dirty, have been admitted to the same Room where we were eating, and have been regaled with one or other dainty from the same Table. ...at times in the principal Streets of the Colony itself they have danced and sung almost the whole night around a campfire, without anyone molesting them. (Malaspina 1793a:106)

Malaspina asserted that Aboriginal people were free to sojourn amongst the colonists and to quit the settlement when it suited (Malaspina 1793a:106). However, he believed that ultimately the colony was not a benefit to the Aboriginal population as the patronage of the colonists was making the people dependent on their charity.

> They take and solicit what one gives them without any labour; at the most some serve as domestics but without any ability and work less than it takes to keep them clothed. (Malaspina 1793b:149)

Louis Née, one of the expedition's naturalists, observed that the Spanish were rapidly incorporated within the Aboriginal patronage system.

> The dealings which the natives have had with those in the colony have already made them familiar. I saw them several times approach without suspicion, and they asked me insistently for whatever I had. ...I gave them several biscuits...and no sooner had they received them than they went away to hide them, returning then to beg for others. (Née 1793:161)

Malaspina also observed that Aboriginal people attempted to accommodate the colonists by 'imperfectly adapting' the culture and language of the colony (Malaspina 1793b:144). For example, he suspected that the ease with which the 'females prostituted themselves' was a 'vice acquired from contact with Europeans' (Malaspina 1793b:146). He observed that 'each night a large number of them are gathered in the quarters of the troops' (Malaspina 1793b:148). Née observed that the Aboriginal women appeared to 'have a blind passion for strangers, they offer themselves without reserve to the pleasure of whoever solicits them; even those already civilised and partly clothed disrobe without blushing' (Née 1793:160). 'The venereal disease...made cruel inroads' amongst the Aboriginal people as a result of the sexual freedom the women allowed the colonial men (Née 1793:160).

The Spanish believed that the Aboriginal population posed a serious threat to the colony's prosperity. Their practice of regularly burning the country destroyed valuable crops and 'their treachery in taking unawares and killing immediately whoever carelessly goes inland without Arms made them dangerous adversaries' (Malaspina 1793a:106). However, the government's brutal suppression of Aboriginal opposition to the colony ensured that the people kept 'generally good harmony with the Europeans'.

> Punishment has made them cautious in this regard; there are very few tribes which do not maintain a strict subordination to the English, and the inequality in arms has extinguished or removed the discontented. The mere sight of a musket, the appearance of the uniform of a soldier, would scatter an army of natives, who with signs of peace and submission take pains to capture their goodwill—in contrast to their behaviour toward the unarmed citizen travelling by himself, several of whom have been the victims of their lack of precaution. (Malaspina 1793b:148-49)

There are no census records of the Aboriginal population of the Sydney district for this period. However, anecdotal comment suggests that there were far fewer Aboriginal people than colonists in the vicinity of the settlement. Malaspina observed that 'the Inhabitants of all these parts are without doubt very small in number' which was contributed to by the recent smallpox like epidemic (Malaspina 1793a:105-6).

The Spanish were surprised that the colony was in a generally poor state in spite of its population of four thousand people many of whom had a trade. The town of Sydney appeared 'disorderly' with its three hundred houses clustered according to an unfathomable plan. The land was 'ill-cleared, fields little worked, wretched houses, and everywhere the marks of oppression and disgust' (Malaspina 1793b:135). Parramatta, eighteen miles west of Sydney town, was praised as a fertile settlement with beautiful views, three neat, open rows of houses with excellent orchards and gardens leading up to government house set on a rise above an amphitheatre of flowers. Parramatta's progress was deemed 'infinitely greater than that of the other'.

The fields of Parramatta stretched four miles to a third, new and undeveloped settlement—Toongabbie (Malaspina 1793b:138).

3.2.1.2 Spread of settlement across the Cumberland Plain

In 1793 much of the 'vacant' land that still provided a little autonomy for the Aboriginal people of Sydney was built upon or developed as farming land. The settlement became a solid block of continuous occupation.

> The town of Sydney had this year increased considerably; not fewer than one hundred and sixty huts, beside five barracks, having been added since the departure of Governor Phillip. ...These huts extended nearly to the brickfields, whence others were building to meet them, and thus to unite that district with the town. (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:275)

By May 1793 the colony had become almost fully self-supporting, much to the relief of all the colonists who had experienced short rations on a regular basis.

> Separated as we were from Europe, constantly liable to accidents interrupting our supplies, which it might not always be possible to guard against or foresee, how cheering, how grateful was it to every thinking mind among us, to observe the rapid strides we were making toward that desirable independence! The progress made in the cultivation of the country insured the consequent increase of live stock; and it must be remembered, that the colony had been supplied with no other grain than that raised within itself since the 16th day of last December [1793]. (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:307)

At the same time there were 'four thousand six hundred and sixty-five acres and three quarters of cleared ground in this territory' (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:308). The environmental impact was profound. The local flora and fauna which supplied Aboriginal people with their diet were replaced with imports. Without sufficient of their own resources Aboriginal people learnt to rely on the colonial substitutes, taking them forcibly when they were not freely given.

The colonists became aware of many changes in the natural world that resulted from their interference in the land management practices of Aboriginal people. For example, the number of snakes in the Sydney district increased dramatically when the

land was cleared and the bush was no longer being regularly burnt by Aboriginal people.

> While we lived in a wood, and might naturally have expected to have been troubled with them, snakes and other reptiles were by no means so often seen, as since, by clearing and opening the country about us, the natives had not had opportunities of setting the woods so frequently on fire. But now they were often met in the different paths about the settlements, basking at mid-day in the sunshine, and particularly after a shower of rain. (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:399)

The destruction of their traditional mode of living acted as a powerful inducement to Aboriginal people to become dependent on the resources of the colony. In the absence of any real choices or alternatives, the people of the Sydney district adapted to the changed socioeconomic environment. They developed a new economic system centred around the colony and its resources. A number of Aboriginal people established their place in the colony by offering their services as guides and messengers. Some colonists were convinced that Aboriginal people would become functioning members of the colony's working class.

> With attention and kind treatment, they certainly might be made a very serviceable people. I have seen them employed in a boat as usefully as any white person; and the settlers have found some among them, who would go out with their stock, and carefully bring home the right numbers though they have not any knowledge of numeration beyond three or four. (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:499)

Certainly, a number of Aboriginal people became fundamental to the workings of the colony. They were relied upon for the information they could provide about the environment and its resources and were invaluable as trackers of escaped stock and runaway convicts. The cattle which had escaped from the First Fleet were eventually found, in late 1795, after the colonists investigated reports by Aboriginal people that they had sighted the animals (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:343). Aboriginal people also regularly informed on escaped convicts who were in hiding (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:404). There is evidence that, by 1795, Aboriginal children were being used as labourers by colonists.

> Several native boys, from eight to fourteen years of age, were at this time living among the settlers in the different districts. They were found capable of being

> made extremely useful; they went cheerfully into the fields to labour, and the elder ones with ease hoed in a few hours a greater quantity of ground than that generally assigned to a convict for a day's work. Some of these were allowed a ration of provisions from the public stores. (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:339)

By June 1794 the colony was thriving on its own resources and continuing to expand.

> It might be safely pronounced that the colony never wore so favourable an appearance as at this period: our public stores filled with wholesome provisions; five ships on the seas with additional supplies; and wheat enough in the ground to promise the realizing of many a golden dream; a rapidly increasing stock; a country gradually opening, and improving every where upon us as it opened; with a spirit universally prevalent of cultivating it. (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:314)

The authorities hoped that free settlers would be induced to emigrate to the colony when its success was reported in England (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:314).

The uses made of the land in and around the colony all combined to dispossess Aboriginal people of their country. They could not occupy land on which buildings were raised and were only allowed to remain on farming land with the consent of its colonist owner. Even where land was not physically taken from its Aboriginal owners, they often experienced spiritual dispossession when colonists made use of the land in ways that Aboriginal people found inappropriate and abhorrent. One of the worst examples occurred when colonists defiled a favourite Aboriginal recreational site in Sydney.

> The court having ordered that Francis Morgan should be hung in chains upon the small island which is situated in the middle of the harbour and named by the natives Mat-te-wan-ye, a gibbet was accordingly erected, and he was hung there, exhibiting an object of much greater terror to the natives, than to the white people, many of whom were more inclined to make a jest of it; but to the natives his appearance was so frightful—his clothes shaking in the wind, and the creaking of his irons, added to their superstitious ideas of ghosts (for these children of ignorance imagined that, like a ghost, this man might have the power of taking hold of them by the throat), all rendering him such an alarming object to them—that they never trusted themselves near him, nor the spot on which he hung; which, until this time, had ever been with them a favourite place of resort. (Collins, vol. 2, 1975:7)

That same beautiful island was levelled in the early nineteenth century and the ugly Fort Denison erected on it in anticipation of a French naval attack on the colony.

Aboriginal people joined the settlement's economy, trading their labour and produce for food and artefacts. The literature of the time contains many references to their increasing dependence on bread as a staple in their diet.

> Several of these people...reside in the town, and...mix with the inhabitants in the most unreserved manner. It was no uncommon circumstance to see them coming into town with bundles of fire-wood which they had been hired to procure, or bringing water from the tanks; for which services they thought themselves well rewarded with any worn-out jacket or trousers, or blankets, or a piece of bread. Of this latter article they were all exceedingly fond, and their constant prayer was for bread, importuning with as much earnestness and perseverance as if begging for bread had been their profession from their infancy; and their attachment to us must be considered as an indication of their not receiving any ill treatment from us. (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:249)

Their begging in the streets for bread or money to buy bread became a great source of irritation to the colonists. Aboriginal people were also very fond of corn and often stole it from town gardens or farms. Once when a boat went down with a load of corn they were seen diving for the cobs 'and recovered a great quantity of the corn' (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:273). The colonists' dogs were also coveted by Aboriginal people—'they eagerly besought us to give them puppies of our spaniel and terrior breeds; which we did; and not a family was without one or more of these little watch dogs, which they considered as invaluable guardians during the night' (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:461).

The desire of Aboriginal people for the goods obtainable in the settlements was considered to be the main reason for their depredations against the colony. As early as June 1793, it was reported that Aboriginal people were mugging colonists and thieving in order to obtain a regular supply of the goods to which they had become accustomed.

> The natives had lately become troublesome, particularly in lurking between the different settlements, and forcibly taking provisions and clothing from the convicts who were passing from one to another. One or two convicts having been wounded by them, some small armed parties were sent out to drive them away, and to throw a few shot among them, but with positive orders to be careful not to take a life. (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:249)

In January 1794, Aboriginal people raided the settlement at Parramatta to obtain clothing and food.

> These people...had not been so quiet in the neighbourhood of Parramatta. Between that settlement and Prospect Hill some settlers had been attacked by a party of armed natives and stripped of all their provisions. Reports of this nature had been frequently brought in, and many, perhaps, might have been fabricated to answer a purpose; but there was not a doubt that these people were very desirous of possessing our clothing and provisions; and it was noticed, that as the corn ripened, they constantly drew together round the settlers farms and round the public grounds, for the purpose of committing depredations. (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:285)

In April 1794, Collins reported thefts from the most successful farms on the banks of the Hawkesbury River. 'The natives...had given such interruption, as induced a necessity for firing upon them, by which, it was said, one man was killed' (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:304). They were also very active at Toongabbie, a settlement farmed mainly by male Irish convicts.

> At Toongabbie, where the Indian corn was growing, their visits and their depredations were so frequent and extensive, that the watchmen stationed for the protection of the corn-grounds were obliged to fire on them, and one party, considerable in number, after having been driven off, returning directly to the plunder, was pursued by the watchmen for several miles, when a contest ensued in which the natives were worsted, and three were left dead on the spot. The watchmen had so often come in with accounts of this nature, that apprehensive lest the present transaction should not be credited, they brought in with them, as a testimonial not to be doubted the head of one of those whom they had slain. With this witness to support them, they told many wonderful circumstances of the pursuit and subsequent fight, which they stated to have taken place at least fourteen miles from the settlement, and to have been very desperately and obstinately sustained on the part of the natives...Whatever might have been the truth, it is certain that a party of natives appeared the following day about the corn grounds, but conducted themselves with a great deal of caution, stationing one of their party upon the stump of a tree which commanded an extensive view of the cultivated grounds, and retreating the instant they perceived themselves to be observed...From the quantities of husks and leaves of corn which were found scattered about the dwelling places of these people, their depredations this season must have been very extensive. (Collins 1975:304-5)

3.2.1.3 The perpetuation of Aboriginal cultural practices in Sydney

Although they found the cultural life of the Aboriginal population confusing, the colonists tolerated, even encouraged its continuance within the confines of Sydney town.

> They have been always allowed so far to be their own masters, judging that by suffering them to live with us as they were accustomed to do before we came among them, we should sooner attain a knowledge of their manners and customs, than by waiting till we had acquired a competent skill in their language to converse

> with them. On this principle, when they assembled to dance or to fight before our houses, we never dispersed, but freely attended their meetings. To them this attention of ours appeared to be agreeable and useful; for those who happened to be wounded in their contests instantly looked out for one of our surgeons, and displayed entire confidence in his skill, and great bravery in the firmness with which they bore the knife and the probe. (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:451)

Linguistic difficulties and the shyness of Aboriginal people meant that many aspects of Aboriginal culture remained a mystery to the colonists.

> In fact, we still knew very little of the manners and customs of these people, notwithstanding the advantage we possessed in the constant residence of many of them among us, and the desire that they showed of cultivating our friendship. (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:326)

Collins suspected that Aboriginal people were affected in their behaviour when in the presence of the colonists and sought opportunities to observe them when they were free of inhibition (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:492). The ceremonies and festivities of the Aboriginal population in Sydney became popular spectator events for the colonists.

> The natives who lived about Sydney appeared to place the utmost confidence in us, choosing a clear spot between the town and the brickfield for the performance of any of their rites and ceremonies; and for three evenings the town had been amused with one of their spectacles, which might properly have been denominated a tragedy for it was attended with a great effusion of blood. (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:275)

Equally, the ceremonial life of the colonists impressed some Aboriginal people who borrowed some of the forms of the colonists' rituals for their own ceremonies. English funeral rights became particularly popular with town-dwelling Aboriginal people. For example, at Bennelong's request, the popular young man Boladeree was buried in the grounds of the governor's residence in a ceremony which had all the trappings of a military funeral.

> It was agreed between him and the governor that the body should be buried in the governor's garden...The body was wrapped up in the jacket which he usually wore, and some pieces of blanketing tied round it with bines...At the request of Bennillong, a blanket was laid over the corpse... Bennillong had earnestly requested that some drums might be ordered to attend, which was granted, and two or three marches were beat while the grave was preparing; Bennillong highly approving... (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:500-1)

In December 1797, Yeranibe died and was also buried after the fashion of the colonists.

> Ye-ra-ni-be was buried the day after his decease by the side of the public road, below the military barracks. He was placed by his friends upon a large piece of bark, and laid into a grave, which was formed by them after our manner (only not so deep), they seeming in this instance to be desirous of imitating our custom. Bennillong assisted at the ceremony, placing the head of the corpse, by which he struck a beautiful war-ra-taw, and covering the body with the blanket on which he died. Being supplied with some spades, the earth was thrown in by the by-standers... (Collins, vol. 2, 1975:48)

Other important rites of passage were also performed in Sydney. In Sydney, in 1791, colonists first witnessed the ceremony of tooth evulsion which made boys into men. A very large number of Aboriginal people collected for the ritual which lasted several days. Colonists were able to witness most of the ceremonies and Collins in particular left a detailed narrative and analysis the event when it was held in January 1795 (Collins, vol. 1, 1795:466-85). On the evening after the ceremony was performed a signal was given and all the boys involved in the initiation 'started up, and rushed into the town, driving before them men, women, and children, who were glad to get out of their way' (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:483).

Through the use of the settlement of Sydney in the performance of rituals and ceremonies the colonists became involved in the affairs of Aboriginal life. The Sydney Aboriginal people and the colonists developed a relationship which exhibited some degree of unity in opposition to neighbouring Aboriginal groups. For example, during the intergroup physical contests held by Aboriginal people the colonists vigorously supported the local side in their endeavours. The Sydney Aboriginal people appreciated the support and cultivated the good opinion of their colonist fans.

> About the latter end of the month the natives adjusted some affairs of honour in a convenient spot near the brick-fields. The people who live about the south shore of Botany Bay brought with them a stranger of an extraordinary appearance and character; even his name had something extraordinary in the sound—Gòme-boak. He had been several days on his journey from the place where he lived, which was far to the southward. In height he was not more than five feet two or three inches; but he was by far the most muscular, square, and well-formed native we had ever seen. He fought well; his spears were remarkably long, and he defended himself with a shield that covered his whole body. We had the satisfaction of seeing him engaged with some of our Sydney friends, and of observing that neither their persons nor reputations suffered any thing in the contest. When the fight was over, on our praising to them the martial talents of this stranger the strength and

> muscle of his arm, and the excellence of his sight, they admitted the praise to be just (because when opposed to them he had not gained the slightest advantage); but, unwilling that we should think too highly of him, they assured us, with horror in their countenances, that Gòme-boak was a cannibal. (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:342)

The contests continued to grow in popularity and spectators braved injury to gain a good vantage point. The Aboriginal contestants usually went to the town afterwards to celebrate the day's action with their supporters.

> About this time [August 1795] the natives were, during two days, engaged in very severe contests. Much blood was shed, and many wounds inflicted; but no one was killed. It appeared to afford much diversion; for they were constantly well attended by all descriptions of people, notwithstanding the risk they ran of being wounded by a random spear. (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:356)

Reports of the contests appeared well into the early nineteenth century and were so popular with the colonists that the government had to undertake crowd control to prevent obstruction to the combatants. It was not unusual for spectators to receive minor wounds from spears, clubs and boomerangs. The Aboriginal people of Sydney had become so well known to the colonists that as soon as word was out that a 'desperate contest' was to be held between a number of Sydney a crowd soon assembled. It was common for the Broken Bay people to assemble and fight the people living between Sydney and Botany Bay. Contests often occurred on the ground near the Military Barracks (Anon 1806).

3.2.1.4 Cross-cultural relations in Sydney to September 1796

As familiarity between Aboriginal people and colonists increased, assessments of Aboriginal character became more tightly defined.

> They are revengeful, jealous, courageous, and cunning. I have never considered their stealing on each other in the night for the purposes of murder as a want of bravery, but have looked on it rather as the effect of the diabolical spirit of revenge, which thus sought to make surer of its object than it could have done if only opposed man to man in the field. Their conduct when thus opposed, the constancy with which they endured pain, and the alacrity with which they accepted a summons to the fight, are surely proofs of their not wanting courage. They disclaim all idea of any superiority that is not personal... (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:498)

Colonists used linguistic evidence in affirming and developing ideas about Aboriginal social concepts.

> That they are not strangers to the occasional practice of falsehood, is apparent from the words truth and falsehood being found in their language; but, independent of this, we had many proofs of their being adepts in the arts of evasion and lying; and I have seen them, when we have expressed doubts of some of their tales, assure us with much earnestness of the truth of their assertions; and when speaking to us of other natives they have as anxiously wished us to believe that they had told us lies. (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:498)

Collins perceptively noted that Aboriginal social behaviour may have been altered as a result of their contact with the colony. He suggested that the colony introduced a new set of social parameters and a goods-oriented society. Aboriginal people accommodated the changes by developing new social strategies such as thieving.

> They might have been honest before we came among them, not having much to covet from one another; but from us they often stole such things as we would not give them. While they pilfered what could gratify their appetites, it was not to be wondered at; but I have seen them steal articles of which they could not possibly know the use. Mr. White once being in the midst of a crowd of natives in the lower part of the harbour, one of them saw a small case of instruments in his pocket, which, watching an opportunity, he slyly stole, and ran away with; but, being observed, he was pursued and made to restore his prize. We were very little acquainted with them at this time, and therefore the native could not have known the contents of the case. Could he have been watched to his retreat, I have no doubt but he would have been seen to lay the case on his head, as an ornament, the place to which at first every thing we gave them was usually consigned. (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:498)

Many colonists believed that Aboriginal people would ultimately become 'civilised and useful members of society' (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:513). Their hopes were fostered by the readiness with which Aboriginal people entered the settlement. In September 1796, an increasing number of people were adapting to life in the colony and learning to communicate with the colonists. For the people living in the colony language and culture mixing became their way of life.

> After many untoward occurrences, and a considerable lapse of time, that friendly intercourse with the natives which had been so earnestly desired was at length established; and having never been materially interrupted, these remote islanders have been shown living in considerable numbers among us without fear or restraint; acquiring our language; readily falling in with our manners and customs; enjoying the comforts of our clothing, and relishing the variety of our food. We saw them die in our houses, and the places of the deceased instantly filled by others, who observed nothing in the fate of their predecessors to deter them from

> living with us, and placing that entire confidence in us which it was our interest and our pleasure to cultivate. (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:451)

Aboriginal people rarely became permanently attached to the settlement and would often retreat into their own society and into the bush while it was still possible. The colonists were particularly disappointed when Aboriginal people who had grown up in their homes rejoined Aboriginal society in spite of appearing to have fully adjusted to a colonial lifestyle.

> It was distressing to observe, that every endeavour to civilise these people proved fruitless. Although they lived among the inhabitants of the different settlements, were kindly treated, fed, and often clothed, yet they were never found to possess the smallest degree of gratitude for such favours. Even Bennillong was as destitute of this quality as the most ignorant of his countrymen. It is an extraordinary fact, that even their children, who had been bred up among the white people, and who, from being accustomed to follow their manner of living, might have been supposed to ill relish the life of their parents, when grown up, have quitted their comfortable abodes, females as well as males, and taken to the same savage mode of living, where the supply of food was often precarious, their comforts not to be called such, and their lives perpetually in danger. (Collins, vol. 2, 1975:25)

Sexual relations between Aboriginal people and colonists had a number of ramifications. By 1795 venereal disease was rampant amongst the Aboriginal population, introduced by the colonists. Many children were born who were the products of non-Aboriginal fathers and Aboriginal mothers. They were raised by the Aboriginal community as unusual but acceptable.

> The venereal disease had also got among them; but I fear our people have to answer for that; for though I believe none of our women had connection with them, yet there is no doubt but that several of the black women had not scrupled to connect themselves with the white men. Of the certainty of this an extraordinary instance occurred. A native woman had a child by one of our people. On its coming into the world she perceived a difference in its colour; for which not knowing how to account, she endeavoured to supply by art what she found deficient in nature, and actually held the poor babe, repeatedly, over the smoke of her fire, and rubbed its little body with ashes and dirt, to restore it to the hue with which her other children had been born. Her husband appeared as fond of it as if it had borne the undoubted sign of being his own, at least so far as complexion could ascertain to whom it belonged. (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:495-6)

As with the 'smallpox' epidemic of 1789 the administration was unsure whether venereal disease existed locally or was introduced with the colony.

> It was by no means ascertained whether the lues venerea had been among them before they knew us, or whether our people had to answer for having introduced

> that devouring plague. Thus far is certain, however, that they gave it a name, Goo-bah-rong; a circumstance that seems rather to imply a pre-knowledge of its dreadful effects. (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:496)

There is evidence that the Aboriginal people of Sydney became very protective of their relationship with the colonists. The colonial administration wanted to establish good relations with all Aboriginal people. However, the Sydney people resented any approaches they made to other groups and they often found themselves caught in the middle of intergroup conflicts. In December 1796, Collins recorded a tragic incident that bore testimony to the problems.

> The savage inhabitants of the country, instead of losing any part of their native ferocity of manners by an intercourse with the Europeans among whom they dwelt, seemed rather to delight in exhibiting themselves as monsters of the greatest cruelty, devoid of reason, and guided solely by the impulse of the worst passions. ...Toward the latter end of the month, the governor received information, that a little native girl, between six and seven years of age who for some time had lived at the governor's house, had been most inhumanly murdered by two of her savage countrymen. The father and mother of this child belonged to a party of natives who had committed so many depredations upon the settlers at the Hawkesbury, attended with such acts of cruelty as to render them extremely formidable: insomuch that it became necessary to send an armed party in pursuit of them. They were soon found, and, being fired upon, the father and mother of this little female were among those who fell. She was with them at the time, and readily accompanied our people to the settlement, where she was received; and, being a well disposed child, soon became a great favourite with her protectors. This, and her being a native of the country near Broken Bay excited the jealousy of some of the natives who lived at and about Sydney, which manifested itself in their putting her to death in the most cruel manner. The body was found in the woods near the governor's house, speared in several places, and with both the arms cut off; whence it was brought in and buried...No other conjecture could be formed of this atrocious act than what has been already mentioned. As she belonged to a tribe of natives that was hostile to the Sydney people, they could not admit of her partaking in those pleasures and comforts which they derived from their residence among the colonists, and therefore inhumanly put her out of the way. (Collins, vol. 2, 1975:9)

3.2.1.5 The 'Woodlanders' oppose the spread of settlement

The Aboriginal people who lived inland from the Hawkesbury River were known to the colonists as the 'Woodlanders', 'Woodsman', 'Hunters' or 'Bèdiagal'. They were generally regarded as hostile and treacherous and rarely developed friendships with the colonists. From the outset, they opposed the spread of settlement into their country and by the mid 1790s were at war with the colonists. It was well recognised

at the time that the settlers were largely to blame for the war through their inhumane and callous treatment of the Woodlanders. 'Whatever the settlement at the river suffered was entirely brought on them by their own misconduct: there was not a doubt but many natives had been wantonly fired upon; and when their children, after the flight of the parents, have fallen into the settlers hands, they have been detained at their huts, notwithstanding the earnest entreaties of the parents for their return' (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:326-7). As an example, in October 1794, there was a report of a shockingly barbaric incident perpetrated by local settlers on a Woodlander boy.

> From the Hawkesbury were received accounts which corroborated the opinion that the settlers there merited the attacks which were from time to time made upon them by the native. It was now said, that some of them had seized a native boy, and, after tying him hand and foot, had dragged him several times through a fire, or over a place covered with hot ashes, until his back was dreadfully scorched, and in that state threw him into the river, where they shot at and killed him. Such a report could not be heard without being followed by the closest examination, when it appeared that a boy had actually been shot when in the water, from a conviction of his having been detached as a spy upon the settlers from a large body of natives, and that he was returning to them with an account of their weakness, there being only one musket to be found among several farms. No person appearing to contradict this account, it was admitted as a truth; but many still considered it as a tale invented to cover the true circumstance, that a boy had been cruelly and wantonly murdered by them. (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:329-30)

In the mid 1790s, Rev Fyshe Palmer commented that when he first arrived in the colony it gave him 'great pleasure...to see the harmony between the natives and whites...owing to the indefatigable pains of governor Phillips, to cultivate a good understanding with them' (Palmer 1795). However, he observed that the Woodlanders were not shown any of the understanding Phillip had attempted to engender into relations between colonists and Aboriginal people. Before settlement, the local people 'lived on the wild yams on the banks' of the river. However, the agricultural cultivation of the land by the colonists had 'rooted them out' and left the people without their staple food. In an effort to stave off starvation they raided the cornfields of the settlers. 'The unfeeling settlers resented this by unparalleled severities' and the Woodlanders retaliated by spearing settlers. Palmer recorded that the Woodlanders 'tired' of the conflict 'came unarmed and sued for peace' but were

rejected by the government who inflicted violent reprisals on the people. The colonial officials in their paranoia murdered a number of people who 'were unfortunately the most friendly of the blacks...one of them more than once saved the life of a white man'. The bodies were hung on gibbets as a warning to other Woodlanders. Palmer distilled the irony of the conflict in his comment that 'it seems a strange time to drive these poor wretches into famine, the almost certain consequences of driving them from their situation, when we are so near it ourselves'.

The Woodlanders made occasional sorties amongst the colonists at the Hawkesbury and even in Sydney town. The colonists suspected that their purpose was to familiarise themselves with the goods available and the movements of people in the settlements in order to make efficient raids. On their visits to Sydney they accompanied Aboriginal people who lived in the settlement so as not to raise suspicions. Without accurate identification the colonists could do little to stop their activities (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:275, 292). The Woodlanders may have associated with convicts who would have been a source of much useful information about the movements of the colony's guards (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:292). They continually harassed colonists at the Hawkesbury with their main object being to revenge the hostility shown them by the colonists and to steal corn (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:346-48). By May 1795 Acting Governor Paterson was treating the situation as one of open warfare (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:348-9).

The administration believed that Pemulwy was the leader of the attacks on the Hawkesbury settlers and was also causing disturbances around Sydney (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:349). They believed he was killed, in December 1795, by the escaped convict 'black Caesar...a savage of a darker hue, and full as far removed from civilisation' (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:371). However, in March 1797, Pemulwy was again found to be involved in attacks on settlers at the Hawkesbury. He was wounded in retaliatory

action and taken to Sydney hospital from whence he escaped after recovering from his wounds (Collins, vol. 2, 1975:24).

In December 1795, settlers on the more remote part of the Hawkesbury River were attacked and their huts stripped of every portable article. Governor Hunter immediately retaliated by sending out an armed party which 'killed four men and one woman, badly wounded a child, and took four men prisoners'. He hoped, although it proved to be in vain, that the severity of his retaliation would prevent further attacks (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:371). In spite of the attacks on the Hawkesbury settlers the sufferers 'showed not the smallest disposition to assist each other'. Their lack of mutual support drove Governor Hunter to issue a public order, in February 1796, to the effect that any settlers not giving alarm of attack or helping fellow settlers under attack would be prosecuted. The reports of the settlers' depredations against the Aboriginal people also prompted Hunter to issue a public warning that 'such as had fire-arms were positively enjoined not wantonly to fire at, or take the lives of any of the natives, as such an act would be considered a deliberate murder' (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:382).

The Hawkesbury was a serious problem for the colonial administration and not only for the frontier war being waged between settlers and Aboriginal people. It had become a haven for anyone outside the law—'the refuge of all the Sydney rogues when in danger of being apprehended' and an area where alcoholism prevailed (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:394). In June 1796, the government held an inquiry into the state of the farms, the debts and character of the settlers in districts outside Sydney and particularly at the Hawkesbury.

> Many were reported to be industrious and thriving; but a great number were stated to be idle, vicious, given to drinking, gaming, and other such disorders as lead to poverty and ruin...The gentlemen who conducted the inquiry found most of the settlers...oftener employed in carousing in the fronts of their house, than in labouring themselves, or superintending the labour of their servants in their grounds. (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:401)

The Woodlanders were assisted in their resistance by two former convicts who were able to inform the people about weaknesses in the colony's defences.

> It had been intimated to the governor, that two white men (Wilson and Knight) had been frequently seen with the natives in their excursions, and were supposed to direct and assist in those acts of hostility by which the settlers had lately suffered. He therefore recommended to every one who knew or had heard of these people, and particularly to the settlers who were so much annoyed by them, to use every means in their power to secure them, that they might be so disposed of as to prevent their being dangerous or troublesome in future. ...Wilson and Knight...preferred a vagrant life with the natives; and the consideration that if taken they would be dealt with in a manner that would prevent their getting among them again, now led them on to every kind of mischief. They demonstrated to the natives of how little use a musket was when once discharged, and this effectually removed that terror of our fire-arms with which it had been our constant endeavour to inspire them. (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:382-3)

The administration held Wilson and Knight responsible for the theft by Aboriginal people of a boat and its cargo of indian corn, in October 1797 (Collins, vol. 2, 1975:41).

A few Woodlanders moved into the settlement at the Hawkesbury and their familiarity gave them an insight into the weaknesses in its defence. The government subsequently prohibited the settlers from encouraging the friendship of the local Aboriginal people and they were banned from rural settlements. The administration believed that 'those natives who lived with the settlers had tasted the sweets of a different mode of living, and, willing that their friends and companions should partake, either stole from those with whom they were living, or communicated from time to time such favourable opportunities as offered of stealing from other settlers what they themselves were pleased with' (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:383).

> Could it have been foreseen, that this was their natural temper, it would have been wiser to have kept them at a distance, and in fear, which might have been effected without so much of the severity which their conduct had sometimes compelled him to exercise towards them. But the kindness which had been shown them, and the familiar intercourse with the white people in which they had been indulged, tended only to make them acquainted with those concerns in which they were the most vulnerable, and brought on all the evils which they suffered from them. (Collins, vol. 2, 1975:26)

In March 1797, several Aboriginal people were killed in a reprisal organised by the governor. However, the Aboriginal people retaliated with their own reprisals. In May 1797, they attacked settlers at Lane Cove, burnt a house and killed their pigs. The administration regarded the incident as 'a wanton injury' because no goods were taken by the Aboriginal people involved. At Kissing Point a settler and his wife were 'dangerously wounded' and all their possessions and house burnt. The Lane Cove settlers formed a vigilante group and, aided by soldiers, made a night raid on the local people as a reprisal for the recent attacks (Collins, vol. 2, 1975:25). Even the influential Bennelong had no power to help the colonists negotiate peace with the inland people (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:378).

3.2.1.6 Early explorations beyond the Cumberland Plain and encounters with Aboriginal people

In September 1793, Captain Paterson led an expedition that attempted to 'penetrate as far as, or even beyond, the western mountains'. They did not reach their target but went further up the Hawkesbury River than previous attempts. The people they met were a different linguistic group to those they were familiar with but did not show them any hostility. They took Sydney people with them as guides and interpreters. Paterson 'saw but few natives, and those who did visit them were almost unintelligible to the natives of this place who accompanied him' (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:262-63).

Between February and March 1795 an exploring party travelled from Sydney to Port Stephens. The Aboriginal people they met were hostile and the explorers described them as very different to the people at Sydney. The also decided that the country was unpromising for future settlement.

> Mr. Grimes...had seen nothing while in this harbour which in his opinion could render a second visit necessary. The natives were so very unfriendly, that he made but few observations on them. He thought they were a taller and a stouter race of people than those about this settlement, and their language was entirely different. ...They welcomed him on shore with a dance, joined hand in hand, round a tree, to express perhaps their unanimity; but one of them afterwards, drawing Mr. Grimes into the wood, poised a spear, and was on the point of throwing it, when he was

> prevented by young Wilson, who, having followed Mr. Grimes with a double-barrelled gun, levelled at the native, and fired it. He was supposed to be wounded, for he fell; but rising again he attempted a second time to throw the spear, and was again prevented by Wilson. The effect of this second shot was supposed to be conclusive as he was not seen to rise any more. Mr. Grimes got back to the boat without any other interruption. (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:342)

The Aboriginal people of Port Stephens had some experience of the colonists through their interactions with a group of five convicts who had escaped from the settlement at Parramatta in September 1790. In August 1795, HMS *Providence* en route to Port Jackson was driven north by bad weather and sheltered at Port Stephens. The crew found four of the convicts at Port Stephens living with the local people.

> There, to the great surprise of Captain Broughton, he found and received on board four white people, (if four miserable, naked, dirty, and smoke-dried men could be called white,) runaways from this settlement...September 1790...five convicts, John Tarwood, George Lee, George Connoway, John Watson, and Joseph Sutton...escaped from the settlement at Parramatta...Four of these people (Joseph Sutton having died) were now met with in this harbour by the officers of the *Providence*, and brought back to the colony. (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:356)

Their story interested the Aboriginal population of the colony as much as it did the colonists.

> They told a melancholy tale of their sufferings in the boat; and for many days after their arrival passed their time in detailing to the crowds both of black and white people which attended them their adventures in Port Stephens, the first harbour they made. Having lived like the savages among whom they dwelt, their change of food soon disagreed with them, and they were all taken ill, appearing to be principally affected with abdominal swellings. They spoke in high terms of the pacific disposition and gentle manners of the natives. They were at some distance inland when Mr. Grimes was in Port Stephens; but heard soon after of the schooner's visit, and well knew, and often afterwards saw, the man who had been fired at, but not killed at that time as was supposed, by Wilson. Each of them had had names given him, and given with several ceremonies. Wives also were allotted them, and one or two had children. They were never required to go out on any occasion of hostility, and were in general supplied by the natives with fish or other food, being considered by them (for so their situation only could be construed) as unfortunate strangers thrown upon their shore from the mouth of the yawning deep, and entitled to their protection. They told us a ridiculous story, that the natives appeared to worship them, often assuring them, when they began to understand each other, that they were undoubtably the ancestors of some of them who had fallen in battle, and had returned from the sea to visit them again; and one native appeared firmly to believe that his father was come back in the person of either Lee or Connoway, and took him to the spot where his body had been burnt. On being told that immense numbers of people existed far beyond their little knowledge, they instantly pronounced them to be the spirits of their countrymen, which after death, had migrated into other regions. (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:357)

While living amongst the Port Stephens people the convicts acquired some facility with at least one local language. They had enough knowledge of the language to enable the Aboriginal people of Sydney, with help from a boy who had knowledge of the northern languages, to determine the location of the language group in which the convicts had been living.

> It appeared from these four men, that the language to the northward differed wholly from any that we knew. Among the natives who lived with us, there were none who understood all that they said, and of those who occasionally come in, one only could converse with them. He was a very fine lad, of the name of Wur-gan. His mother had been born and bred beyond the mountains, but one luckless day, paying a visit with some of her tribe to the banks of the Dee-rab-bun (for so the Hawkesbury was named) she was forcibly prevented returning, and, being obliged to submit to the embraces of an amorous and powerful Bè-dia-gal, the fruit of her visit was this boy. Speaking herself more dialects than one, she taught her son all she knew, and he, being of quick parts, and a roving disposition, caught all the different dialects from Botany Bay to Port Stephens. (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:357)

In August 1796, there was another report of an escaped convict living with Aboriginal people at Port Stephens. This time it was a woman and she was posited to be either of two escaped convicts, Mary Morgan or Ann Smith. Once again, the authorities looked forward to the prospect of learning more about the Aboriginal population and effecting a better communication to their own advantage.

> The people of a fishing-boat, which had been cast on shore in some bad weather near Port Stephens, met with some of these people, who without much entreaty, or any hope of reward, readily put them into a path from thence to Broken Bay, and conducted them the greatest part of the way. During their little journey, these friendly people made them understand, that they had seen a white woman among some natives to the northward. (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:406)

It was later discovered that Mary Morgan had escaped on the *Resolution* and was in London (Collins, vol. 2, 1975:22).

3.2.1.7 Aboriginal people who voyaged outside NSW

In the 1790s, a number of Aboriginal people left the colony on ships bound for England or other British colonies and trading posts. Several of the best documented cases are discussed below. However, there are others which were merely hinted at in the literature. For example, a young Aboriginal man 'well known in the colony', who had taken the name 'Tom Rowley' (after one of the officers in the NSW Corps)

'accompanied Mr. Raven, in the Britannia, to Bengal, in the year 1795'. Nothing further is known of him except that after returning to the colony he was accidentally shot and killed in October 1797 (Collins, vol. 2, 1975:39).

In the nineteenth century Aboriginal people often joined the crews of whaling and fishing vessels. The linguistic experiences gained by Aboriginal people who had spent years travelling in English ships and living outside their own communities would have provided a model for the wider Aboriginal community. Any seafaring jargon they acquired would have been useful in cross-cultural communication and was likely to have been passed on to other Aboriginal people.

3.2.1.7.1 'Collins' sent on a voyage to acquire English.

In mid 1793, Lieutenant Governor Grose embarked an Aboriginal man, known as Collins, as part of the crew on the *Daedalus* which was to take supplies from Sydney to Captain Vancouver at Nootka. Grose believed that if cut off from Aboriginal society the man would rapidly acquire English and on his return would be a fully bilingual interpreter for the government. Evidently there was too much linguistic interference in Sydney for any Aboriginal person to become a fluent English speaker.

> On board of the *Daedalus* also was embarked a native of this country, who was sent by the lieutenant-governor for the purpose of acquiring our language. Lieutenant Hanson was directed by no means to leave him at Nootka, but, if he survived the voyage, to bring him back safe to his friends and countrymen. His native names were Gnung-a gnung-a, Mur-re-mur-gan; but he had for a long time entirely lost them, even among his own people, who called him 'Collins,' after the judge-advocate, whose name he had adopted on the first day of his coming among us. He was a man of a more gentle disposition than most of his associates; and, from the confidence he placed in us, very readily undertook the voyage, although he left behind him a young wife (a sister of Bennilong, who accompanied Governor Phillip) of whom he always appeared extremely fond. (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:251)

The need for an Aboriginal person who could communicate freely in English was still a high priority for the colonial administration as misunderstandings and poor communication were creating serious problems.

Collins returned safely from the voyage in April 1794. However, the linguistic experiment was only considered to be a minor success. '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' (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:303). The social aspects of his interactions with people during the voyage were very interesting to the colonists. Collins proved himself likeable and the more so because he very readily accommodated any new people he met. The king of 'Owhyhee' (Hawai'i) found Collins so diverting that he would have given anything within his power to make him remain.

> He had conducted himself with the greatest propriety during the voyage, readily complying with whatever was required of him, and not incurring in any one instance, the dislike or ill-will of any person on board the ship. Wherever he went he readily adopted the manners of those about him; and when at Owhyhee, having discovered that favours from the females were to be procured at the easy exchange of a looking-glass, a nail, or a knife, he was not backward in presenting his little offering, and was as well received as any of the white people in the ship. It was noticed too that he always displayed some taste in selecting the object of his attentions. The king of Owhyhee earnestly wished to detain him on the island, making splendid offers to Mr. Hanson, of canoes, warlike instruments, and other curiosities, to purchase him; but if Mr. Hanson had been willing to have left him, Collins would not have consented, being very anxious to return to New South Wales. (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:303)

On his return to NSW, Collins became an object of great curiosity to the Aboriginal people in general. 'The circumstance of his return, and the novelty of his appearance, being habited like one of us, and very clean, drew many of his countrymen about him' (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:303).

3.2.1.7.2 Bennelong and Yemmerrawanie's visit to England

Phillip took his friends Bennelong and Yemmerrawanie back to England when he returned at the end of his governorship and they arrived on 21 May 1793. The records of their visit are sparse and Yemmerrawanie died before returning to NSW. In spite of the 'pleasures and abundance' of London both men were very homesick and 'made but little improvement' in their acquisition of English (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:296-7, 331).

Bennelong's influence in the colony waned while he was away. The Aboriginal population in Sydney was well established by the time of his return and no longer relied on him as an interlocutor. Even his hut ceased to be the centre for gatherings in Sydney and fell into ruin and was eventually razed in November 1795.

> The bricklayer and his gang were employed in repairing the column at the South Head; to do which for want of bricks at the kiln, the little hut built formerly for Bennilong, being altogether foresaken by the natives, and tumbling down, the bricks of it were removed to the South Head. (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:362)

On 7 September 1795, Bennelong arrived back in the colony with Governor Hunter and immediately became an object of extreme curiosity amongst his people. He spent some time reestablishing himself as a force within the colony and then proceeded to use his unique ability to move between the cultures to his own advantage.

> About this settlement their attention had been for some time engrossed by Bennillong, who arrived with the governor. On his first appearance, he conducted himself with a polished familiarity towards his sisters and other relations; but to his acquaintance he was distant, and quite the man of consequence. He declared, in a tone and with an air that seemed to expect compliance, that he should no longer suffer them to fight and cut each other's throats, as they had done; that he should introduce peace among them, and make them love each other. He expressed his wish that when they visited him at Government house they would contrive to be somewhat more cleanly in their persons, and less coarse in their manners; and he seemed absolutely offended at some little indelicacies which he observed in his sister Car-rang-ar-ang, who came in such haste from Botany Bay, with a little nephew on her back, to visit him, that she left all her habiliments behind her...Bennillong had certainly not been an inattentive observer of the manners of the people among whom he had lived; he conducted himself with the greatest propriety at table, particularly in the observance of those attentions which are chiefly requisite in the presence of women. His dress appeared to be an object of no small concern with him; and every one who knew him before he left the country, and who saw him now, pronounced without hesitation that Bennillong had not any desire to renounce the habits and comforts of the civilized life which he appeared so readily and so successfully to adopt. (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:367)

Bennelong vacillated between Aboriginal and colonial society but was never settled or happy in either society. In spite of his 'European polish' he was unable to find a woman prepared to replace his wife who had left him for another man. In his frustration Bennelong broke all the rules of friendship and attacked his friend Coleby's 'favourite' (Collins, vol. 2, 1975:50). Coleby 'sarcastically asked him, "if he meant that kind of conduct to be a specimen of English manners?"' (Collins, vol. 1,

1975:390). For his trouble, Coleby split Bennelong's upper lip very badly and knocked out some teeth, all of which left him with a speech impediment.

Chronic alcoholism eventually destroyed Bennelong socially and physically. By mid 1797 his drunken behaviour had become intolerable to either society and constantly created tension amongst his friends.

> He was now observed to have become so fond of drinking, that, whenever invited by any of the officers to their houses, he was eager to be intoxicated, and in that state was so savage and violent as to be capable of any mischief. On such occasions he amused himself with annoying the women and insulting the men, who, from fear of offending his white friends, spared those notices of his conduct which he so often merited, and which sooner or later would certainly meet with. (Collins, vol. 2, 1975:34)

After threatening to kill some soldiers for their interference in an Aboriginal dispute, the governor detained Bennelong for the night, for his own as well as the colony's safety. Bennelong was so outraged at being confined that he threatened to kill the governor and stormed out of Sydney. The wider Aboriginal population feared reprisals for Bennelong's indiscretions and became very shy of the colonists (Collins, vol. 2, 1975:48-49).

> This last outrage of his had rendered him more hateful than any of his countrymen; and, as the natives who had so constantly resided and received so many comforts in the settlement were now afraid to appear in the town, believing that, like themselves, we should punish all for the misconduct of one, it might rather be expected that Bennillong could not be far from meeting that punishment which he certainly provoked and merited. (Collins, vol. 2, 1975:49)

From that time forward, Bennelong lost favour with the colonists and is hardly mentioned again in the records. He was finally killed in a dispute with another Aboriginal person in 1813 (*AE* 1:490).

3.2.1.8 Colonists living with Aboriginal people

In the mid 1790s, James Wilson lived with the Aboriginal community in the Hawkesbury district. 'The tribe with whom Wilson associated had given him a name,

Bun-bo-é, but none of them had taken his in exchange'. The language of communication between them was a mixture of English and the local language.

> He had formed an intermediate language between his own and theirs, with which he made shift to comprehend something of what they wished him to communicate ... for they did not conceal the sense they entertained of the injuries which had been done them' (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:341).

The people used Wilson as an intermediary and instructed him to inform the local colonists that the Woodlanders intended revenge. The governor eventually became suspicious of Wilson's motives and proposed to remove him from Aboriginal society by taking him on the expedition to Port Stephens, discussed above (3.2.1.6).

> No doubt remained of the ill and impolitic conduct of some of the settlers toward the natives. In revenge for some cruelties which they had experienced, they threatened to put to death three of the settlers...and had actually attacked and cruelly wounded two other settlers. ...These particulars were procured through the means of one Wilson, a wild idle young man, who, his term of transportation being expired, preferred living among the natives in the vicinity of the river, to earning the wages of honest industry by working for settlers. ...As the gratifying an idle wandering disposition was the sole object with Wilson in herding with these people, no good consequence was likely to ensue from it; and it was by no means improbable, that at some future time, if disgusted with the white people, he would join the blacks, and assist them in committing depredations... (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:341)

In March 1795, Wilson returned from Port Stephens and with another ex-convict, Knight, rejoined the Aboriginal people at the Hawkesbury River.

> Wilson...immediately after his return from Port Stephens with the deputy-surveyor, went off to the natives at the river. Another vagabond, who like himself had been a convict, one Knight, thinking there must be some sweets in the life which Wilson led, determined to share them with him, and went off to the woods. About the middle of the month they both come into the town, accompanied by some of their companions. On the day following it appeared that their visit was for the purpose of forcing a wife from among the women of this district...in the midst of a considerable uproar, which was heard near the bridge, Wilson and Knight were discovered, each dragging a girl by the arm (whose age could not have been beyond nine or ten years) assisted by their new associates. The two white men being soon secured, and the children taken care of, the mob dispersed. Wilson and Knight were taken to the cells and punished, and it was intended to employ them both in hard labour; but they found means to escape, and soon mixed again with companions whom they preferred to our overseers. (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:356)

In late November 1797, Wilson surrendered to the governor. Wilson told the authorities that he was fully initiated into Aboriginal society and showed them

cicatrices that were made as part of his initiations. He claimed to have travelled with Aboriginal people more than one hundred miles from Sydney. The governor recognised that if treated harshly Wilson would simply escape again and rejoin Aboriginal society. Therefore, he decided it was 'advisable to endeavour to make him useful even in the mode of living which he seemed to prefer' (Collins, vol. 2, 1975:43). The governor made Wilson a scout and tracker of escaped convicts. The governor believed that the Aboriginal people he associated with would help him in his endeavours.

3.2.1.9 Lachlan Macquarie, the expansion of settlement and optimism about the 'civilisation' of the Aboriginal population

Divided by factional economic interests, the colony was bordering on civil war when the fifth governor, Lachlan Macquarie, arrived in January 1810. He immediately issued a statement to the effect that he intended to restore 'harmony and union' in the colony (Macquarie 1810). With the support of his command, the famous 73rd Regiment of the Black Watch, Macquarie regained government control of the colony. The destructive 'rum trade' was finally quashed when he introduced the first local currency[101].

Macquarie was very vigorous in government works to improve the colony and actively encouraged further exploration of the country. With his support, the 1813 expeditions of Blaxland, Lawson and Wentworth and George Evans found a passage over the Blue Mountains and out to the Bathurst Plains which opened up the interior for development (Maps 6 and 7). Evans explored west of Bathurst to the Lachlan River in 1813 (Map 8) and Oxley made a more detailed and further examination of the area in 1817 (Map 9). Oxley went on to explore the inland northern districts along the Macquarie River from Wellington and overland across to Port Macquarie (Map 10).

---

[101]The coins were made by cutting the centres out of the colony's store of Spanish dollars, creating the famous 'holey dollar' from the outer ring and the 'dump' from the central blank (*AE* 5:452).

Encouraged by the reports of the explorers Macquarie began the process of settling the inland in the area of the Bathurst Plains. He extended coastal settlement south to the Illawarra district and north to the Hunter and ultimately as far as Port Macquarie in 1821. Macquarie's program of public works included extensive road-building ventures which facilitated the spread of settlement into the new districts. He established highways between Sydney and Bathurst and Sydney and the Goulburn Plains which made those areas accessible to pastoralists. Ultimately, the foundations he laid paved the way for the boom of the wool industry and its accompanying land rush in the 1830s and 1840s (*AE* 5:451-54).

Macquarie also revived concern about the Aboriginal population and set up the first government institutions for their benefit. He established the 'Native Institution' which was a free school for Aboriginal children at a time when the colony's non-Aboriginal children had no access to free education (3:42). Their rapid progress gratified the colonists (Troy 1990a:22; 4:30). Macquarie also established farm plots and housing in Sydney for adult Aboriginal people (3:40). The ventures were successful but the governors that followed did not maintain official support for the school and gave the Aboriginal farmers no protection from jealous colonists. The school was closed for lack of funds and Aboriginal farmers were run off their land by people eager to claim it for themselves. Governor Brisbane took over Bungaree's land at Elizabeth Bay with its thriving little orchard from which he derived a good income to use the site for a lunatic asylum (3:40, 4:52).

However, Macquarie's governorship was a time of general optimism for the progress of the colony and for all its inhabitants. In 1811, David Mann wrote that 'many of the natives...feel no disinclination to mix with the inhabitants' of the colony and to participate in its economy (3:19). He believed they had become 'reconciled to their new countrymen' and while they did not mix 'indiscriminately with the

Europeans, they had become comparatively social' (3:18). On his arrival in Sydney, in 1817, Rev Lancelot Threlkeld was very struck, as were others, with the easy familiarity between the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal population (4:4, 17). Most Aboriginal people participated in the local economy by engaging in casual employment on farms, assisting in the drawing of fish nets or bringing in their own catch to Sydney for sale (3:19, 20, 21). Some Aboriginal people had farms where they grew crops such as maize. Others 'made themselves extremely useful on board colonial vessels employed in the fishing and sealing trade' (3:19). A few Aboriginal people benefited from Macquarie's policies of providing encouragement to people who wanted to become part of the colonial economy. A number of children were educated in the government school and through the efforts of private individuals. Others accepted land grants and with help from the government were farming their properties with varying degrees of enthusiasm and success. Many people found casual employment in the settlements.

3.2.1.10 The neglect of the Sydney Aboriginal population in the 1820s

By 1820 the optimism of the previous decade had waned. The records suggest that many Aboriginal people in Sydney were suffering from privation and malnutrition and the debilitating effects of smoking and alcoholism (3:36). In complete contrast to the earlier reports it was claimed that 'all the governor's efforts to educate the natives and to attach them to the Europeans, have been in vain' (3:24).

Akhilles Shabel'sky, a Russian interpreter with the ship *Appollon* and a keen observer of Sydney society during his stay there in 1822, was very critical of the government's treatment of the Aboriginal population (4:1). He claimed that although Macquarie's school was responsible for some children 'speaking English pretty well' they had not received a useful education which would equip them for life in the colony. He believed that the children at the school were not representative of the general Aboriginal population but were part of the new population of 'half-castes'

born to Aboriginal mothers by non-Aboriginal fathers. The same observation was made by Barron Field, a former judge of the supreme court in NSW (4:6). Echoing the racism of the time Shabel'sky claimed that the more European-looking the child the greater its 'aptitude for education'. He was surprised that Aboriginal people continued to prefer life in what was left of the bush on the Cumberland Plain to the 'delights of civilised society'. Aboriginal people told astonished colonists that they had returned to the 'bush' because they 'liked it best' (4:7). People who remained in Sydney generally became chronic alcoholics and suffered the debilitation of consumption.

In 1825, Barron Field wrote about the profound effect colonial society had had on the Aboriginal population (4:5). He saw them gradually abandoning their traditional lifestyle as alcoholism became a way of life for many people. Street fights between Aboriginal people replaced ritual contests and were just as popular with the colonists. Rev Samuel Marsden complained that in spite of the obvious interest some Aboriginal people showed in Christianity the 'immoral example' of the majority of the colonists led them to a life of vice rather than 'civilisation'. A little later, in 1828, Rev Ralph Mansfield also painted a dismal picture of the Aboriginal population in Sydney. The large gatherings of people for ritual and social events no longer took place. He saw only 'miserable stragglers' who 'reeled and quarrelled' in the streets affected by alcohol, malnutrition, disease and social neglect (Mansfield 1828c:351, 4:40, 41).

Field observed that the government had little control over the Aboriginal population who conformed to the norms of colonial society only when it suited them (4:5, 31). Although many people agreed to have their children attend the government school they would not allow it to be an avenue for their being trained to be servants like the convicts. Even an attempt to set up a training school at Blacktown to teach Aboriginal people trades such as carpentry and needlework was a failure because it was against the principles of the wider Aboriginal community (4:49, 50). Some people accepted grants of farming land from the governor. However, they also expected the

government to give them convict servants to work the farms for them and so that they could work the land as and when they chose (4:5).

Many Aboriginal people in the Sydney area lived in abject poverty on the social fringe of the colony (4:11). Cunningham observed their unwilling dependence on the colonists and their begging or stealing to obtain clothes, bread and rum (4:16). Aboriginal men prostituted the women to colonists 'for a slice of bread or a pipe of tobacco' (4:16). Aboriginal people accepted gifts from the governor, particularly at Christmas and New Year, but, did not see them as buying their cooperation (4:36). Cunningham noted that the people who lived on the edge of the settlement at the Cowpastures and the Hawkesbury had fared much better than the people of Sydney town (4:20). (Mansfield worded the observation more strongly (4:34).) Some Aboriginal people lived in government huts and laboured intermittently for the local farmers amongst whom they had been raised. At governor Darling's orders others had been made constables in recognition of their great ability as trackers and were paid and rationed by the government.

3.2.2 The northern district

As noted above (3.1), the first permanent settlement outside the Cumberland Plain was established on the north coast at Newcastle then called 'King's Town' after Governor Phillip Gidley King. However, the area remained sparsely settled until the 1820s by which time the western and southern districts were already opened to pastoral settlement.

In September 1797, Lieutenant Shortland first reported the existence of a river which he named 'Hunter's River' after John Hunter the governor of the time. Shortland noted a very good coal deposit conveniently located for shipping in the harbour entrance to the river (Collins, vol. 2, 1975:35). Hunter subsequently sent work parties to the area to obtain coal. They, reportedly, were 'kind and civil' to the

Aboriginal people they met in the area (Collins, vol. 2, 1975:147). However, in April 1799, 'the crew of two boats, which had been permitted to go to Hunter's River for a load of coals, had been cut off by the natives'. A well-armed search party was sent out and they 'fell in with a large body of natives all armed'. They told the colonists that the crews of the boats had gone to Sydney. However, goods from the ships, such as sails and blankets were in evidence and the meeting deteriorated into violence and several Aboriginal men were shot (Collins, vol. 2, 1975:146).

In 1801, the governor sent an exploring party to the Hunter River district to survey the area and make a full assessment of the local resources, particularly the coal. They met up with several local Aboriginal people and also found a man who had been shipwrecked thirty-two days previously with two other men. The other men had died, one killed by Aboriginal people. They also came across a group of nine men sent by Commissary Palmer into the area to cut cedar. Grant found that they were a rough crowd and that 'they had discovered evident marks of a depraved and irregular disposition, from the time their stomachs were filled' (Grant 1803:159). Numerous 'cedar getters' entered the district in the early nineteenth century and were well known for their rough treatment of the local Aboriginal population.

In 1802, the governor established a small and short-lived coal mining settlement at the mouth of the Hunter River (Clouten 1967:12). However, the first permanent colony was a penal establishment created on the same site by Governor King, in 1804. It was to be a place of punishment for criminals convicted in the Sydney Supreme Court. The first Commandant, Charles Throsby, took with him twenty soldiers and twenty convicts. Little is now known about the progress of the colony from 1805 to 1813 because its records disappeared. However, by 1813, the administration was erecting timber buildings, clearing land land and a building a landing for boats. Between 1814 and 1821 the colony went through three commandants and convict numbers grew from two hundred and ninety to one thousand including more than one

hundred women. It became the spillover for the settlements of Sydney and Parramatta. In 1821, the disciplinarian Major Morrissett took over and the colony gained a name for being a very severe place of punishment (Windross and Ralston 1897:5-7). Also in 1821 the problem of runaway convicts became serious when some colonists made an unauthorised overland track between Sydney and Newcastle (Clouten 1967:13).

Local Aboriginal people attached themselves to the colony and assisted the commandants in retrieving convict runaways. Aboriginal people intensely disliked the convicts because they regularly attacked Aboriginal women (Threlkeld 1854:57). Aboriginal people also proved to be very useful as messengers between Sydney and Newcastle. Aboriginal people from Sydney also travelled to the settlement with the colonists. The Newcastle chaplain, Rev Middleton, was very popular with the local Aboriginal people and they often accompanied him on his sojourns into the local countryside. For example, in 1821, Middleton led a walking trip to Lake Macquarie accompanied by a number of colonists and 'the whole tribe of one hundred' (John Bingle quoted in Clouten 1967:14). Unfortunately, records for the period are sparse and little is now known about the Aboriginal people who interacted with the penal colony.

The colonists observed that the Aboriginal population on the north coast was 'connected in a kind of circle extending to the Hawkesbury and Port Stephens' (Threlkeld 1825b:186). Robert Dawson (whose settlement at Port Stephens is the subject of Chapter 4) often observed Aboriginal people from Port Stephens visiting Newcastle. Therefore, it is likely that any linguistic developments at Newcastle would have affected Port Stephens and vice versa. In 1820 colonists also observed that the Aboriginal people who lived around Sydney could understand each other but that the people from Newcastle, Port Stephens or the far side of the Nepean River could not

understand the Sydney people at all (3:33). Therefore, NSW Pidgin would have been a useful lingua franca for those people.

In 1823, the area was opened to free settlement and most of the prisoners removed to a new penal colony at Port Macquarie. Only a few convicts remained to mine coal and undertake reclamation works about the harbour. Free selecting began on a small scale in 1821-22. However, from 1823 forward, settlers moved in rapidly as it became known that the Hunter district was very suitable for agriculture and grazing. Its proximity to Sydney was a further inducement to speculators (Windross and Ralston 1897:13-15).

In 1825, Rev Lancelot Threlkeld opened a mission to the local Aboriginal people at Lake Macquarie. Threlkeld attempted to help the people make the transition from their pre-colonial lifestyle into the world created by the colonists. He made the first serious attempt to study an Aboriginal language since the officers of the First Fleet tackled the Sydney language, in the early 1790s. Threlkeld helped a number of Aboriginal people acquire the skills necessary to participate in the colonial economy and in the process he chronicled the fate of the Hunter district Aboriginal population. His mission and interactions with the local Aboriginal people are discussed at length below (3.2.2.1). Threlkeld claimed that many people adapted successfully to the colonial economy.

> Much has been said of our dispossessing the blacks of their land, but this did not inflame their minds against Europeans, generally speaking they were glad of Settlers residing amongst them, for the sake of obtaining bread, tea, sugar, rum, tobacco, and clothing, which were procurable, in exchange for game, going on messages, for postage departments in the bush, and various other employments for which they were admirably adapted. (Threlkeld 1854:57)

He observed that they learnt the utility of the new animals that were introduced to their country through their participation in the pastoral industry.

> The mode of surrounding a herd of cattle, the Slautering of the beasts, the preserving of the flesh by smoke and the plaiting of whips from the hides, were the lessons of a convict Stockman, and under such tutors, so numerously scattered amongst the tribes in the interior, it is not marvellous that they become adept pupils in such arts... (Threlkeld 1837:136)

Threlkeld noted that colonists employed many Aboriginal people in local industries.

> Blacks have been profitably engaged in maritime pursuits, and others have been employed in husbandry, and shepherding; some instances have occurred in which the blacks have become mechanics. ...One establishment, to the southward, employed a number of blacks in whale-boats, in the whale fishery on the coast at Two-fold bay. At the present moment a friend of mine, in the interior, has a number of black families regularly employed as shepherds, to whom he pays wages, and supplies them with rations, they minding several thousand sheep in separate flocks. The men abide at the huts, shift the hurdles, clean the yards, and attend to the home department, whilst their wives are the dark shepherdesses to the flocks which they tend most carefully, and have done so, now, for several years. For stockmen the blacks are invaluable, they being exceedingly fond of riding on horseback, and as guides through the bush, none else are so well adapted as they. (Threlkeld 1854:70)

In late 1839, Horatio Hale and James Agate visited Newcastle and described it as 'a small village of seventy or eighty houses, built on the side of a hill; it contains two taverns and several grog-shops, a jail, convict stockade, hospital, court-house, and a venerable old-looking church' (Hale and Agate 1839:155). The thriving coal-mine and the building of a breakwater for the protection of the harbour gave the place 'an air of life and animation'. By the time of their visit colonial settlement had fully marginalised a large proportion of the Aboriginal population of the district and most lived in abject poverty.

> In their walks 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. Their appearance was wretched in the extreme: emaciated limbs, shapeless, bodies, immense heads, deep-set glaring eyes, thickly-matted hair, and the whole begrimed with dirt and red paint, gave them an aspect hardly human. The dress (if such it could be called) of the women, was a loose ragged gown, and of the men, a strip of blanket wrapped round the middle, or a pair of tattered pantaloons, which but have performed their office. (Hale and Agate 1839:155-56)

In their travels up the Hunter they observed that 'there are no wild tribes in this vicinity. These poor creatures are becoming rapidly exterminated by the whites, who are not overscrupulous as to the means' (Hale and Agate 1839:158).

3.2.2.1 Rev Lancelot Threlkeld's mission at Lake Macquarie

In 1824, Rev Daniel Tyerman and George Bennet from the London Missionary Society arrived in Sydney. During their stay they became convinced that a mission to the Aboriginal peoples would be successful if it was conducted along the lines of their Society Islands mission. They proposed that missionaries should spread Christianity via the medium of Aboriginal languages. Following their visit to Newcastle, they selected the Lake Macquarie area as the first mission site. Threlkeld, who had accompanied the deputation from the Society Islands, was to be the first missionary (Gunson, vol. 1, 1974:13-15).

In early 1825, Threlkeld arrived in Newcastle to establish the mission on the proposed ten thousand acre grant at Lake Macquarie (Map 18) (Threlkeld 1825-26:45). The town of only thirty four residents was in the process of transforming from a penal colony to a free settlement (Threlkeld 1825:85, 88). The settlement had attracted a number of Aboriginal people and Threlkeld observed an air of good-will existing between the people and the colonists. 'The Clergyman, the Surgeon, the Officer, and the Magistrate all took a lively interest on their behalf and expressed themselves pleased with the contemplated mission' (Threlkeld 1854:44). Threlkeld's first impression was that 'the Natives do not appear so vitiated here as at Sydney but only from the fact that there are so few opportunities here in comparison to what is afforded them at Sydney' (Threlkeld 1825d:85). However, he soon revised his ideas and commented that the Aboriginal people of Newcastle were disadvantaged by their involvement with the colony.

> It would be indelicate to describe minutely the abject state of the Aborigines under our cognizance, suffice to say, that the females wander about, through towns, or among the more scattered residences of the Settlers, completely naked, often intoxicated, and even when furnished with articles of clothing indifferent as to using them for the purposes of decency. The men, naked, fierce, cruel to their wives, frequently involved in quarrels ending in blood, in the open streets vehemently pursuing any object that will procure them spirits, and when under its influence uttering forth oaths the most horrid, and obscene expressions the most disgusting. The very children partake of these deplorable evils, and boys not seven years old have been seen staggering under the effects of liquor! Often are the Aborigines most shamefully ill-used by those who pride themselves on the

> difference of complexion; and there are stubborn facts in existence, when the poor Aborigines have been forced to give up their hard obtained provisions to their more powerful white neighbours, or personal maltreatment would be the consequence of denial. Their girls and women have been taken from their camps at night, shrieking, and muskets have been presented to intimidate, and their heads have born the marks of the butt-end in preventing the interference of the males. (Threlkeld 1825c:189)

Threlkeld claimed that the Aboriginal people were initially curious about and approving of his missionising intentions. Many people visited him when they heard 'that one had come down amongst them to seek to do them good' and local officials encouraged him to believe that he could look forward to attracting about three hundred Aboriginal people (Threlkeld 1854:44-45). On the evening before he returned to Sydney to make arrangements for the mission 'the blacks assembled, had a dance, enquired how long it would be before I returned from Sydney, and on two moons [two months] being mentioned they shouted in approbation' (Threlkeld 1854:45). In June 1825, he established the mission at a place called by the local Aboriginal people *Biddobar* (Threlkeld 1825d:90).

For one year, while setting up the mission, the Threlkeld family lived in the government cottage in Newcastle. To Threlkeld's delight, the cottage became a refuge for 'the tribe of blacks belonging to Newcastle'. They camped outside the building to avoid being molested at night by free-roaming convicts (Threlkeld 1854:45). Threlkeld saw immediate advantage in their close proximity and in accordance with LMS policy set about acquiring their language (Threlkeld 1854:45).

In September 1826, Threlkeld and his family moved from Newcastle to the mission station built on the east side of Lake Macquarie and named 'Batabah' (from *Biddobar*) (Threlkeld 1826b:94). However, his optimism was dampened when in the first year of the mission he had only attracted a transient group of about fifty people who hailed from a wide area (Threlkeld 1854:60). In 1827, Threlkeld was assisted in clearing twenty five acres of land by Aboriginal people from both the town of Newcastle and

Tuggerah Beach (Threlkeld 1827c:96). The people were drawn to the mission because of the plentiful supplies of food available both from the surrounding bush and lake and the mission stores. People would gather for an event such as a physical competition and then leave again when their business was over (Threlkeld 1827c:96).

Threlkeld praised the example of the Australian Agricultural Company at Port Stephens and envied their wealth which enabled the manager to give 'liberal encouragement...to the natives for their labor' and thereby 'fix' them to the locality (Threlkeld 1827c:96). He had to compete with Newcastle and Sydney which held more powerful attractions to the Aboriginal people 'in drunkenness and prostitution' and new farms in the vicinity of the mission which provided them with casual employment (Threlkeld 1827c:96).

When Threlkeld first arrived at Lake Macquarie, he found 'that about four or five of the adult aborigines and one, a boy about six or seven years old named Brown...spoke a little of broken English' (Threlkeld in Gunson, vol. 1, 1974:46). He said that the people in general 'speak a little English and understand more' (Threlkeld 1825e:181). His data, discussed below (3.3.2.4.2), demonstrate that the 'broken English' was NSW Pidgin. However, Threlkeld placed no value on the communicative value of NSW Pidgin—'no dependence can be placed on their account as they speak broken English' (Threlkeld 1825d:86). Given his attitude, it is not surprising that his notes contain only a very small amount of NSW Pidgin data. Threlkeld's interest was in Aboriginal languages and he planned to learn 'Awabakal', the local Aboriginal language so that he could Christianise the people (Threlkeld 1829:109). In addition to using formal sessions, he also collected linguistic information in informal situations. He always proceeded 'with notebook in hand alphabetically paged' in which he 'put down in order such words as could be obtained whilst walking and talking with them' (Threlkeld 1854:46).

> My present employment is, going with the natives in their hunting excursions with a book and pencil collecting words and phrases, which the natives shew the greatest readiness in pronouncing again and again not without laughing at my stupidity in not understanding quickly. Perhaps the Aborigines think that there is an *innate* deficiency in the bulk of white men's sculls which prevents their attainment of the native language. (Threlkeld 1825b:187)

Threlkeld commented that his eldest son made rapid progress in the language through his daily communications with the people. He later used his son's knowledge to advance his own.

The people were generally very cooperative in Threlkeld's endeavours and enjoyed the exercise of teaching him their language. They laughed at his 'blunders' and chided him in NSW Pidgin with 'what for you so stupid, you very stupid fellow' (Threlkeld 1854:46). He found that the women and children were most willing to help him learn their language (Threlkeld 1854:46). Threlkeld acknowledged that he spoke 'broken Aboriginal' probably meaning by that an interlanguage variety of Awabakal (Threlkeld 1826a:205-6). In late 1826 he 'finished arranging in alphabetical order nine hundred and seventy five words' and was 'just beginning to talk, a broken sentence' (Threlkeld 1826c:201). He was very aware of the mistakes he made in learning and analysing the language.

> Often has a word been put down in the full confidence of correctness, and as often discovered it was erroneous. A man stood on the North Shore, while we were on a fishing excursion, I noted down what the Black said was the North Shore, using the phrase some time afterwards, I found it was not so, a native came to a fire one evening and the same word was used and on paying particular attention found that it was the Adverb over there. (Threlkeld 1826a:209)

Believing that all Aboriginal languages were 'radically the same' he attempted to use his 'broken Aboriginal' with people from different language groups.

> Visiting a Mountain black now in jail at Newcastle on the charge of murdering a white, My interpreter went with me and his wife, we entered the jail and I addressed him as well as I could in Aborigine, he burst into a fit of laughter, although double ironed by himself in one of the rooms of the jail, after a pause he answered me, and though I could not make out every word, I found it was the same language—My Black companion spoke to him, and I could tell that what he spoke to the man was the substance of what I wished to ask.—He was a stranger black, from an immense distance beyond the mountains, and my interpreter said his language was different to the blacks here. (Threlkeld 1826a:209)

By 1830 the local Aboriginal people regarded both Threlkeld and his son as fluent speakers of Awabakal (Parry 1830:112).

Threlkeld owed much of his success in the language to an Aboriginal man who was his friend and teacher.

> An aboriginal of this part of the colony was my almost daily companion for many years, and to his intelligence I am principally indebted for my knowledge respecting the structure of the language. Biraban was his native name, meaning 'an eagle-hawk,' but the English called him M'Gill...He had been brought up from his childhood in the Military Barracks, Sydney, and he understood and spoke the English language well. (Threlkeld 1850:88)

In 1830, at the governor's annual feast and meeting for Aboriginal people at Parramatta, Biraban was honoured publicly for his assistance to Threlkeld. Governor Sir Ralph Darling presented him with a brass gorget[102] inscribed 'Barabahn, or MacGil, Chief of the Tribe at Bartabah, on Lake Macquarie; a Reward for his assistance in reducing his Native Tongue to a written Language' (Gunson, vol. 1, 1974:6). According to colonists who met him, Biraban had become a very practised language teacher. Horatio Hale, a scientist with the United States Exploring Expedition, wrote that 'it was very evident that M'Gill was accustomed to teach his native language, for when he was asked the name of any thing he pronounced the word very distinctly, syllable by syllable, so that it was impossible to mistake it' (Hale quoted in Gunson, vol. 1, 1974:6).

It is likely that Biraban was also influential in the acquisition of English by Aboriginal people in the district because he was a man of influence 'always a prominent leader in the corrobories and other assemblies'. Biraban spread the information he gained through his contact with Threlkeld to other groups of Aboriginal people. For example, Threlkeld discovered that Aboriginal people at Morpeth and Hinton had been instructed in Christianity by Biraban. They, in consequence, knew all about Threlkeld and his mission (Threlkeld 1837:135, 1838:140).

---

[102]For more information about Aboriginal 'king plates' or gorgets see Troy 1993b.

In addition to his own language studies, as early as 1825, Threlkeld attempted to teach about a dozen Aboriginal children to read and write. They practised the alphabet by cutting the letters into the bark of trees or by scratching them onto the soft 'paperbark' of melaleuca trees with a nail (Threlkeld 1854:50, 60). However, Threlkeld wrote that 'the Aborigines of New South Wales had not arrived at the knowledge of writing, further, than to form the letters, when they died off' (Threlkeld 1854:60).

In 1829, the LMS dismissed Threlkeld following a series of heated disagreements between the missionary and the hierarchy. In 1831, they severed all connections with Threlkeld and his mission. The colonial government resumed the grant and sold all the missionary property (Threlkeld in Gunson, vol. 1, 1974:113-14). However, Threlkeld continued his mission on his own grant, Ebenezer, on the opposite (south-west) shore of the lake (Map 18). News of Threlkeld's activities travelled quickly amongst the Aboriginal people of the mid north coast. He was incorporated into their information networks and through the service was supplied with much useful information (Threlkeld 1854:46). Threlkeld was impressed by the rapid exchange of information between Aboriginal people 'through their living News-mongers who quickly conveyed intelligence from tribe to tribe' (Threlkeld 1854:48).

> The Blacks have much and speedy communication one with the other from different parts of the Colony even where their dialects are supposed to so much differ as to prevent conversation, and their messengers, always armed, painted red, and adorned with down in their hair, communicate with speed to the different tribes. (Threlkeld 1828:98)

In 1838, Threlkeld observed that his conversations about Christianity with Aboriginal people at the missions had spread well outside his district.

> From conversation with the Aborigines, it appears that the Christian knowledge which has been communicated to M'gill and other Aborigines, has been the subject of discussion amongst the remnant of the tribes forty miles distant...In two or three instances, when communicating what was supposed to be subjects perfectly new to them, they replied with perfect coolness, "We know it, M'gill has told us." (Threlkeld 1838:144)

The people over a wide area regularly exchanged cultural information. Threlkeld observed cultural exchanges between the Aboriginal people of Newcastle and Port Stephens (Threlkeld 1854:56).

In spite of his friendship with the local Aboriginal people, Threlkeld's mission was never able to compete with the inducements of life in the larger settlements of Sydney and Newcastle. Aboriginal people were initially drawn to Newcastle for the government's annual distribution of blankets, clothes and food. He worried about 'the evil of enticing them to towns where drunkenness and prostitution are the certain consequences' (Threlkeld in Gunson, vol. 1, 1974:119). Threlkeld was disappointed that the Port Stephens people were not attracted to his mission. Before the Australian Agricultural Company settlement was established at Port Stephens, in 1826, Threlkeld had planned to entice the people of that area onto his mission. Some rivalry developed between the Aboriginal people at both establishments which caused Threlkeld trouble (6:17). Aboriginal people from Sydney occasionally visited the mission. In 1828, Threlkeld wrote that an Aboriginal man called Charley, from Sydney 'was in the habit of coming frequently' (Threlkeld 1828:101).

In 1838, Threlkeld wrote that Lake Macquarie had lost all its Aboriginal residents and those who had not died or left the district had settled at Newcastle. The mission was only infrequently visited by a 'small remnant of the inhabitants of the Lake' (Threlkeld in Gunson, vol. 1, 1974:144).

> The blacks have nearly forsaken this Lake, having found at Newcastle employment suitable to their habits; some being engaged in fishing, some as water carriers, messengers, servants, and some on board the numerous vessels, according as their services as are required. Thus they seldom appear at this place, the employments already stated being more congenial to their taste than any of an agricultural nature, excepting such as are connected with stock requiring horsemanship...at Newcastle they not only assemble, but remain at that place... (Threlkeld in Gunson, vol. 1, 1974:166-67)

In 1841, the government withdrew its support for Threlkeld's mission because it was apparent that it was failing for lack of numbers. Threlkeld ended his missionary activities at Lake Macquarie (Threlkeld in Gunson, vol. 1, 1974:168).

> Circumstances, which no human power could control, brought the mission to a final termination on December 31, 1841, when the mission ceased, not from any want of support from the Government, nor from any inclination on my own part to retire from the work, but solely from the sad fact that the aborigines themselves had then become almost extinct, for I had actually outlived a very large majority of the blacks, more especially of those with whom I had been associated for seventeen years. (Threlkeld 1857:126)

3.2.3 The southern district

In 1796, following Hunter's orders, George Bass and Mathew Flinders explored the south coast of NSW including what was then known as the Five Islands and Red Point. At Red Point they met two Aboriginal men who they were able to communicate with because they were from Botany Bay and who assisted them in finding fresh water (2:6). Later, at Lake Illawarra still in the company of the men from Botany Bay they first encountered the local people with whom they were not able to communicate. The men helped the explorers in their dealings but showed some concern about the trustworthiness of the people. Knowing how popular the procedure was with the Sydney people, Bass and Flinders strove to put the people at their ease by cutting their hair with scissors. The hair cutting proved so successful they were soon able to obtain much information about the local area from the people, including a name for the district—*Alowrie* (2:7). In late 1797, Bass explored further south to Kiama and the Shoalhaven River, and did not encounter any Aboriginal people (Mitchell and Sherington 1984:2).

Unknown numbers of colonists had unofficial encounters with the Aboriginal people of the south coast over the following years. One of the most celebrated incidents was the journey along the south coast of the survivors of the wreck of the *Sydney Cove*. The ship was a merchantman from Bengal which was wrecked on one of the islands in the Furneaux group, Bass Strait. Seventeen survivors set off in the

ship's long boat which was itself wrecked near Point Hicks. The men then set off to walk to Botany Bay. They encountered many Aboriginal people on the way and experienced both friendly assistance and aggressive hostility. Only three men survived the ordeal and they were found at Wattamolla, south of Botany Bay (Mitchell and Sherington 1984:2-3).

Fishing, sealing and whaling vessels often called in along the coast and disturbed the Aboriginal population. In 1806, the private vessel *Venus* was at Twofold Bay for the purpose of sealing and the crew reported that for many weeks they were harassed by Aboriginal people. Ultimately, they were attacked with spears and retaliated by firing on the Aboriginal people involved. They hung the bodies from nearby trees as a deterrent but they were removed overnight (*The Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, 6.4.1806:2).

In the early nineteenth century timber getters moved in to plunder the south coast of its resources, particularly the prized cedar which was known to grow plentifully along the Shoalhaven River. From 1815 forward the government granted land in the Illawarra to settlers and made attempts to regulate the timber industry. However, by the early 1820s, cedar in the area had become very scarce. The local Aboriginal people were not hostile towards the timber getters as the people had been in the Hunter district. There was very little violence in the Illawarra. The Aboriginal people of the area were amiable and helpful to all colonists. In 1815, Charles Throsby took the first herd of cattle to the area. He was assisted by Aboriginal people who knew of tracks over the escarpment near present-day Bulli Pass. The people also acted as guides for other colonists and as trackers for the police (Mitchell and Sherington 1984:3). In February 1822, Governor Macquarie on his tour of the colony was greeted by about one hundred Aboriginal people from many different 'tribes' including Jervis' Bay. He wrote in his journal—'they all know who I was and most of them pronounced my

name, Gov Macquarie very distinctly. They were very civil and I regretted exceedingly that I had no tobacco for them' (Macquarie 1956:235-40).

By 1830 'most of the coastal land of the Illawarra had been divided up, with sections of Wollongong and Kiama being reserved for future towns' (Mitchell and Sherington 1984:4). Relations between the local Aboriginal people and colonists remained amiable and Lake Illawarra continued to be an important meeting place for the Aboriginal population. However, in spite of the reported amiability in cross-cultural relations, the Aboriginal population of the Illawarra area reduced from at least three thousand people in the 1820s to only ninety eight in 1846 (Mitchell and Sherrington 1984:4). The increase in the non-Aboriginal population and the degradation of the natural bush for the timber and agricultural industries forced Aboriginal people in the area to compete for diminishing natural resources. By the mid 1830s settlers were asking the government to stop Aboriginal people from stealing their stock and raiding their crops. Some settlers remained tolerant and regularly compensated the people with food and supplies and allowed them to remain on their properties (Mitchell and Sherrington 1984:5-6). However, as the settlement of the area became denser it was increasingly difficult for the Aboriginal population to maintain its pre-colonial lifestyle. Most of the people became marginalised as fringe dwellers on the edge of the settlements.

3.3 LINGUISTIC EVIDENCE

3.3.1 The inception of NSW Pidgin: 1793 to 1804

There is very little substantive linguistic data from the period 1793 to 1804. However, there is sufficient data to make the claim that an early form of NSW Pidgin had its inception in the Sydney area during this period. There is also a little evidence which demonstrates that some Aboriginal people of the south coast acquired some knowledge of the emergent pidgin. The north coast people were almost unacquainted with the pidgin during this time.

3.3.1.1 Anecdotal comment

In 1793, Spanish visitors to Sydney (see 3.2.1.1) observed that Aboriginal people in the colony spoke to them in English—'at times we have heard entire Families salute us with several shouts in English' (Malaspina 1793a:106). The Spanish were not fluent speakers of English themselves, as their commander Malaspina observed (Malaspina 1793b:144). Therefore, it is likely that the 'English' spoken by Aboriginal people was the jargon which had developed in Sydney out of contact between Aboriginal people and colonists (as discussed in Chapter 2). Malaspina believed that the local Aboriginal people had decided that the Spanish 'did not understand how to speak' because they could not communicate easily with the English. However, the people treated the Spanish with the same familiarity as they did the English and overcame the lack of a common language by using 'a thousand strategems'. For example, when one of the Spanish officers 'was presented by an Englishman to an Indian [Aboriginal] Friend of his, he was most friendly toward him, and not having anything to present as a gift to him he asked the Englishman for a Duck which he had caught to present to our comrade, saying that it was necessary to give something to the visitor' (Malaspina 1793b:149).

The Spanish did not record examples of the speech of Aboriginal people. However, they did note the word **beriguet** 'biscuit' (possibly a rendition of 'very good') as an item in the vocabulary of the people.

> They put in their insatiable bellies whatever they come across—Bread, a Cob of Maize, and even a tallow candle are delicious foods, but nothing equals a Biscuit dipped in salty water, which is the most agreeable to them: they know it by the name 'Berriguet', not being able to pronounce its English name. (Malaspina 1793b:148)

In September 1796, Collins observed that a mixed language had developed out of attempts by colonists and Aboriginal people to communicate with each other.

> By slow degrees we began mutually to be pleased with, and to understand each other. Language, indeed, is out of the question; for at the time of writing this (September 1796) nothing but a barbarous mixture of English with the Port Jackson dialect is spoken by either party; and it must be added, that even in this the natives have the advantage, comprehending with much greater aptness than we can pretend to, every thing they hear us say. From a pretty close observation, however, assisted by the use of the barbarous dialect just mentioned, the following particulars respecting the natives of New South Wales have been collected. (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:451)

The language referred to by Collins was likely to have been the earliest form of NSW Pidgin. He added that the Aboriginal population had gained the greatest facility with the language. Collins stated that he used the language to gather ethnographic information. This in spite of his previous studies and growing facility with the Sydney Language. Evidently the mixed language was already obviating the need for colonists to learn the vernacular. The ethnographic information Collins collected encompassed pragmatic as well as esoteric subjects. He provided a lengthy discourse on a comparison between Christian and Aboriginal philosophy (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:454-55). The mixed language must have been quite stable for Collins to have been able to discuss complex points of religious philosophy with Aboriginal people.

Colonists who had some experience with people of the Pacific islands used their knowledge in communicating with Aboriginal people. For example, while exploring a river off Frederick Henry Bay in Tasmania in late 1798, George Bass encountered an Aboriginal man whom he 'addressed...in several of the dialects of New South Wales, and some few of the most common words of the South Sea Islands' (2:20). Unfortunately, there is no further information about 'South Sea Island words' that were used by people such as Bass.

Anecdotal comments made by writers in the very early nineteenth century reinforce these eighteenth century observations. The collective evidence suggests that, by the turn of the century, NSW Pidgin had gained common usage amongst Aboriginal people who lived in and around the settlement of Sydney. In the early 1800s the

Aboriginal population had become very useful to the colonists since they had begun 'to understand the English language a little'. Many of them lived 'regularly at the settlement on the earnings of their own industry' (3:12). Attempts to educate some Aboriginal children had been successful and they spoke English, at least in an interlanguage form. One of the greatest successes was a highly intelligent Aboriginal boy who lived with Marsden and spoke English fluently (3:16). Nicolas Baudin, commander of the French scientific expedition that arrived in Sydney in 1802, commented that Aboriginal people had made more progress in the English language than the English had in Aboriginal languages (Horner 1987:260).

The term 'broken English' was first used in NSW to describe the speech of Bennelong (see 2.2.9). In the late 1790s, it was applied to the contact induced register spoken by the Aboriginal population. In 1802, Flinders observed that Bungaree attempted unsuccessfully to use 'broken English' with some Aboriginal people of Sandy Cape in Queensland when he found that he 'did not understand a word of their language' (2:44). George Bond, of the NSW Corp, recounted an incident that occurred before 1803 in which an Aboriginal man from the town of Sydney spoke to some inland Aboriginal people 'in broken English' (2:46). Flinders' and Bond's comments suggest that Aboriginal people were already using NSW Pidgin amongst themselves as a lingua franca. James Grant believed that the soldiers who accompanied his expeditions could speak the Aboriginal language of Sydney. However, his data indicates that they spoke NSW Pidgin. Grant's comments also indicate that the colonists in general relied on NSW Pidgin as the lingua franca for cross-cultural communication.

3.3.1.2 Aboriginal linguistic practices which promoted English borrowings

It was mentioned earlier (2.2.15) that the colonists early discovered that Aboriginal people were excellent mimics able to replicate both speech and mannerisms with great accuracy. Mimicry was an important potential catalyst for borrowings into any

developing contact language and the colonists encouraged the practise (2:10). Some Aboriginal people developed routines which they performed to gain favours from the colonists. For example, Bungaree became a famous Sydney identity for his ability to perform accurate impersonations of the governors (Troy 1993b). In satirising the colonists Aboriginal people may have been attempting to understand their behaviour as for example in the imitation of the colonists' religious rituals.

> The young people who resided in our houses were very desirous of going to church on Sundays, but knew not for what purpose we attended. I have often seen them take a book, and with much success imitate the clergyman in his manner (for better and readier mimics can no where be found), laughing and enjoying the applause which they received. (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:455)

In the last chapter (2.2.6.3) it was also noted that Aboriginal people who became closely acquainted with the colonists habitually traded names with their particular friends or gave them an Aboriginal kin name such as 'father'. Although the phenomenon was one of the processes of language contact it is difficult to assess any possible contribution name exchanging may have made to the development of NSW Pidgin. However, it is very likely that some lexical borrowings were facilitated by the process. Certainly, name exchanging as a process of incorporation confirmed the intimacy of relationships between Aboriginal people and the colonists. Malaspina noted, in 1793, that 'they are appreciative enough to those who treat them well, and one of their greatest courtesies is that of exchanging names and they keep them until they are supplied with a new change' (Malaspina 1793b:149). Name changing remained popular throughout the late eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries (2:2). English names became very popular with Aboriginal people. Most of the well known Aboriginal people in Sydney adopted an English name. For example, Gnung-a gnung-a Mur-re-mur-gan became 'Collins' after David Collins, Carradah became 'Midjer Bool' after Mr Ball commander of the *Supply* (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:275) and one man took on the name of a ship 'Willamanan' after the transport *William and Anne* (2:11).

3.3.1.3 Bennelong's letter, 1796

In 1796, Bennelong wrote a chatty letter to Arthur Phillip and his wife in England (2:1). No mention is made in the literature of Bennelong being taught to read and write although his command of English was often praised. He may well have dictated the letter to a scribe. Most of the letter is in standard or slightly non-standard English typical of a second-language learner. However, within the letter are several features, discussed below, which are also characteristic of later NSW Pidgin (as established in Chapters 4 to 7). Bennelong's use of those features suggest that they might have been amongst the core of stabilising features of early NSW Pidgin.

One of the most salient non-standard English features in Bennelong's letter is instability in his use of the use of the verb 'to be' which is also generally absent in NSW Pidgin (see Chapters 4 to 7).

Bennelong used the characteristic NSW Pidgin adverbial **marri** 'very, big, great' for which he or the scribe gave the unique[103] translation 'bad' (9).

(9) *...we have had murry doings...*
We have had bad doings.

Marri was well-known amongst the colonists as a general 'intensifier' in the Sydney language (3.3.1.4) and there is a logical semantic connection in English between 'extreme' and 'bad' which could have suggested the latter translation. It was observed in the last chapter that **marri** was an attested feature of the early contact jargon of Sydney (2.3.4.1).

The data contains a sentence initial negator **not** 'no, not' (10) which in later NSW Pidgin data is occasionally found as an alternative to the more characteristic form **bail** 'no, not'. **Bail** is a borrowing from the Sydney language **biyal** which was a general negator (Troy 1994). In the same sentence (10) Bennelong used cessative **nomo**

[103] I have found no other instances of **marri** translated as 'bad'.

'never again' and the first person subject form **mi** 'I'[104] both of which are very characteristic of NSW Pidgin.

(10) *Not me go to England no more.*
not **mi** **go** **tu** **Ingland** **nomo**
NEG 1SG.S go to England CESS
I will not go to England, never again.

The occurrence of **verigud** 'very good' and the particularly repetitious use of **veriwel** 'very well' (11) are noteworthy because both are very commonly attested interjections in later NSW Pidgin.

(11) *Thank you very good my Lord. very good: hope very well all family. very well.*
Thank you I am very good, my Lord, very good! I hope all the members of your family are very well, very well!

There is also a suggestion in the text that **ol** which is very characteristic of NSW Pidgin was already present in the contact speech both as a plural marker or as a collective article 'all' (11, 12) and as a third person plural pronoun 'they' (13). The last is more tenuous as the sentence is ambiguous and **ol** could also be translated as 'everyone' or 'everything'.

(12) *all my friends alive and well*
My friends are all alive and well.

(13) *hope all are well in England*
I hope they are well in England.

3.3.1.4 Daniel Paine's data, mid 1790s

Daniel Paine arrived in NSW in 1794 to work as the colony's shipwright. He kept a journal of his experiences in which he included an account of the Aboriginal people he knew in Sydney and a small vocabulary of their language (Paine 1983:39-42). An Aboriginal man who slept on the hearth in his home and accompanied him on timber-getting expeditions (White 1796:24) may have been Paine's principal source of

[104]**Mi** is both the subject and object form in NSW Pidgin.

linguistic information. Paine's vocabulary of the Sydney language is very short which suggests that he did very little fieldwork and that the items he collected were in common usage amongst the colonists.

Paine's notes contain three adverbial phrases (14-16) and one nominal (17) each of which make use of the adverbial **marri** 'very, big'.

(14) *muree waree* 'very bad, improper, to abhor'
marri wiri
very bad

(15) *muree-pie* 'to beat hard'
marri paiyi
very beat

(16) *muree ouro* 'to be displeased or angry'
marri uru[105]
very angry

(17) *muree nouee* 'a ship'
marri-nuwi
big-canoe

Paine also noted that **marri** was a broadly used intensifier in the Sydney language.

> The Comparative and the Superlative Degree are made always in this Language by the addition of Muree Very Good or Muree or Bad, Large Muree Muree Small &c. Bougeree[106] (Paine 1983:42)

The salience of **marri** in the Sydney language and the general usefulness of an intensifier in the development of a contact language would have encouraged its early borrowing into NSW Pidgin. His unfinished comment also contains evidence for the productive use of reduplication for intensification—**marrimarri** which it he seems to have translated as 'large' or 'small'. **Wiri** 'bad', **baiyi-** 'hit, beat' and **marrinuwi** 'ship' were also noted as features of the contact jargon (2.4).

---

[105]**Uru** is not cited by any other source for the Sydney language, it is likely to be Paine's version of the Sydney language item **gulara** 'angry' (Troy 1994).
[106]The item **budjari** 'good' he adds without comment or translation. However, he may have intended **marri budjari** 'very good!' which established itself as a very common interjection in NSW Pidgin.

3.3.1.5 'George Barrington's' data, 1795

There is a little linguistic evidence relevant to this chapter in a publication which was purported to have been written by the 'gentleman' convict George Barrington (Barrington 1795b). A number of hack writers in England capitalised on Barrington's notoriety in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. They wrote books and published them under his name. Authorities on Australian literature have thoroughly investigated the provenance of the publications. They have all arrived at the conclusion that Barrington could not have contributed to any publication other than a 1795 (Barrington 1795b) volume and even that is doubtful.

> There is little doubt that Barrington had no connection whatever with the publications...except, possibly, to a slight extent with *A Voyage to New South Wales*, published London 1795, with a dedication written (allegedly) at Parramatta in 1793. His name was used by literary hacks to help sell their chap-books, and Barrington is said to have expressed indignation at the liberties taken. (Ferguson 1930:52)

Although Barrington may have had only slight involvement with the book the author must have composed the book using contemporary sources of information, either published or obtained from people repatriating from the colony. There is a little linguistic data of interest to this study in the book (2:2-4). The data is consistent with information given in other sources. An interjection from an Aboriginal language is offered for 'thank you'—**didjarigu** (2:3). However, in the absence of further data no conclusions can be drawn about the item's use as part of the developing contact language. The most significant piece of data provides further evidence for the use of the very characteristic NSW Pidgin adjective **budjari** 'good' (18).

(18) Boojerie Palerino, Boojerie George, Good Palerino, good George. (2:4).

The item is used elsewhere in the book in a reduplicated form, **bujdaribudjari** 'very good' (2:4), which intensifies the meaning. It is further evidence that reduplication was established very early as one of the productive processes of NSW Pidgin.

3.3.1.6 James Grant's data, 1801

James Grant was commander of the brig *Lady Nelson*, a ship of innovative design which arrived in NSW in December 1800 for the purposes of coastal survey work. In early 1801, Grant explored the area from Sydney town to Pittwater in the company of military and Aboriginal guides[107]. In the absence of the government's marine surveyor, Mathew Flinders, Governor King appointed Grant to make a general survey of the south coast. He undertook the work between March and May, 1801 (*AE*, vol. 4: 60-61). On his return, King commanded Grant to sail the *Lady Nelson*, with Lt Colonel Paterson on board and in the company of the brig *Francis*, to the Hunter River. He was to explore the area, collect a load of coal and assess the deposits for their export potential. Grant was no surveyor and found the constant criticism he received unbearable. Therefore, in August 1801, he resigned his commission and in November left the colony to return to England (Paul 1982:39).

Grant later published his memoirs of NSW and included some comment on the Aboriginal people he had encountered. There are two precious two texts in his book and some lexical information which are the first hard linguistic evidence for NSW Pidgin. They are taken as evidence for the pidgin because they are so much in agreement with later evidence for NSW Pidgin presented in Chapters 4 to 7.

Grant made no distinction between the pidgin spoken in Sydney and the local Aboriginal language. A combination of lack of awareness of linguistic issues and his short stay in the colony could be blamed for his naivety. He was convinced that the soldiers on his expeditions could speak Aboriginal languages (2:26, 28). However, the evidence he provided for languages spoken by the Aboriginal people he encountered demonstrated that they were actually speaking NSW Pidgin.

---

[107]Probably Euranabie and Worogan who accompanied him to Jervis' Bay, see below.

The first NSW Pidgin text (19) was attributed to an Aboriginal man from Pittwater (2:28).

(19) *You know me murrey jarrin, that is, much afraid.* (2:28)
yuno **mi** **marri** **jaran**
INTJ 1SG.S very afraid
You know, I am very afraid.

All the lexical items in the sentence are well attested in the lexicon for NSW Pidgin (Appendix 21). It was observed above that **marri** 'very, big' and **mi** 'I' were already well attested in the contact induced speech of Sydney. **Jaran** 'fear, afraid'[108] was a borrowing from the Sydney language—**dyirun** 'fear, coward'. **Yuno** was a very popular NSW Pidgin interjection. The language mixing in this sentence and its deviance from what is predictable in terms of either English or the Sydney language means that this sentence must be interpreted as contact induced. Its predictability in terms of the later data for NSW Pidgin allows it to be admitted as the earliest unambiguous evidence for that language.

The only other connected speech recorded by Grant was a short utterance attributed to one of his Aboriginal guides from Sydney (20). It is noteworthy because it contains the first attestation of negator **no** 'no, not' and of the item **blakfela**[109] 'Aboriginal person' both of which are well attested in the lexicon for NSW Pidgin (Appendix 21).

(20) *no black fellow* (2:29)
no **blakfela**
NEG Aboriginal person
Not an Aboriginal person.

---

[108]The item was also used by Collins in a manner which suggests it had general currency amongst the colonists by the mid 1790s (2:11).

[109] It is tempting to claim that this is the first attestation for the NSW Pidgin nominalising suffix **-fela**. However, in the absence of any other examples of items nominalised with **-fela** from this period it is more likely that the item is simply a borrowing from English slang. *Black fellow* is attested in the speech of English-speaking people who had spent time in India and was used to refer to dark-skinned people usually of non-European stock (Yule 1903:98). There were many people in the colony of NSW from both service and civilian backgrounds who had spent time in India.

Further early lexical and anecdotal evidence for NSW Pidgin is found in Grant's account of his sojourn at Jervis' Bay on the southern coast of NSW. He had an Aboriginal couple from Sydney, Euranabie and Worogan, with his party as ambassadors and translators. Although Grant claimed the couple spoke English, the evidence suggests they spoke NSW Pidgin often embellished with gesture when words failed (2:35). Grant also claimed that members of his party 'understood the Sydney dialect' and 'could speak the Sydney language' which, once again appears to have been NSW Pidgin (2:35, 36). He used those people in his attempts to communicate with the Jervis' Bay people (2:36). Grant himself seemed to rely heavily on gestural communication, but gave no description of those gestures in his writings (2:32, 36).

On his arrival in Jervis' Bay, Grant sent the first-mate to 'look out for a proper place to anchor in' (Grant 1803:105). He returned in the company of a local Aboriginal man who, from his familiarity with a few English words and the ease with which he approached the colonists, Grant believed 'had had frequent communications with our countrymen before' (2:32). The words the man knew were 'blanket' and 'woman' which he repeated. Grant suspected that sailors calling in along the coast had bartered their blankets for the services of Aboriginal women (2:32, 36). Grant also observed that the Sydney people had difficulty communicating with the Jervis' Bay man.

The people he met in the Jervis' Bay area in general seemed to have been familiar with the colonists probably through information communicated along Aboriginal networks and contacts with passing ships that called in along the coast. For example, the men asked to have their faces shaved which suggests familiarity with the habits of the colonists (2:33). In conversing with Euranabie the people used 'many words which seemed to resemble the Sydney dialect' (2:34). Grant only gave two examples—**bail** 'no' and **man** 'to take away or carry off' but added immediately after

wodi 'club'. The items are all from the Sydney language but are also very well attested in the lexicon of NSW Pidgin (Appendix 21). However, he also noted that Euranabie used the items **pata** 'eat' (2:34) and **tamboldaun** 'die, wreck' (2:35) from English 'to tumble down' which are again very well attested in NSW Pidgin.

Mathew Flinders also found that Aboriginal people at Port Hacking south of Sydney spoke a different 'dialect' to that of the people at Port Jackson. However, assisted by gesture, he and his crew were able to communicate with the people (2:8). The evidence suggests that as the south coast was on the route taken by many ships visiting the colony, especially those engaging in whaling and fishing the Aboriginal people in the area were becoming acquainted with the culture of the colonists and the contact language in use in the Sydney district.

On his trip north to the Hunter district Grant and his new ambassador and translator, Bungaree, had less success communicating with the local people. However, near the entrance to the Hunter River the party encountered an Aboriginal man who used the English phrase *whale boat* and the NSW Pidgin phrase **budjari Dik** 'good Dick'[110] (2:40). Neither Bungaree nor the colonists 'acquainted with the language spoken by the natives round Sydney' were able to communicate very effectively with the man. He evidently did not have any command of NSW Pidgin or the Aboriginal languages known to Bungaree. The northern people at the time of Grant's expedition had experienced only limited direct contact with the colonists. The north coast was not on the sea route and was only visited by a few official expeditions, small work parties sent to the district for coal and the occasional runaway convict. Therefore, it is not surprising that the northern people were less familiar with the Sydney contact language than were the south coasters.

---

[110]Grant suspected that the last was a name given to the man by the exploring party led by Captain Reid who had accidentally found the entrance to Lake Macquarie and which came to be known as Reid's mistake (Clouten 1967:12).

At the Hunter River, Grants' party also met up with an elderly Aboriginal man 'of the class termed here, Bush natives, who are considered as an inferior tribe by the inhabitants of the sea coast' (Grant 1803:156-57). Although Grant and his party had no success using verbal communication with the man he readily followed them onto their ship. Grant observed that 'his language was unintelligible to all on board, and the sounds he uttered strangely dissonant and uncouth, having, however, something plaintive, but without the least similitude to speech' (Grant 1803:157). However, they employed gestural communication with success and the man was able to indicate that the only thing he wanted from the party was to eat a crow which they had shot. On leaving the ship Colonel Paterson gave him a tomahawk which he did not name but demonstrated to them his skill in using it to climb a tree (Grant 1803:157-58). Paterson, who had been in the colony for some time, told Grant that 'he had never met with a native who differed so widely from the rest of the New Hollanders' (Grant 1803:158). Grant was prompted to comment on the limited general knowledge the colonists had obtained of the country and its peoples (Grant 1803:158).

As they explored up the river, Grant found Aboriginal canoes in which they left some biscuits. At the campsites they came upon, Grant noticed evidence that the people ate 'cabra'[111] or shipworm (Grant 1803:163). During another encounter with some local people an elderly man looked at them 'earnestly' on which a man from Grant's party 'called to him in his own language to stop, which he appeared well inclined to do'. The man initially threatened the party with his fish harpoon which Grant observed was generally called the *muton*[112]. However, as soon as they landed and the man could see they were unarmed he approached the party. To Grant's surprise he addressed him as the leader, and took off the possum fur net that was around his head and bound it around Grant's. Grant reciprocated by binding his handkerchief around the man's head which seemed to please him. He accepted an

---

[111]The **gabara** was already noted in the Sydney language (Troy 1994).
[112]The **muding** was also noted in the Sydney language (Troy 1994).

invitation to board the boat where his lack of familiarity with the colonists became most evident. He did not know about guns, was surprised by everything on the ship and stuck close to Grant. When he was given a tomahawk Grant finally learnt their word for 'hatchet'—*mogo*[113] which was also applied to their stone hatchets. The man also 'endeavoured to repeat' the colonists 'words' (Grant 1803:169).

The casual use Grant made of individual lexical items from the Sydney language suggests that those items were in general use and can therefore be included in the lexical set for NSW Pidgin of this time. The items were:- **gunya** 'house, habitation' (2:31, 39), **gibagunya** 'a cave, literally a hut or house of the rock' (2:25) from compounding **giba** 'rock' with **gunya, wumara** 'spear thrower' (2:35), **wodi** 'club' (2:34) and **bogil** 'the devil or an evil spirit' (2:28). Grant's observation that bread and biscuit had become very popular with the Aboriginal community in general suggests that the items were also part of the lexicon of early NSW Pidgin (2:30, 31). 'Bread' was earlier attested in the jargon of Sydney (Table 1) and the Spanish visitors, in 1793, commented on their liking for biscuit (3.3.1.1).

Grant observed that it seemed to him and to other colonists that the Aboriginal people of Sydney had difficulty communicating with people of the south and north coasts. Bungaree, for example, was not successful in his attempts at communication with the north coasters and Euranabie and Worogan could communicate with the people of Pittwater but had some difficulty with the south coasters. However, the colonists were even less successful than the Sydney Aboriginal people in communicating with Aboriginal people outside the district. By 1801, the south coast people had some knowledge of the colonists and NSW Pidgin but the north coasters were almost unaware of the colonists' existance.

---

[113]The **mugu** was also noted in the Sydney language (Troy 1994) and was apparent in the contact jargon of Sydney (6).

3.3.1.7 Conclusions about NSW Pidgin: 1793-1804

Aside from the very small amount of data in Bennelong's letter of 1796, the linguistic data in Grant's account is the earliest which is clearly recognisable as pidgin. The paucity of linguistic data for this period allows for few conclusions about stabilised features of NSW Pidgin at this date. However, some forms which showed incipient stability in the Sydney contact jargon discussed in Chapter 2 show definite stabilisation during this period. Therefore, the evidence suggests that during this period the contact jargon of Sydney had begun its transformation into early NSW Pidgin.

The best attested and therefore most stable item in the data is the adverbial **marri** 'very, big'. The adjective **budjari** 'good' and first singular subject **mi** 'I' also appear to be established. There is an indication that early NSW Pidgin had SVO word order. Slight evidence suggests that **ol** 'all' (and possibly 'third person plural pronoun') was established. A cessative **nomo** and two negatives **no** and **not** were in evidence, while the very characteristic NSW Pidgin negative **bail** was attested in isolation. Reduplication which is a productive process in later NSW Pidgin appears in the data as a process that intensifies meaning. Table 3 summarises the recoverable lexicon for NSW Pidgin in use by the late eighteenth century[114].

TABLE 3: ***NSW Pidgin lexical items, late eighteenth century to 1804***

ITEM	MEANING	LEXICAL SOURCE
bail	no	Sydney language
bred	bread	English
blakfela	Aboriginal person	English slang
bogil	devil, evil spirit	?
bisket, beriguet	biscuit	English
budjari	good	Sydney language
budjaribudjari	very good, excellent	NSW Pidgin
jaran	afraid	Sydney language
gabara	teredo or ship worm	Sydney language
gibagunya	cave, rock house	Sydney language
gunya	house, artificial shelter	Sydney language
man	take or carry away	Sydney language

[114]During this period, through their contact with the inland people the colonists also became acquainted with a new animal and its name 'wombat' (2:9, 16, 17, 18).

marri	very, big	Sydney language
marrimarri	large, small	NSW Pidgin
marrinuwi	ship	NSW Pidgin
marri wiri	very bad, improper, to abhor	NSW Pidgin
muding	fish harpoon	Sydney language
mi	I, me	English
mogo	tomahawk	Sydney language
no	no, not	English
nomo	never again	English
not	no, not	English
ol	all, they	English
paiyi	beat	Sydney language
pata	eat	Sydney language
tamboldaun	wreck, break	NSW Pidgin
verigud	very good!	English
veriwel	very well!	English
wiri	bad	Sydney language
wombat	wombat	Sydney language (inland)
wodi	club	Sydney language
yuno	you know!	English

There is also a little evidence which provides some insight into Aboriginal pronunciation of English borrowings into NSW Pidgin. Collins observed that English names were 'corrupted by their pronunciation' and particularly noted that Aboriginal people 'could never pronounce the letters f or s' they were transformed to 'b' and 'dj' (he used 'dg') respectively (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:275; 2:22). Malaspina suggested that Aboriginal people devoiced velars—'they speak the English Language but in an imperfect way, softening the Gutterals, and they never pronounce any word strongly' (Malaspina 1793b:149). Both their comments are consistent with the phonological pattern of the Sydney language (Troy 1994).

3.3.2 NSW Pidgin: 1804 to 1830

It was established above that by the turn of the nineteenth century an early form of NSW Pidgin was the lingua franca used between Aboriginal people and colonists in the Sydney district. Furthermore, both colonists and Aboriginal people attempted to use NSW Pidgin when they met new groups of Aboriginal people. Through their attempts, at least a little knowledge of NSW Pidgin spread beyond the confines of the Cumberland Plain. In 1804, when the colony of Newcastle was established the early NSW Pidgin of Sydney was introduced to the area by both colonists and some

Sydney Aboriginal people who followed the new settlement. Unfortunately, there is only a little NSW Pidgin data for the period between 1804 and 1820 and none of it is provenanced to the north or the south coast settlements. However, the data discussed below do confirm that NSW Pidgin was well established by the first decade of the nineteenth century and was in the process of stabilising and expanding.

3.3.2.1 Anecdotal comment

In 1804, an article in the *Sydney Gazette* claimed that Aboriginal people 'by long intercourse...have acquired so much of our language as to understand and be understood' (3:55). People in regular contact with the colonists were admired for their 'wonderful facility...in acquiring the English Language' and their great powers of mimicry (3:21). In 1810, Joseph Arnold, a collector of curios, wrote that 'we can only get things cheap from the savages, who bring coral shells, etc. and are glad to take old cloaths, biscuits, or wine, for them. We often also take one or two of these fellows with us into the woods and make them carry our things, for they will do anything for rum. ...Most of them who live around Sidney speak good English as we do' (Arnold 1810).

In 1814, a Russian sailor, Rossiysky, found that he was able to communicate quite well with the Aboriginal people of Sydney although gesture played a significant role in the interactions (3:22, 23). He noticed that the people 'repeated many times words that they had learned from the English: "How do you do?" and "Very Well"'. In 1820, another Russian, Bellingshausen, wrote that the Aboriginal people of Sydney 'made themselves understood in a mutilated English' and affected English mannerisms such as bowing and smiling (3:26). He later commented that all the Aboriginal people who live 'in the vicinity of towns, and of Sydney in particular, can speak a little English'. He gave, as an example, sentences which had been learnt by Aboriginal

people in full which were used to beg alms from the colonists—'Give me money', 'won't you give me a guinea/a dump?'[115] (3:37).

Also in 1820, yet another Russian, Simonov, wrote that Burra Burra of Sydney 'praised the beauties of his native land, pronouncing each word incorrectly and poorly' (3:43). Simonov and another observer also noted that the famous Bungaree spoke a 'broken English dialect' (3:48, 4:10). However, although Simonov recorded a conversation he had with Bungaree the data is at best slightly non-standard English (3:48-49). Simonov also noted that Aboriginal people were aware that all skippers of ships were given the polite title 'captain'. So, Bungaree introduced his friend to the Russians as 'Captain Bellau...because Bellau had his own insignificant boat' (3:48). He also noted that Aboriginal people often worked for the tavern-keepers for what they called 'bull' which was the first washing from a cask of spirits (3:36). Working at the taverns would have exposed Aboriginal people to a wide variety of English dialects and other languages used in the colony or by visitors.

In 1824, Rev Daniel Tyerman and George Bennett observed that Aboriginal people around the settlements 'picked up a few phrases of English' which they used to communicate 'backward and forward' with their casual employers (4:3). However, they also claimed that the English spoken by Aboriginal people was no better than could be achieved by animals if they could speak. Their comment suggests that the communication was very direct and simple.

In 1825, Field commented that Aboriginal people were active participators in the social life of Sydney. He called them the 'Will Wimbles of the colony...the carriers of news and fish...the gossips of the town...the loungers on the quay' (4:6). He claimed that they knew everybody and treated the colonists as equals and expected the same in

---

[115]A dump was the centre out of the Spanish dollars which were used by Macquarie to make the colony's first local currency.

return. They had learnt all the appropriate greetings the 'How-d'ye-do's' which they delivered with 'friendliness and equality'. He believed that Aboriginal people did not feel the kind of inequality and inferiority to Europeans fostered, for example, by West Indian slavery and European oppression in the Pacific and New Zealand. He said that Aboriginal people spoke with 'a perfect English accent undebased by the Massa's and Missies, and me-nos's of West Indian slavery'. Field's comment seems to suggest that none of the contact language speech he had experienced elsewhere in the world was present in NSW.

However, it is demonstrated below that the items **massa** 'master' and **misis** 'missus' were present in NSW Pidgin of the time. Therefore, it is likely that Field simply meant that Aboriginal people did not appear to defer to the colonists in the way that he had seen other oppressed people behave. He further claimed that the society kept the colonists and Aboriginal people socially separate preventing the development of a 'class of creoles in Australia' (4:6). However, Field also noted that Aboriginal people spoke a 'broken' language, 'polluting' their 'native tongue' with 'broken English words of scurrility and execration' (4:5). In 1826, Marsden similarly complained that the language of the Aboriginal population was being ruined by their contact with the 'corrupt language of a vile polluted population who have ever taken Satanic pleasure in rendering the Aborgines more viciated and degraded' (4:8).

In 1827, Peter Cunningham wrote that 'all the natives round Sydney understand English well, and speak it too, so as to be understood by residents'. He also found that they had acquired an excellent command of English terms of execration—'the Billingsgate slang[116] they certainly have acquired in perfection, and no white need think of competing with them in abuse or hard swearing' (4:17). He noted that

[116]Billingsgate was the fish market in London which was famous for rough and rude language (*OED*). The Aboriginal population of Sydney had plenty of exposure to the slang of London (4:38).

Aboriginal people had learnt stock English sentences for soliciting alms from colonists (4:19) and were expert mimics (4:20).

By the 1820s, the Aboriginal people of Sydney were making a significant linguistic shift replacing their vernacular language with NSW Pidgin and to some degree English. In 1826, Marsden observed that many of the Aboriginal people living 'in or near' the 'principal towns and settlements' through being 'brought up in the midst of the Europeans from their infancy' had a good command of English (4:8). In his recommendations for missionising the Aboriginal people he commented that the speakers of the Sydney Language were so reduced that it would be 'an unnecessary trouble' to attempt to use the language to propagate Christianity. He also noted that the Aboriginal people of Sydney had acquired such an ability to understand English that it obviated the need to study their vernacular.

However, while some Aboriginal people had an impressive command of English, NSW Pidgin was firmly established as the lingua franca for cross-cultural communication in the colony, by the 1820s.

> 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 ellipsis 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. (Mansfield 1828c:356)

Mansfield's remark suggests that there was considerable input to NSW Pidgin from 'slang' English and from contact languages known to the colonists which were used in countries where non-English-speaking slaves and servants such as 'negroes and mounseers'[117] were employed. Borrowings from slang and colloquial English into NSW Pidgin in this period are evident in the data. However, aside from the items **pikanini** 'baby, child' and **massa** 'master', both discussed below, there are no other

[117]*Negroes* refers to slaves of African origin. *Mounseers* can be read as a slang form for 'mousiers' or French people (*OED*). However, it is more likely that Mansfield intended *moonshee* 'an Indian secretary or language teacher' (*OED*) which was a word borrowed into the speech of the British colonial population in India. Many English people who had spent time in India visited or settled in Australia. Therefore, the word could easily have been part of early Australian English.

features of NSW Pidgin of this period which can be directly attributed to other contact languages. Influences on NSW Pidgin from the colonists' experiences elsewhere are certain to have been important in the creation of the language. However, the paucity of colonial African, Indian or American lexical input to NSW Pidgin suggests a largely local genesis.

3.3.2.2 Joseph Holt's Sydney data, 1800-1812

Joseph Holt, provided a little evidence for NSW Pidgin in the first decade of the nineteenth century. He was an Irish political prisoner exiled to NSW where he remained from 1800 until 1812 when he returned to Ireland. In about 1818 he began to write his memoirs, probably using notes made while he was in NSW (O'Shaughnessy 1988:25). He wrote about the Aboriginal people with whom he and his associates were familiar and made some language notes (3:1-9) including a wordlist (3:6).

Holt recorded several examples of the adverb **marri** 'very, big' (21-26). He also recorded a new adjective form, **kabon** 'big' (3:6). **Kabon** is well attested in later NSW Pidgin as both an adjective and an adverb. It was a borrowing from the Sydney language item **gabun** 'big' which was only recorded by Rev Henry Fulton[118] (n.d.; 1896). In the later pidgin **kabon** and **marri** were often used interchangeably or together for emphasis.

---

[118]The remarkable discovery of a manuscript wordlist for the Sydney language written by Henry Fulton at the turn of the nineteenth century was made by Lois Carrington during her historical researches in 1982. She painstakingly deciphered the manuscript which had been spiralled out by Fulton so that he could reuse the notebook as a register for births deaths and marriages while he was a chaplain on Norfolk Island. I am indebted to Lois for lending me her copy of the manuscript which is the only early clue to the provenance of this item. The item appears again on a published wordlist from 1896, attributed to H. Fullow who must have been Fulton as it was written on Norfolk Island in 1801 which was Fulton's first year on the island. A note to the published list claims it was collected from Aboriginal people on Norfolk Island. Fulton may have used Aboriginal convicts on Norfolk Island as his source. However, it is unlikely as there are no documented cases of Aboriginal convicts on Norfolk Island before mid 1805 and the language notes in his manuscript had probably been spiralled out for reuse prior to that date. It is likely that he made his notes while he was chaplain at the Hawkesbury settlement before being sent to Norfolk Island. Fulton arrived in Australia with his wife in January 1800 as a political prisoner from Ireland. He was conditionally pardoned in November and was sent to Norfolk Island in February 1801. On his voyage to Australia he shared a cabin with Joseph Holt and they maintained their contact in New South Wales (*AE*, vol. 4, p. 231). There may be some connection between both Holt's and Fulton's recording of **kabon**. It may also have been an inland word which entered NSW Pidgin and by the time of Fulton's writing had become part of the speech of all Aboriginal people of Sydney and thereby was included on his list.

(21) *murray gunrin...afraid* (3:6)
marri **jaran**
very afraid

(22) *murry buggury...very good* (3:6)
marri **budjari**
very good

(23) *murray wiren...very bad* (3:6)
marri **wiri**
very bad

(24) *murry garna...much offended* (3:6)
marri **garna**[119]
very offend

(25) *murry tat tat* (3:5)
marri **tat tat**[120]
very ?

(26) *murry devil* (3:3)
marri **debil**
big devil

Holt also recorded the first attestation of an item which is very characteristic of later NSW Pidgin of the Port Phillip area (see Appendix 21)—**neimyu** 'to be named, called or known as' (27).

(27) *'Name you are miel'—that is to say 'a stranger'.* (3:1)
neimyu **maiol**
called stranger

The lexical items Holt listed separately were commonly used by Aboriginal people in speaking to colonists. They are likely to have formed part of the core vocabulary of early NSW Pidgin. However, two items, *ogibragge* 'father' (3:6) and *poisauna* 'mother' (3:6), are not attested elsewhere and are therefore not included on the NSW Pidgin wordlist posited from Holt's notes (Table 4). He also gave a unique translation for **paiala**—'to spear' which is elsewhere always translated as 'to speak, talk or tell'. Holt probably confused the item with the Sydney language item **bayi-** 'to beat or hit' (Troy 1994).

---

[119]**Garna** was not cited by any other sources for the Sydney language, but, is probably an idiosyncratic variation of the item **gulara** 'angry'.
[120]**Tat tat** was used in a directional context.

TABLE 4: NSW Pidgin wordlist 1800-1817[121]

ITEM	SYDNEY[122]	MEANING	REF
bail	*biyal*	no, 'never fear!'	(3:5)
biana	*biyana*	honorary father	(3:10)
blak		Aboriginal	(3:8)
blak karadji	*garadji*	Aboriginal doctor	(3:8)
blakman		Aboriginal person	(3:11)
budjari	*budjari*	good	(3:6)
buruwi	*buruwi*	the clouds	(3:11)
karadji	*garadji*	doctor	(3:8)
garna	*garna*	offended	(3:6)
hilaman	*yilamung*	oval shaped shield	(3:7)
iora	*yura*	Aboriginal people	(3:11)
jaran	*djirun*	afraid	(3:6)
jin	*dyin*	woman	(3:5)
kabon	*gabun*	big	(3:6)
maiol	*mayal*	stranger	(3:1)
marri	*mari*	very	(3:3, 5, 6)
misis		mistress	(3:5)
mogra	*magura*	fish	(3:6)
nalanala	*nalanala*	club (plate-shaped head)	(3:9)
neimyu		named	(3:1)
pata	*bada-*	eat	(3:6)
paiala	*baiya-*	spear (?[123])	(3:5, 6)
pikanini		baby, child	(3:5)
wadi	*wudi*	fighting stick (3 ft long, narrow)	(3:9)
wait		non-Aboriginal	(3:8)
wiri	*wiri*	bad	(3:6)

3.3.2.3 Leigh and Lawry's data 1817-18

In 1815, Reverend Samuel Leigh of the Church Missionary Society arrived in Australia. He was joined in 1817 by his assistant Walter Lawry. They completed a circuit of the colony and its northern outpost Newcastle and in the process met with many Aboriginal people. In his letter to the Society in 1817 Leigh was very disparaging about the state of the Aboriginal people he met and the measures taken by the government for their 'civilisation' (3:53). He also observed that the Aboriginal population was quite sparse, as few as five hundred within the bounds of settlement, and suffered from severe malnutrition. The Aboriginal children at the Government school at Parramatta were making progress in English and could read and write

[121]This table comprises items listed by Holt and an anonymous author (Anon 1808) (3:10, 11).
[122]Sydney Language origin (Troy 1994).
[123]Holt is probably wrong in his translation of this item. **Paiala** always means 'speak' in the later pidgin and is a borrowing from Sydney language **baya-** 'to speak'. The phrase he cited *murry pialla* probably means 'speak sternly to', literally 'big speak' (3:5).

impressively (also noted by another CMS missionary Rowland Hassall (3:58)). Lawry wrote that the adult Aboriginal population were fearful about their children being taken away and incarcerated in the school even though it was supposed to be voluntary (3:59).

Leigh reported a conversation he had with an Aboriginal man in the Sydney district, in 1817, about religious philosophy (3:52). The language used by both Leigh and the Aboriginal man was simplified English which relied very much on gesture to aid communication (Troy 1990:60-61). However, there are aspects of the speech which may reflect some features of NSW Pidgin of the time. Amongst the lexical items in the text are three which were formed by compounding an adjective with 'man'—**blakman** 'Aboriginal person', **waitman** 'non-Aboriginal person' and **inglaman** 'English person'. As in the case of the earlier item 'fellow' it is tempting to analyse 'man' as a nominalising suffix **-man** but the logical process would have been a direct borrowing from English. In 1818, Lawry also recorded a sentence which contained **blakman** 'Aboriginal person' (3:59). Leigh noted *Engla* (**ingla**) 'England' as a separate item which may also have been part of the lexicon of NSW Pidgin at the time. Lawry noted an item which is a very salient part of the lexicon for NSW Pidgin (see Appendix 21) **debil** 'devil, evil spirit' (3:60).

Another possible influence from NSW Pidgin was Leigh's use of **no** and **not** which were noted above as general negators in the pidgin. Lawry recorded **nebanomo** 'never ever again' (28) which is a new variation on the earlier attested cessative **nomo** 'never again (4.3.2.3). The item is also reduplicated for emphasis.

(28) *When black man die never no more, 'never no more'.* (3:59)

wen	**blakman**	**dai**	**nebanomo**	**nebanomo**
when	Aboriginal person	die	CESS	REDUP

When an Aboriginal person/people die they are definitely gone for ever.

3.3.2.4 The northern district

The data discussed here is confined to the Hunter River district focussing on Newcastle. The Port Stephens district, further north, which was first settled in the 1820s is dealt with separately in Chapter 4. The data discussed below demonstrate that by the early 1820s Aboriginal people in the district spoke NSW Pidgin.

Anecdotal evidence discussed above (see 3.3.2.1) suggests that the penal colony at Newcastle provided the right social environment for the introduction of NSW Pidgin to the area. However, there is no data for the earliest period of northern settlement. The manuscript of Thomas Skottowe, who was Commandant of Newcastle from 1811 to 1814, contains further evidence that local Aboriginal people interacted socially with the colonists (Skottowe 1988; Bonyhady 1988). Skottowe collected Aboriginal artefacts for illustration by the convict artist Richard Browne for a manuscript Skottowe was preparing. He gave the artefacts what he thought were local names. However, although the artefacts almost certainly had a local designation he gave some of them a Sydney name—the **muding** 'mooting or fish gig', **gamai** 'camoy or spears', **yilimung** 'hylliman or shield', **wumara** 'wamra or throwing stick', **wudi** 'waddy or battle club' and **wumarang** 'wamering thrown to disperse a croud [sic]' (Bonnyhady 1988:71). Therefore, Skottowe's labels were either borrowed into the local language through language contact or Skottowe simply used the labels he was familiar with from Sydney. Skottowe also used the Sydney word **dingu** 'native dog' (Skottowe 1988:60). Some of the Aboriginal people he named also appeared in texts from the 1820s as local identities who were very involved with the colonists on the north coast.

The main body of the data discussed in this section comes from the writings of Threlkeld whose mission to the Aboriginal people of the area is discussed above (see 3.2.2.1). He recorded data in the Newcastle and Lake Macquarie districts, between 1825 and 1841, some of which was later published in the 1850s. There are four other less rich sources referred to in this section. Rev Daniel Tyerman and George Bennet

investigated the Newcastle district, in 1824, on behalf of the London Missionary Society. The Wesleyan Missionary, Rev Ralph Mansfield published many accounts of NSW and often wrote about his experiences with Aboriginal people. Peter Cunningham after six years as a surgeon-superintendent on convict transports to NSW took up land in the Hunter district in 1825. In his reminiscences, published in 1827, Cunningham recorded some NSW Pidgin which he attributed to Aboriginal people of the Hunter district with whom he was familiar. Horatio Hale and James Agate of the United States Exploring Expedition who visited the area in 1831 noted some of the speech of Aboriginal people they met.

3.3.2.4.1 Rev Daniel Tyerman and George Bennet's data

Two pieces of data collected by Tyerman and Bennet predate Threlkeld's earliest notes by one year (6:1, 2). They provide further evidence for **kabon** 'big' (29). Their example suggests that it was a substitute for **marri** when used to qualify nominals because the same item was given earlier with **marri** as the qualifier (17).

(29) *kobou noe...large ship* (6:1)
kabon **nuwi**
large ship

The other item they recorded was **debildebil** 'great devil' which is well attested in the lexicon for NSW Pidgin (Appendix 21) and is attested in the Sydney data for this period (Table 6).

3.3.2.4.2 Rev Lancelot Threlkeld's data, 1825 to 1830

Threlkeld spent many years attempting to learn and analyse 'Awabakal' the language of the people in the Newcastle and Lake Macquarie district. He made extensive notes and produced a number of publications detailing his analyses (see References). He ultimately intended to produce Christian literature and teaching materials in the language. However, when Threlkeld arrived in Newcastle, in 1825, NSW Pidgin was already established as the local lingua franca. In his earliest writings, Threlkeld noted conversations he had with speakers of 'broken English' (6:7, 9, 13) as he called

NSW Pidgin. He claimed that NSW Pidgin was simply a collection of 'barbarisms' which had 'crept into use, introduced by sailors, stockmen, and others who...paid no attention to the aboriginal tongue'. He believed that the language was the product of linguistic confusion and that both colonists and Aboriginal people spoke it 'under the mistaken idea that each one is conversing in the other's language' (6:3).

Threlkeld was convinced that the colonists were principally to blame for NSW Pidgin through their teaching Aboriginal people 'barbarisms' instead of standard English. Aboriginal people then perpetuated what they had learnt 'under the impression that they...[were] speaking elegantly and correctly, unconscious that they...[were] murdering the Queen's English' (6:22). In later years, Threlkeld bitterly attacked the erosion of Awabakal which he claimed was a direct result of language contact. The demise of Awabakal obviated Threlkeld's years of study of the language.

The substantial command Threlkeld gained of Awabakal was principally facilitated by his excellent teacher, Biraban (also known as M'Gill). Biraban, was generally reported to have an excellent command of English. His speech as recorded by Threlkeld (6:18) was close to standard English, but contained several features which may be the result of NSW Pidgin influence. Most noticeable is a possible use of the NSW Pidgin transitiviser **-im** (30). However, the sentence in which the item occurs is ambiguous and **-im** may also be interpreted as the pronoun 'them'.

(30) ...they would not believe, you know, what I tell 'em... (6:18)

The instability evident in Biraban's use of English tense forms could be attributed to either the NSW Pidgin preference for present tense forms or second language learner's speech. Biraban repeatedly used the previously attested and very salient NSW Pidgin form **yuno** 'you know'. He also used the form *ax* for 'ask' which was introduced to Australian English through Irish English (Troy 1991).

Other data recorded by Threlkeld is more revealing and contains evidence for several features that are characteristic of later NSW Pidgin. The features are likely to have been stabilised in the pidgin by the mid 1820s because most are also in evidence in the data collected by Dawson at Port Stephens (see Chapter 4).

Threlkeld's data contain a definite article **de** 'the' (31) and two indefinite articles **wan** 'a, an' (32) and **a** 'a' (41) although they are each only attested once. **De** and **a** are common in the data from Port Stephens and elsewhere in NSW. **Wan** is not attested again as an article but is used as a number which suggests that it might be ambiguous in this context and mean 'one'.

(31) *What for you so, stupid, look at the blood!* (6:26) (1825-26)

wotfo	**yu**	**so**	**stupid**	**lukat**	**de**	**blad**
why	2SG	so	stupid	look at	DEF	blood

Why are you so stupid, look at the blood!

(32) ...long while ago one Black fellow threw the vermin from his head... (6:7) (1825)

wan	**blakfela**
INDEF	Aboriginal person

an Aboriginal person

The data also suggest that the characteristic NSW Pidgin nominaliser **-fela** had made its appearance as a productive suffix by this time. In Threlkeld's data **-fela** is not limited to obvious borrowings from English but has begun to be suffixed to adjectives to create new nouns. The familiar form **blakfela** 'Aboriginal person' (32) is joined by a companion form **waitfela** 'non-Aboriginal person' (33) which a contemporary observer claimed was an innovation by Aboriginal speakers (see below 3.3.2.4.3).

(33) *white fellow come* (6:9) (1825)

waitfela	**kam**
non-Aboriginal person	come

A non-Aboriginal person will come.

Another form **stupidfela** 'stupid person' (34) is also present in an unnominalised form (34) which is good evidence for the productive use of **-fela**.

(34) *What for you so stupid, you very stupid fellow.* (6:25) (1825-26)
wotfo **yu** **so** **stupid** **yu** **veri** **stupid-fela**
why 2SG.S so stupid 2SG.S very stupid-NOM
Why are you so stupid, you are a very stupid person.

Further evidence for the productive use of **-fela** is found in the item **datfela** 'that person' (35) where **-fela** creates a demonstrative pronoun.

(35) *...shoot that fellow...* (6:20) (1828)
shut **dat-fela**
shoot that-NOM
Shoot that person.

The demonstrative article **dat** 'that' is used when the referent is not human (36), which suggests that in its developmental stage the suffix **-fela** was used with human referents. Both forms are well attested in data from the same period at Port Stephens (Chapter 4).

(36) *Massa, that rum* (6:31) (1825-26)
massa **dat** **ram**
master 3SG.DEM rum
Master is that rum?

The established NSW Pidgin first person subject pronoun **mi** 'I' (37, 41, 42) was used exclusively in the speech of Aboriginal people other than Biraban (30). The only other pronoun in evidence is second person pronoun **yu** 'you' (44, 49, 48).

Adverbial **marri** 'very' is also well attested in the data (37). However, it alternates with the English borrowings **veri** 'very' (38) and **so** 'so' (34).

(37) *Rum merry good, me mery drunk...* (6:31) (1825-26)
ram **marri** **gud** **mi** **marri** **drank**
rum very good 1SG.S very drunk
Rum is very good, I am very drunk.

(38) *...very hungry...* (6:24) (1825-26)

Threlkeld also recorded a number of previously unattested NSW Pidgin features—adverbial **mos** 'almost' (39), preposition **olteseimaz** 'like' (40) and its variant **laik** 'like' (41) and a general quantifier **plenti** 'many' (56).

(39) *...beat and most killed...* (6:12) (1826)
beat and almost killed

(40) *Oh! all the same as oyster to you, and just as nice!* (6:33) (1825-26)
Oh its like an oyster to you and just as nice!

(41) *...me drunk like a gemmen!* (6:31) (1825-26)
I am drunk like a gentleman[124].

The negators in Threlkeld's data are the previously attested **bail** 'no, not' used sentence initially (42) and **no/not** 'no, not' used in variable positions (43, 44).

(42) *Bale me hungry; me merry tired.* (6:30) (1825-26)

bail	**mi**	**hangri**	**mi**	**marri**	**taid**
not	1SG.S	hungry	1SG.S	very	tired

I am not hungry, I am very tired.

(43) *...massa, you know black fellow no tell lies!* (6:10) (1825)
Master, you know Aboriginal people don't tell lies.

(44) *No, you come massa and see it, not long, come now...* (6:10) (1825)
No, you come master and see it, it won't be long, come now.

The data exhibits a tendency to have zero directionals, for example, the absence of 'to' (43). The characteristic NSW Pidgin locative **long** or **longa** is absent from Threlkeld's data (45) although it is present in the contemporaneous Port Stephens data (Chapter 4). Threlkeld did, however, use locationals such as **hia** 'here' (46) and **in** 'in' (56).

(45) *She go England.* (6:19) (1828)
She goes to England.

(46) *Massa! Massa! white fellows here!* (6:34) (1825-26)
Master, master, non-Aboriginal people are here!

The verb 'to be' is generally absent (6:6, 9) as is tense marking on verbs which are usually given in the present tense form. Ideas are linked sequentially with an absence of conjunctions (55), although **and** 'and' is used irregularly (6:10). Number and quantity were indicated with gesture (6:5).

---

[124]Aboriginal people saw so many colonial 'gentlemen' drunk that they believed it was not only socially acceptable but desireable behaviour in people with high social status. They sought to emulate that behaviour.

Threlkeld's data introduces several additional features very characteristic of NSW Pidgin:-

(i) The interrogatives **wotfo** 'why' (34) and **haumeni** 'how many' (47) and the interrogative form of **wen** 'when' is also apparent (48).

(47) *...how many moons?* (6:5) (1825)
How many months?

(48) *Massa when you come?* (6:5) (1825)
Master, when will you come?

(ii) Three verbs—**sitdaun** (49) and **stap** (50) variant forms meaning 'stay or settle' and **jampap** 'to become' (51, 6:3).

(49) *Massa when you come sit down at Reid's Mistake...* (6:6) (1825)
Master, when will you come and stay at Reid's Mistake.

(50) *...two moons were to die...then Massa would come and stop with them.* (6:5) (1825)
Two months were to pass, then master would come and stay with them.

(iii) Two temporals—the indicator of distant time **longwailago** 'a long time ago' (51) and **munz** 'months' (50, 6:6).

(51) *...long while ago one black fellow threw the vermin from his head and they jumped up (for became these things)* (6:7)
A long time ago an Aboriginal person threw the vermin from his head and they rose up as [the sun, the moon and the stars].

(iv) Six interjections are attested in the data—**yuno** 'you know!' (52), **wel** 'well!' (55), **wai** 'why!' (56) and two variations of **gamon** 'nonsense, lies!'—**nogamon** 'no nonsense?' (53), **olgamon** 'all nonsense!' (54) and **o** 'oh!' (57).

(52) *...what you tell me, you know...* (6:8)

(53) *No Gammon massa.* (6:6)
No nonsense, master?

(54) *...all gammon that master had told him about the Creation...* (6:35)
It was all nonsense, what master had told him about the Creation.

(55) *Well, massa! you no believe, you come, you see, you know all about it then...* (6:10)
Well master, if you don't believe, you come and you see and then you will know everything about it.

(56) *Why Massa you eat plenty maggots in cheese.* (6:33)
Why master, you eat plenty of maggots in cheese.

(57) *Oh! merry good merry good, make me merry drunk...* (6:31)
Oh! its very good, very good, makes me very drunk.

(v) **Ol** 'all' which was tentatively posited in the much earlier data from 1796 (3.3.1.3) is attested here as part of the item **olgamon** 'all nonsense!' (54).

(vi) It is also possible that Threlkeld's *all about* 'everything' (55) is an early attestation of the NSW Pidgin form **olabaut** 'all, everything'.

In 1834, Threlkeld detailed a wordlist of twenty six items which he wrote were the most commonly used 'barbarisms' forming part of a mixed language in use between colonists and Aboriginal people as a lingua franca (6:3, Table 5). His comments suggest that the items were part of the core vocabulary for NSW Pidgin, at least in the Newcastle area. John Fraser, who edited a collected volume of Threlkeld's linguistic writings in the late nineteenth century (Fraser 1892), observed that many of the items on the list were borrowings from Aboriginal languages (6:4). Most of the items were borrowed from the Sydney language. However there is also one definite borrowing from Awabakal, suggesting local input to NSW Pidgin, and several from English.

TABLE 5: Threlkeld's NSW Pidgin wordlist 1834

NSW PIDGIN	MEANING	LEXICAL SOURCE
bail	no	*biyal* (Sydney)[125]
bimbel	earth	*bamal* (Sydney)
bogi	to bathe	*bugi-* (Sydney)
budjari	good	*budjari* (Sydney)
bumiring	the boomerang	*wumarang* 'fighting boomerang' (Sydney)
kabon	large	?
kadjel	tobacco	*gadjal* (Sydney)
gami	a spear	*gamai* (Sydney)
gamon	falsehood	English 'gammon'
giba	a stone	*giba* (Sydney)
gunya	a hut	*gunya* (Sydney)
hilimun	a shield	*yilimung* (Sydney)
jerand	fear	*djarran* (Sydney)
jin	wife	*djin* (Sydney)
kangaru	kangaroo	*ganguru* (Guugu Yimidhirr via English)
marri	many	*mari* (Sydney)
mati	little	*mitti* (Awabakal[126])
mogo	axe	*mugu* (Sydney)
piala	to speak	*baiya-la* 'speak-3SG/IMP' (Sydney)

[125]Sydney' here refers to the Sydney Language.
[126]Threlkeld's own data.

pikanini	child	English[127]
straikalait	to make known	English 'strike a light'
tagara	cold	*dagara* (Sydney)
wadi	a cudgel	*wudi* (Sydney)
wiki	bread	*wigai* 'food' (Thangatti[128])
wumara	spear thrower	*wumara* 'spear thrower with a shell scraper at one end' (Sydney)

Threlkeld also noted elsewhere several items which were already established in the lexicon of NSW Pidgin—**karadji** 'doctor' (6:10), **debildebil** 'evil spirit' (6:10), **flaua** 'flour' (6:16), **konmil** 'corn meal' (6:17), **witflaua** 'wheat flour' (6:17), **biskit** 'biscuit' (6:23), **kropi** 'convict, escaped convict' (6:23, 24) and **kobera** 'head' (6:16). In 1826, he observed that **kobera** was not yet used at Newcastle as a generic for 'head' as it was elsewhere. It had retained its original meaning of 'skull bone' (6:16). He recorded a small number of other lexical items that may have formed part of the lexicon of NSW Pidgin. Two were Aboriginal coinages **yirig** 'a quill, a pen' (Threlkeld 1834:56) and **tarakul** 'peaches' literally 'to set the teeth on edge' (6:15). Another possibility was **yahu**[129] 'the female spirit Kurriwilbán' (6:22) who was a local Aboriginal spirit well-known to the colonists.

3.3.2.4.3 Cunningham, Mansfield, Hale and Agate's data

The sources discussed here recorded a small amount of additional data. The data is useful in confirming some of the observations about NSW Pidgin made above. The data also suggest a little additional grammatical and lexical information.

Peter Cunningham's data contain another item suggestive of the NSW Pidgin transitiviser **-im**, *shoot him* (6:39). However, as in the example discussed above (30) the item is again given in an ambiguous context.

---

[127]Portugese loanword in use in English by 1785 (*OED*).
[128]Holmer 1967:68, as Holmer's data was collected in the mid twentieth century this may be a borrowing into Thangatti directly from Wiradjuri or via NSW Pidgin.
[129]This may also be an English borrowing from Yarhoo the characters in Dean Swift's *Travels of Gulliver...* (Troy 1990a).

The sources each recorded a sentence clearly attesting nominaliser **-fela**. Mansfield recorded **budjarifela** 'good one!' (6:37) which is a characteristic interjection of general approbation in NSW Pidgin (Appendix 21). **Budjarifela** is the clearest evidence in the early data for the reanalysis of **-fela** by NSW Pidgin speakers. It was clearly no longer simply part of a number of English nominal phrases borrowed in full into the language. The fact that **-fela** is suffixed to an adjective borrowed from the Sydney language indicates that it was definitely being used as a productive suffix to derive new nouns from adjectives. Mansfield also noted the first attestation of **-fela** used to form a nominal phrase—**waitfela dans** 'non-Aboriginal person's dance' (6:37).

The first person subject form **mi** 'I' was only attested in the data recorded by Hale and Agate (58). Their data also contains desiderative **wonta** 'want to' (58).

(58) *Me marry (very) tired, bel (not) me want to go.* (6:43, 41)

mi	**marri**	**taid**	**bail**	**mi**	**wonta**	**go**
1SG.S	very	tired	NEG	1SG.S	want to	go

I am very tired. I don't want to go.

Mansfield, Hale and Agate all recorded adverbial **marri** 'very' and Mansfield recorded an interjection of approbation—**marri budjari** 'very good!' (6:37). Mansfield also noted the greeting **gudei** 'good day!' and the interjection of affirmation **aiai** 'aye, aye!' or 'yes, yes!' (6:36) which was very common in later NSW Pidgin. 'Aye' or 'aye, aye' was common to a number of English dialects and particularly nautical English (*OED*). Mansfield recorded an indicator of distant past—**longwailago** (59).

(59) *Black-fellow killed her, murry long while ago.* (6:36)
An Aboriginal person killed her, a very long time ago.

He also noted **sitdaun** 'remain, live' (60) which was first noted in Threlkeld's data (49). The same sentence contains an interrogative use of **wea** 'where?' (60).

(60) *Good day, master, where you set down?* (6:36)
Hello master, where will you stay?

Negation was indicated by Hale and Agate with the general sentence initial negator **bail** 'no, not' (58) and by Cunningham with adverbial **no** 'not' (61).

(61) *Come on, white fellow—black fellow no jirrand.* (6:40)

kam	**on**	**wait-fela**	**blak-fela**	**no**	**jaran**
come	on	white-NOM	black-NOM	NEG	fear

Come on non-Aboriginal person, this Aboriginal person is not afraid.

Each of the sources also noted several lexical items which were apparent in Threlkeld's data. Hale and Agate also recorded two additional items. They suggested that Aboriginal people referred to sheep and cattle as **waitmanz kangaru** (6:44) and noted the item **tudi** 'a cup made from ti-tree bark' (6:42). Cunningham recorded the single lexical items **wiki** 'bread' (6:39), **kadjel** 'tobacco' (6:39) and **jin** 'wife' (6:40). Mansfield recorded **massa** 'master' (6:36) and observed that **blakfelaz** 'Aboriginal people' and **waitfelaz** 'non-Aboriginal people' had entered Australian English by the time he was writing in 1828. The forms were probably borrowed into NSW Pidgin complete with the plural suffix '-s'.

> The Aboriginal inhabitants, in New South Wales are colloquially termed—*black fellows;* an appellation which they accept in good part; and in return entitle us—*white fellows.* (Mansfield 1828c:351)

3.3.2.5 Sydney, 1820-1830

The best source for this period is Peter Cunningham's published account of his experiences in the colony (Cunningham 1827). There are a number of other less substantial sources which are also discussed here, including more data from Mansfield. The data discused here contain further evidence for some of the features of NSW Pidgin established above in addition to providing more lexical and grammatical information. Cunningham observed that **jaran** 'afraid', which is attested above as part of the lexicon for NSW Pidgin, had also entered the lexicon of Australian English (4:32).

Both Cunningham and Mansfield provide further evidence to reinforce the assertion above that Aboriginal people in Sydney spoke English quite well. They also noted the large repertoire of English phrases and sentences the people had memorised in full

(62-65; 4:18, 19, 37, 41). The rote learned English formed part of the rhetorical devices of the melanolect of NSW Pidgin and they provide us with a rare insight into a uniquely Aboriginal side of the language contact scene.

(62) *Go along, you dam rascal; go along, you dam scoundrel; go along, you dam blackguard!* (4:18)
Go along, you damn rascal, go along you damn scoundrel, go along you damn blackguard.

(63) *Massa, gim me a dum! massa, gim me a dum!* (4:19)
Master, give me a dump! Master give me a dump!

(64) *Dam my eye, pambucan, dam my eye pambucan!* (4:14)
Damn my eye, pumpkin, damn my eye pumpkin!

(65) *O yes Sir, finer, murry finer, tausend houses, murry tausend tausend houses. Have you seben-pence hapenny Sir? lend me one dump—coppers master—buy a loaf you know—look at my belly—murry hungry Sir!* (4:37)
Oh yes sir, finer, very much finer, a large number of houses, very many houses. Have you seven-pence halfpenny sir? Lend me one dump, coppers master, to buy a loaf, you know, look at my belly, I am very hungry sir!

One of the most significant features of the data for this period is that they contain clear evidence for the use of the characteristic NSW Pidgin transitiviser **-it** (66, 67, 68). The data for Port Stephens (Chapter 4) confirm that both forms of the NSW Pidgin transitivisers **-it** and **-im** were well-established in the language by the mid-1820s.

(66) *Top, 'top, bail me do it that yet; 'top nudda gubbana come.* (4:10)

stop-stop	**bail**	**mi**	**du-it**	**dat**	**yet**
wait-REDUP	NEG	1SG.S	do-TrM	that	yet

stop	**nada**	**gabana**	**kam**
wait	another	governor	arrive

Wait! I will not do that yet, wait until another governor arrives.

(67) *Bel boodgeree (not good) kill it pickaninny.* (4:16)

bail	**budjari**	**kil-it**	**pikanini**
NEG	good	kill-TrM	baby

It is bad to kill babies.

(68) *Oh yes! my gin eatit too much white bread!* (4:22)

oyes	**mai**	**jin**	**eat-it**	**tumatj**	**waitbred**
oh yes!	1SG.POSS	wife	eat-TrM	excessive	white bread

Oh yes! My wife 'ate a lot of white bread' (i.e. had sexual intercourse with an excessive number of non-Aboriginal men).

Table 6 contains the lexicon recorded in the sources between 1820 and 1830 and it is clear that the input to NSW Pidgin from English was increasing, at least in Sydney.

TABLE 6: NSW Pidgin lexicon recorded in Sydney 1820-30

ITEM	TRANSLATION	REF	SOURCE[130]
az	as	(69)	English
bail[131]	general negator	(66, 4:10)	NSW Pidgin
belijamps	hunger pangs	(4:44)	NSW Pidgin—new
blakfela	Aboriginal person	(4:40)	NSW Pidgin
blaki	Aboriginal person	(4:18)	English
blakman	Aboriginal person	(4:34)	NSW Pidgin
bul	liquor	(4:41)	NSW Pidgin
dam	a dump (see above)	(4:13)	NSW Pidgin
dammaiai	damn my eye!	(4:14)	English
dat	that	(66)	NSW Pidgin
debil	devil	(4:46)	NSW Pidgin
debildebil	malignant apparition roaming at night	(4:27, 47)	NSW Pidgin
du	do	(66)	English
faia	fire	(75)	English
fat	fat	(69)	English
gabana	governor	(66)	English
guddei	good day!	(4:43)	English
gudmoning	good-morning!	(4:19, 43)	English
hi	it	(71)	NSW Pidgin
it	eat	(4:22)	English
-it	transitiviser	(66)	NSW Pidgin
jeil	gaol	(4:18)	English
jin, jinz	wife, wives	(4:10, 11, 13)	NSW Pidgin
kam	arrive	(4:27)	English
kil	kill	(67)	English
kobera	skull, head	(4:42)	NSW Pidgin
kokhat	cocked hat	(4:51)	English
kopas	copper coins	(65)	English
longkot	long coat	(4:51)	English
marri	very	(70)	NSW Pidgin
marribudjari	very good!	(69, 72)	NSW Pidgin—new construction
massa	mister	(4:18)	NSW Pidgin
	master	(4:43)	NSW Pidgin
mai	my	(68)	English
mi	I	(4:7)	NSW Pidgin
nada	another	(66)	English
olgon	all gone	(72)	English
pambakan	pumpkin	(64)	English
pata	food	(69)	NSW Pidgin—previously 'to eat'
poman	pitiful	(4:11)	English
pos	if	(71)	English
rein	rain	(71)	English

[130]Items previously established as part of the lexicon of NSW Pidgin are listed as NSW Pidgin.
[131]One source observed that 'bail' is a particle of negation in the language of the aborigines' (4:10) suggesting that it had become a very well-known item in the colony.

setdaun	sleep	(4:43)	NSW Pidgin
sir	sir	(4:19)	English
skratj	one day in jail (*DS*) or a flogging (*AND*)	(4:18)	English
swel	a well-dressed convict	(4:51)	English
stop	wait	(66, 4:19)	English
stopstop	wait!	(66)	English
tumatj	very, very much	(68)	English
wodi	a club	(4:17)	NSW Pidgin
waitfela	non-Aboriginal person	(4:18, 40)	NSW Pidgin
waiti	non-Aboriginal person	(4:18)	English
waitman	non-Aboriginal person	(4:34)	NSW Pidgin
yet	yet	(66)	English

There are several notable innovations on the wordlist. The adverb **marri** 'very' and adjective **budjari** 'good' were used in combination to make an exclamation of approbation—**marribudjari** 'very good!' (69). The same interjection is also given as **marrigud** 'very good!' (70). The verb **pata** 'eat' is also attested for the first time as a nominal meaning 'food' (69).

(69) *Boodjerry patta! murry boodjerry!—fat as jumbuck!! i.e. good food, very good, fat as mutton.* (4:2)
budjari **pata** **marribudjari** **fat** **az** **jambak**
good food very good fat as mutton
It is good food, very good!—as fat as mutton.

(70) *...murry good for black-fellow...* (4:45)
very good for Aboriginal people

Several items are attested only once but are present in the lexicon for NSW Pidgin (Appendix 21) so are taken to have been part of the lexicon, by this time. They are—a comparative adverb **az** 'as' (69), an adverb of manner **tumatj** 'excessive' (68), an incompletive adverb **yet** 'yet' (66) and a conjunction **pos** 'if' (71). A pronoun **hi** 'it' is attested once (71) and is included in the lexicon although in later NSW Pidgin the item usually means 'he' or 'she'.

(71) *Murry boodgeree (very good), massa, 'pose he rain.* (4:14)
marribudjari **pos** **hi** **rein**
very good! if it rains
It is very good, if it rains!

The data also provide further evidence for **ol** 'all' (72) which is also given in the same datum as a compound **olgon** 'all gone'.

(72) *Black-man die fast, more white man come. Old Black men nigh all gone. Soon no blackman, all whiteman.* (4:35)
Aboriginal people are dying rapidly and more non-Aboriginal people are coming. The old Aboriginal people are nearly all gone. Soon there will be no Aboriginal people and everyone will be non-Aboriginal.

The modifier **kabon** 'big' which was first attested in Holt's data (3.3.2.2) and which is very characteristic of NSW Pidgin appears again in Cunningham's data (73).

(73) *...cobawn (big) gobernor, had not mout so (screwing theirs into the appropriate shape), like the narang (little) gobernor.* (4:21)

Interrogative **wotfo** 'why' attested earlier appears again in Mansfield's data (74).

(74) *What for you make fire?* (4:34)
wotfo **yu** **meik** **faia**
why 2.S make fire
Why are you making a fire?

One datum recorded by Cunningham and attributed to an Aboriginal speaker is very suggestive of Irish English (75). It indicates the significance of the contact between the large numbers of Irish people in the colony and the Aboriginal population (Troy 1991).

(75) *Ah Massa William, who shoot de redbill? I tell you fader!* (4:24)
Ah Master William, who shot the redbill? I will tell your father.

3.4 CONCLUSION

The data for contact language in NSW for the period 1792 to 1830 demonstrate some clear morphological stability and features characteristic of a pidgin language—NSW Pidgin. In the late eighteenth century the features which stabilised in the contact induced jargon of Sydney were mainly lexical. However, the nineteenth century data are more revealing and demonstrate not only further stabilisation of lexical forms but also of some grammatical features of NSW Pidgin including SVO word order. Those features are further supported by data from Port Stephens which is the subject of Chapter 4. There is only a little evidence for the use of NSW Pidgin between Aboriginal peoples as a lingua franca to overcome the new communicative needs

imposed on them by colonisation. However, even the earliest data produced between 1793 and the turn of the nineteenth century suggest that a pidgin was spoken in Sydney as the lingua franca for cross-cultural communication between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people.

The lexicon of NSW Pidgin developed through borrowing from English and Aboriginal languages and by processes of lexical innovation such as coining. However, English became the most significant source for borrowings. NSW Pidgin's own productive processes were also increasingly employed to create new lexical items. By the mid 1820s the data for NSW Pidgin is rich enough to begin to reconstruct much of its core grammatical and lexical features. Some features of NSW Pidgin evident in the data are:- the nominaliser **-fela**; the use of reduplication as a productive process to increase or intensify; the intensifiers **marri** and **kabon**; the nominal qualifier **budjari** 'good'; the transitiviser **-it** and possibly **-im**; the pluraliser **ol** 'all'; quantifier **plenti** 'many'; and interrogatives such as **wotfo** 'why'. The pronominal set obtainable from the data is limited to first person subject **mi** 'I', second person **yu** 'you' and third person **hi** 'it', with some suggestion of a third plural **ol**. Much of the lexicon of NSW Pidgin which was established during this time and is detailed above (Tables 3-6) formed part of the core lexicon for NSW Pidgin (see Appendix 21).

The data from Port Stephens (Chapter 4) demonstrates that NSW Pidgin was even more expanded than the data presented here demonstrates. The spread of settlement beyond the Cumberland Plain created an environment conducive to the stabilisation and expansion of the contact language initiated in Sydney. If settlement had remained confined to the plain it is likely that English would have become the lingua franca between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people. Already Aboriginal people in the area were learning English and the government was promoting the process by educating Aboriginal children in English. Expansion of settlement outside the Cumberland Plain

placed Aboriginal people in situations of unprecedented language contact with each other which created communicative needs additional to those already established in the Sydney district. The incipient pidgin of Sydney was not only salvaged from extinction but also given renewed vigour as it was further expanded to cope with the needs of its new speakers. Between 1793 and 1830, NSW Pidgin came into existence through necessity and became firmly entrenched as the lingua franca for cross-cultural communication in the colony of NSW.

4

PORT STEPHENS, 1825-30: THE CONSOLIDATION OF NSW PIDGIN

4.1 INTRODUCTION

In 1825, the Australian Agricultural Company (AACo) established the first non-Aboriginal settlement at Port Stephens. The company obtained three enormous government grants in the northern districts for their planned pastoral enterprises (Map 19). The first of these grants was in the Port Stephens area. Between 1825 and 1830 the AACo settled the Port Stephens district. Through its settlement of the district the company was responsible for introducing the local Aboriginal people to colonial life and NSW Pidgin.

In December 1824, the AACo engaged Robert Dawson as their agent in NSW. He was from Great Bentley, Essex and had been working as the agent to Lord Barrington at Becket on his estate near Faringdon, Berkshire (Pemberton 1986:4). In June 1825, Dawson left England for NSW to establish an agricultural settlement of one million acres for the company and arrived in Sydney on 23 November 1825 (Dawson 1831:1, 7). To facilitate the project Dawson brought with him an assistant, his nephew James G Dawson, and a staff of eighty people, mostly farming families, from Berkshire near Becket and from his own home in Essex (Pemberton 1986:4). Amongst the people were some single youths who had shepherding and trade skills. Dawson also arrived with stock of about seven hundred sheep, twelve head of horned cattle, seven horses and 'a choice selection of British and other plants, selected for cultivation' (Dawson 1831:1-2). The colonial administration also assigned him convicts to work the property once it was selected. The first consignment were seventeen men 'chiefly Irishmen' (Dawson 1831:37) amongst whom Dawson found a schoolmaster for his establishment (Dawson 1831:36). He later received 'twenty-one

young rogues from London and Dublin' who had been 'unmanageable' in Sydney (Dawson 1831:37). Within the first year he had 150 convicts assigned to him (Dawson 1831:53).

On the recommendation of Surveyor-General Oxley, Dawson chose Port Stephens as the area in which to seek land for the AACo (Dawson 1831:7). Dawson proceeded alone to the area and his staff and stock waited at 'Retreat Farm' outside Sydney. After selecting the site for the grant he returned to Sydney and, in 1825, proceeded to Port Stephens fully equipped to establish a farming settlement. He continued as the manager of the operation until 1828 when he fell out of favour with the company and resigned.

Dawson wrote a book about his experiences in NSW, *The present state of Australia...* (1831), and in the text he quoted his Aboriginal friends extensively. Some of his letters back to England have also survived and contain manuscript texts for comparison with the published material. Dawson's data forms the substance of the discussions in this chapter. Two other sources, both fictional accounts of life in the same district, are also discussed in this chapter as an adjunct to the Dawson material. The first, *Alfred Dudley...* (Anon 1830) was written in England following consultations between the author and Dawson. The language in that book is of limited interest as it is only a characterisation of NSW Pidgin used to embellish the text. The second novel, Charles De Boos' *Fifty years ago...* (1867) contains a little evidence for contact language and was written from the author's personal experiences. The data could not be earlier than the 1840s and, although purporting to be from the Port Stephens district, it is likely to have been influenced by the author's travels elsewhere in NSW and Victoria. However, it is included for comparison with the Dawson data and there are many similarities between the texts.

4.2 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

4.2.1 Selection of the AACo 's grant

Dawson travelled to Port Stephens with the surveyor Henry Dangar who he described as a man well acquainted with the local Aboriginal people. He gained his experience through his occupation which 'had led him to pass much of his time in the Bush or Forest' (Dawson 1831:8). On the way they paused at Newcastle where Dawson met many Aboriginal people. He was evidently able to communicate with them because he employed two as guides.

> At Newcastle, and in the immediate vicinity, I found a large number of natives, with many of whom I endeavoured to make acquaintance; and the evening before I left the place, I agreed with two of them to conduct us by the nearest route, to that part of the harbour of Port Stephens where we had appointed to meet the schooner. One of them passed over with the party the same evening, not intending to remain there; but the pilot, who then knew them better than I did, suggested that it would be better to keep him while he was there, for otherwise he would probably not be forthcoming when required early in the morning, and he was therefore left with the party. In the morning it was exactly as the pilot had foretold; the other native was nowhere to be found. He had received a good supply of tobacco as an earnest the night before, and with this he was better satisfied than to accompany us to Port Stephens... (Dawson 1831:9)

The Aboriginal man Dawson employed as a guide was offered 'clothes and good cheer' as a reward and he named him 'Ben' (Dawson 1831:9). Ben was only visiting Newcastle and 'belonged to the south side of the harbour of Port Stephens' which was the location Dawson had chosen for his settlement. In an effort to obtain his first Aboriginal ally Dawson told the man to collect his wife from Newcastle and to return to Port Stephens where she would be presented with 'a gown and cap, &c.' (Dawson 1831:10). Dawson revelled in his first opportunity to converse freely with an Aboriginal person and wrote that he 'was highly amused with the good-natured chattering' of the man (Dawson 1831:10).

His interactions with Ben determined in Dawson's mind that 'with kind treatment we have not only nothing to fear, but a good deal to gain from them'. He 'felt an ardent desire to cultivate their acquaintance, and also much satisfaction from the idea

that my situation would afford me ample opportunities and means for doing so' (Dawson 1831:11). Ben appeared to be equally satisfied with his relationship with Dawson. On arriving at Soldier's Point Dawson gave Ben the goods he had promised him, 'a tomahawk and a suit of slop clothes...a short blue jacket, a checked shirt, and a pair of dark trowsers'. Ben 'strutted about in them with an air of good-natured importance, declaring that all the harbour and country adjoining belonged to him' (Dawson 1831:12).

Ben is the first Aboriginal person quoted by Dawson in his book. The first text is a conversation between Ben and Dawson in NSW Pidgin. Dawson's own speech was more English like but did contain some clearly recognisable NSW Pidgin features such as the use of **sitdaun** 'stay' (76).

(76) 'I tumble down pickaninny here,' he said, meaning that he was born there. 'Belonging to me all about, massa; pose you tit down here, I gib it to you.' 'Very well,' I said: 'I shall sit down here.' 'Budgeree,' (very good,) he replied, 'I gib it to you;' and we shook hands in ratification of the friendly treaty. (Dawson 1831:12)

In spite of Ben's offer to give him land, Dawson decided to continue along the north side of the harbour up the river called Karuah by the local Aboriginal population (Dawson 1831:13). Several of the local Aboriginal people visited Dawson and he employed one called Tony to accompany him with Ben. 'Dawson, greatly influenced by the advantages of access by water, chose to establish the Company's main settlement at Carrabean (later Carrington) on the north shore of Port Stephens and to take up the whole Grant in one block on the land stretching north from Port Stephens to the Manning River' (Pemberton 1986:4).

During his explorations of the north coast, Dawson met many Aboriginal people some of whom belonged to Tony's language group. However, at that early stage, Tony and his wife Louisa appear to have been unique in their ability to speak NSW

Pidgin. Dawson used Tony as an interpreter because he found the wider Aboriginal community were 'unable to speak a single word of English' (Dawson 1831:16).

4.2.2 Development of a relationship between Aboriginal people of Port Stephens and Robert Dawson

Aboriginal people at Port Stephens first encountered colonists when timber speculators with government licences to cut cedar and blue-gum went into the district in the early 1800s to cut and export timber from 'land not located' (Dawson 1830:58). Protected by their numbers the timber getters invaded the area and violently resisted any objections by Aboriginal people. Dawson had to overcome considerable resentment towards colonists from the Aboriginal population produced by past experience. He believed that his consistency in demonstrating to the people that he wanted to be 'their friend and protector' finally won their confidence (Dawson 1831:58-9).

In an effort to establish a permanent relationship with the local Aboriginal population Dawson asked Tony to tell his 'whole tribe' that they would be welcome at the AACo settlement. He gave Aboriginal people bread, tobacco and tomahawks and through Tony told them that he intended to remain at Port Stephens 'and would protect them from the cedar-cutters...and take care that nobody should hurt them'. He added that if they would 'sit down' with him as his 'brothers' he would also be 'a brother to them, and would give them food and clothing, and lend them muskets to shoot kangaroos with' (Dawson 1831:18).

Dawson was pleasantly surprised to find that the local Aboriginal people were amenable to his proposition and willing to be employed in establishing the settlement. He obtained their aid in cutting sheets of bark to cover the sides and rooves of the first buildings (Dawson 1831:19). Dawson was amazed to find the people so friendly. People in Sydney had told him that the people in the area he had

chosen to settle were 'more ferocious and mischievous...than in any other known part of the colony' (Dawson 1831:20). Dawson's Aboriginal friends told him that the cedar cutters murdered people 'for the most trifling causes' (Dawson 1831:21). In spite of such outrages the people were 'desirous to seek rather than shun the society of white persons, as soon as they saw a disposition to treat them with humanity' (Dawson 1831:21).

However, Aboriginal people in the districts where cedar cutters were working—particularly Cape Hawke and the river Myall, abused colonists they found alone. Dawson saw many runaway convicts return starving, stripped of their clothes and sometimes wounded. The convicts generally claimed that they owed their lives to Aboriginal women intervening on their behalf (Dawson 1831:42). Dawson's assessment was that although 'in the first instance the natives generally show fear, and symptoms of hostility towards strangers occupying their country...little difficulty is experienced in conciliating them, to those who are rightly disposed and take the proper steps to accomplish it' (Dawson 1831:41).

In his first report to the Directors of the AACo, 4 February 1826, Dawson was already very optimistic about relations between himself and the local people. Although Dawson's purpose was to obtain the land for the AACo he was sensitive to Aboriginal priority in the area and was determined to incorporate them into the settlement. He told the company directors that he was learning the Aboriginal names for geographical features and was retaining the names rather than giving them English appellations.

> We have hitherto found the Natives very friendly and useful at Port Stephens, as guides, Fishermen and Messengers, and in assisting to procure bark for constructing Huts — I do not contemplate any mischief from them as long as they are kindly treated, and to this my attention shall be especially directed, particularly as regards the conduct of the convicts that may be employed on the Grant. (Dawson 1826c:12)

However, he was less optimistic about the Aboriginal people outside the Port Stephens district.

> At the extremity of the proposed Grant, between Port Stephens and Port Macquarie, the Natives are more savage and numerous if we may judge from the stories and appearance of the Convicts who escape across the Country from thence to Port Stephens.—the few that arrive alive are usually stripped and speared in some part of the body by the Natives—one instance of which I saw on a man who came across naked and speared through both legs last week to Port Stephens. (Dawson 1826c:12-13)

Dawson returned to Sydney, collected his full company and arrived back at Port Stephens on 23 February 1826. He was met by a very large group of Aboriginal people who proceeded to assist him and his servants and continued to do so during the setting up of their establishment (Dawson 1831:26). Dawson found it 'both curious and gratifying' that the Aboriginal people were so helpful (Dawson 1831:26). He employed two Aboriginal men—Crosely and Sinbad as the crew on his vessel 'The Balberook'[132]. They 'had already made several voyages in a coasting craft from Newcastle to Sydney' (Dawson 1831:30). He made Crosely '*captain* of the corbon (great) boat, in contradistinction to other boats thus employed, and navigated by the natives' (Dawson 1831:86).

About one hundred and fifty Aboriginal people came to live in and around Dawson's settlement (Dawson 1831:63). His success depended largely on his use of trade and gift giving to ingratiate himself with local Aboriginal people.

> During a short residence at Port Stephens, in the month of January, and before I returned to the neighbourhood of Sydney to bring the establishment hither, I was visited by a considerable tribe of the natives, who were very friendly and desirous of further acquaintance. I encouraged this disposition, by giving them such food as we had, and also some tobacco, of which they are excessively fond. I presented to each man a tomahawk...which they prize above all things. They are exceedingly fond of biscuit, bread, or flour, which they knead and bake in the ashes, in the same manner as they see our people do it; but the article of food which appears most delicious to them, is the boiled meal of Indian corn; and next to it the corn roasted in the ashes, like chestnuts: of sugar too they are inordinately fond as well as of every thing sweet. One of their greatest treats is to get an Indian bag that has had sugar in it: this they cut into pieces and boil in

[132]An Aboriginal name for the cove in which she was repaired and refitted at Port Stephens (Dawson 1831:30).

> water. They drink this liquor till they sometimes become intoxicated, and till they are fairly blown out, like an ox in clover and can take no more...Having, before I went to Sydney, discovered those things which were most to their taste, I took care to be well provided with them on my return here. (Dawson 1831:60)

Tobacco 'seemed...to possess an almost supernatural charm' with Aboriginal people (Dawson 1831:77). Dawson also found that they were 'excessively fond of any part of the dress of white people' and that certain items of the colonists' technology, such as tomahawks, were particularly desireable (Dawson 1831:75). Iron tomahawks soon replaced the traditional stone axes and Dawson noted that they preferred iron fishing-hooks to their own made from shell (Dawson 1831:308).

> A trade was soon set up between Aboriginal people and the settlers. The natives supplied the inhabitants with abundance of fish in return for tobacco, flour, and bread; and they were seen at all times during the day, both men and women, carrying buckets of water on their heads from a spring which was resorted to for the general supply. (Dawson 1831:35)

Dawson also created Aboriginal constables to help him maintain order in his settlement. He did so by enhancing the power and influence of Aboriginal people who already possessed those qualities.

> One of the highest honours that can be conferred on them is to make them constables, and to give them a staff. That the honour may not be too cheap, I have made only two. They never appear but with their staves of office under their arms, and it is beyond measure ridiculous to observe the consequence they assume amongst their own people. (Dawson 1831:75)

He conferred the rank of 'king' on Tony because he considered him to have the most authority amongst the Port Stephens people. In what had already become fashionable practice amongst the colonists (Troy 1993b) he gave the man a brass gorget or 'king plate' indicating his status (Dawson 1831:84).

The influence Dawson exerted over the Aboriginal people in and around Port Stephens is evidenced in the level of cooperation he was able to obtain. He even received support from the Port Stephens people during his explorations inland in spite of their intense fear of venturing into the territory of unfamiliar people. Rather than lose favour with Dawson they overcame their anxieties and accompanied him

wherever he chose. For example, on 10 November 1826, he decided to explore 'the more distant parts of the country' to finally determine which would be the most advantageous boundaries for the AACo's grant. When his intentions became known he had many offers from Aboriginal people to accompany him. However, he decided he could only take five (Dawson 1831:101). In spite of their eagerness they also had 'extreme fears of meeting with various tribes, who always call strangers to a severe account...The pleasures, therefore, which my native companions anticipated from this journey, were sadly mingled with the fear of meeting the strange or "Myall pellows,"[133] as they called them, as soon as they should have left their own grounds' (Dawson 1831:103).

Dawson discovered how great his influence could be even over Aboriginal people from outside Port Stephens when he was approached by an increasing number of Port Stephens Aboriginal people for a 'ticket' or letter of authority with his signature. He learnt that the production of a ticket was enough to force any Aboriginal person to cooperate with its bearer. Colonists also used the tickets to obtain the services of Aboriginal people (Dawson 1831:230).

Dawson's developed a paternalism towards Aboriginal people in general. He came to regard the people who lived at his settlement as his own. He gained great advantage with Aboriginal people by his positive attitude towards them (Dawson 1831:90).

> I would trust myself any where with them; and with my own blacks by my side, as I call them, I should feel myself safe against any enemy I could meet with in the bush. (Dawson 1831:63)

---

[133]Aboriginal people who were not living within colonial society were commonly known as 'myall' (*AND*). The word was adapted from a similar item found in many NSW languages:- '"Myall," meaning, in their language, Stranger, or a place which they seldom or never frequent' (Dawson 1831:41).

4.2.3 Integration of Aboriginal people into the AACo settlement

Dawson achieved some success in integrating the local people into his settlement and gaining their assistance in developing his plans for the AACo's ventures.

> No person perhaps ever had so favourable an opportunity as myself for making experiments upon them, or of accurately learning their real characters...It was asserted by some that I should succeed in *completely* civilizing the natives. I never said or even thought so after the first month of my residence amongst them; for although the situation in which I was placed was one of the most favourable for the purpose that had occurred in the colony, still it was not that which would have enabled me or any other man to have performed such a miracle. I know it has also been said that the blacks laboured at Port Stephens the same as white men, and that they were regular in their attendance, &c. &c. This was not correct. It is true that I generally had a considerable number employed, and could get any work done by them which I required; but they were not always the same people. Several hundreds were in the habit of visiting us at different periods, and as I placed no restraint upon any of them, there were always enough who were willing, as a temporary change and a little novelty, to supply the places of those who had become tired of labour; and by *this* means our native parties were kept up. To maintain a friendly intercourse with them—to humanize them, as it were; to do them all the kindness in my power in return for our interference with their country; and to receive an equivalent in their labour for the food which was given to them, were all I aimed at: and the result fully equalled my expectations. (Dawson 1831:156-57)

The local Aboriginal people became an essential part of the settlement providing much needed labour and assistance and contributing to the social life.

> The natives...kept up their friendly intercourse with us, and I continued to derive from them such assistance as they were able to give with cheerfulness and good-will. Their services had almost become necessary to the families in carrying water, collecting and chopping firewood, and supplying them with fish, which they did in abundance. The native women and children were constantly in, or loitering about the doors of the huts, when it was quite common to see a black woman dressed up with an old gown and cap, and dandling in her arms the infant of a white woman; while others, especially young girls, frequently assisted their white neighbours at the wash-tub. Native children of both sexes too, were often seen at their games in all parts of the establishment with the white children; and it was no unusual thing to see a black man, for short periods, at one end of a saw, and a white man at the other, working together with as much cordiality as if they had both been of the same colour and nation. (Dawson 1831:100)

Dawson noted that his employees became acutely aware of how important the local Aboriginal people were to them when the people left temporarily for a funeral.

> During their absence, our people expressed themselves sorry that the blacks had gone away, as they could get no water carried for them from the spring, or obtain any fish without them. The procuring of bark, too, for repairing old and erecting new huts, was at a stand. In short the value of these poor inoffensive people, was

> never so highly estimated and felt as when they were gone; and their return was consequently hailed as a benefit restored to the settlement at large. One man was absent on this occasion from his office of *hut-keeper* to one of the emancipists: he had filled this situation with the greatest fidelity towards his employers, in preventing the convicts, who consider themselves so vastly superior to the natives, from robbing their neighbours, a practice of almost daily occurrence at their stations. (Dawson 1831:88)

The success of the symbiotic relationship that Dawson had established between the settlers and Aboriginal people became particularly clear when he temporarily forced the Aboriginal population to quit the settlement. He did so to punish them for hiding a man who had stolen some sugar from the Company stores.

> The first complaints that reached me after they were gone, were, that all the white families were without any servants to assist them in their domestic affairs—nobody to carry water, no fish to be had, nor fire-wood, no messengers, &c. &c. In short the place appeared a gloomy and almost deserted village, whose cheerfulness and conveniences, it was now clearly seen, had in a great measure depended upon these hitherto calumniated outcasts of the world. I was repeatedly asked when the blacks would return, both by men and women, as they did not know what to do without these useful folks. (Dawson 1831:305)

The Aboriginal people were likewise very unhappy about being forced away from the settlement and deprived of the food and tobacco to which they had become accustomed (Dawson 1831:305). They had become very dependent on the resources available at the settlement and even used the medical facilities provided by Dawson as an adjunct to their own methods.

> The natives at Port Stephens were perfectly alive to the effects of medicine upon them, when administered by white people; and when they were unwell, generally sent some one of their family to inform me, and sometimes would themselves go to 'soccator'[134]. (Dawson 1831:323)

Dawson attributed his success in integrating the people into the settlement to his policy of not interfering with 'their own natural impulses' (Dawson 1831:155). He also adhered to the principle that food or clothing should only be distributed to people who earnt them but that no one was forced either to earn the goods or to accept them. Dawson believed that he was being egalitarian.

---

[134]a doctor

> They had therefore the power of choosing between their old pursuits and consequent self-dependence, and their being well and kindly treated, upon the performance of the duties required of them. It frequently happened that they would go for weeks and even months to enjoy their old habits in the woods. These absences were generally with leave, but sometimes without it: so long however as they had done nothing wrong, they knew that they would be well received whenever they chose to return. It was owing to this understanding between us that I had maintained such complete influence over them... (Dawson 1831:156)

Not once did Dawson take into account the fact that he had appropriated most of the country of the Port Stephens people. Their choice was actually between leaving the district and becoming displaced people or remaining on their land and accepting the compromise offered by Dawson. He was able to coerce Aboriginal people into acceptance of his terms through ingratiating himself with them at a stage when he was insignificant in the lives of the Port Stephens people. Having insinuated himself into their society he proceeded to establish his power base and territorial rights. He then laid down the rules of right and wrong in the traditional country of the Port Stephens people. Any resistance was met with his counter that if the situation was not satisfactory the Aboriginal people could leave but he certainly was not leaving.

> To maintain a friendly intercourse with them—to humanize them, as it were; to do them all the kindness in my power in return for our interference with their country; and to receive an equivalent in their labour for the food which was given to them, were all I aimed at: and the result fully equalled my expectations. (Dawson 1831:157)

Dawson noted that older Aboriginal women often attach themselves to the settlement for long periods. He put the tendency down to their comparative frailty and the escape it afforded them from ill-treatment by Aboriginal men.

> I observed, indeed, that there was a greater disposition in women of this age to domesticate themselves, than in younger ones, and that their constancy was more to be depended upon. The love of roaming had generally been abated, and sometimes extinguished by age and bodily weakness; and their extreme fondness of European diet, and the freedom from the punishment of the waddy[135] served to reconcile them in some degree to the restraints of civilized life, provided they were kindly treated, and *felt* they could leave and return whenever they pleased. (Dawson 1831:291)

---

[135] a club

For example, an 'old woman, who by some means or other had obtained the name of Waterman, fixed herself in the house of the storekeeper, where, with the exception of a holiday now and then to the opposite shore, of which she was a native...she was constant in her services' (Dawson 1831:291).

The attachment of the old women to the settlement also drew the younger women and children, to whom they were very important and over whom they held considerable influence, into the locus of the settlement. Older women were catalytic in the establishment of the settlement as a focal point for the Port Stephens Aboriginal community. This social evidence suggests that Port Stephens might have provided the right environment for the nativisation of NSW Pidgin. Children encouraged into the settlement through the influence of older women had the opportunity to acquire NSW Pidgin as one of their first languages.

4.2.4 Relations with Aboriginal people from outside the Port Stephens district

Dawson continually encouraged Aboriginal people from outside the Port Stephens district to visit his settlement. During his explorations of the districts inland from Port Stephens he encountered several groups of Aboriginal people with whom his Port Stephens guides had little or no connection. The guides were against making any contact with strangers but Dawson ignored their advice and persevered with his policy of establishing a friendly relationship with all Aboriginal people in order to further the interests of the AACo (7:5).

The settlement was occasionally visited by the people Dawson had encouraged. 'A native tribe from the upper part of the Hunter's River' paid him 'a friendly visit' while the Port Stephens people were at an outer station helping to build a wash-pool in the river for the sheep. The people were very worried when they heard of the visit and returned in a fashion designed to impress the others with their power (Dawson

1831:292). The Port Stephens people were keen to maintain their status with Dawson and to protect their country from intrusions. Dawson, in inviting strangers to Port Stephens, created unprecedented social and linguistic contact between Aboriginal people. He noted that the people of Port Stephens acquired kangaroo skin cloaks from people thirty or more miles inland 'after the intercourse which took place between these two tribes through my intervention' (Dawson 1831:337).

Dawson's policy of encouraging good relations with all Aboriginal people was based in good sense. He found that some people had become so incensed by the treatment they had received from the timber-getters that they continued to be hostile towards any colonist. Before Dawson settled at Port Stephens, the Aboriginal people from near the head of the Karuah River were provoked into killing a sawyer and in return several were shot by other timber-getters. One of the men wounded in the incident, Dawly, was a leader of the group and continued to be extremely hostile towards colonists. Dawson decided to attempt a conciliation with the man because he was 'uneasy on account of the shepherds, who by their situations and employments were necessarily exposed to his hostility' (Dawson 1831:262). He therefore attempted to 'obtain an interview' with Dawly. 'Several of his tribe' visited the settlement regularly on friendly terms and Dawson sent messages with them asking Dawly to *sit down* 'stay' with him. Dawly eventually met Dawson out of curiosity but never became 'domesticated' at the settlement as did others of his group. In spite of Dawly being 'inimical to all white men' he spoke 'a few words of broken English' (Dawson 1831:263). Even the most aloof Aboriginal people had some knowledge of NSW Pidgin.

4.2.5 Independent observation of Dawson's relationship with Aboriginal people

Dawson's interest in Aboriginal people and the practical necessity of his situation led him to attempt communication with them whenever he had the opportunity. He was proud of his success in cultivating the goodwill of Aboriginal people (Dawson

1831:265). However, Dawson's accommodating attitude towards Aboriginal people and his genuine enjoyment of their company contributed to his failure to please the colonial administration and subsequent dismissal as the AACo's manager. The company's first years in NSW were very difficult. They established their pastoral operations and took over the coal mines at Newcastle in a rather hostile colonial environment. The size of the enterprise and the support received from the Colonial Office made it a target for public criticism and envy (Pemberton 1986:1). As the AACo's first manager Dawson bore the brunt of public scrutiny and criticism. Following official investigations by the Colonial Committee Dawson was suspended from duties on 18 April 1828[136] (Pemberton 1986:2).

In 1827, James Macarthur criticised Dawson for being too tolerant of the Aboriginal population. Macarthur was conducting investigations for the Colonial Committee into Dawson's managership. His report stated that Dawson had achieved an unprecedented level of familiarity with Aboriginal people. In addition he had encouraged them to participate in the everyday life of the settlement in a manner which was not observed anywhere else in NSW. Macarthur's independent observations confirm Dawson's claims discussed above.

Macarthur wrote about Dawson's obvious pleasure in the company of Aboriginal people which was in contrast to that of other colonists and people born and raised in NSW. For example, he commented on Dawson's relationship with the men who crewed his boat.

> December 1827. Went to the Cotton Plantation four miles down the harbour at the entrance of an extensive cove, called the North Arm. —Mr. Dawson was of the party and appeared highly delighted with his sable boat crew. —The day was excessively warm, and the natives very lazy —The effluvia from their bodies was more than usually offensive, and although habituated to these 'petits desagrenens' from long residence in the Colony, not one of us could participate in Mr. Dawson's predilection for Black watermen. (Macarthur 1827:201)

---

[136]The history of Dawson's managership of the AACo is being investigated by Penny Pemberton who considers that Dawson was injudiciously dealt with and to some degree set up by the committee (Pemberton pc).

Macarthur continued with a general condemnation of the ease with which the settlers and Aboriginal people at Port Stephens co-existed. He also commented on Dawson's pride in being designated the 'Great Master' by the Aboriginal population. Macarthur could not tolerate Dawson's lenient attitude towards the Aboriginal population and their easy acceptance of him. The following account by Macarthur demonstrates his extreme prejudice towards Aboriginal people and the irrationality of his attacks on Dawson. The context was a corroboree staged by the local people and sanctioned by Dawson to welcome the visitors.

> A Corroborree of the natives, close to the Verandah finished the amusements of the day.—Such exhibitions when removed from their proper Scene, the Forest, become truly disgusting.—As I did not chuse to be a spectator, I retired early to our tent.—I was shortly afterwards followed by Mr. Cordeaux, who could not refrain from expressing his indignation at the brutality of exposing a young and well educated female to the pollution of such a scene.—Mrs Croasdill he said had been obliged to pass amidst this band of inebriated and highly excited Savages to her chamber, and even there it must have been quite impossible to exclude the sound of their indecent revelry.— I have more than once had occasion to feel for this Lady's situation and to blush for Mr. Dawson's insensibility.—It was a common occurrence to find three or four naked men and women blocking up the doorway and passages, or exposing their naked persons to the windows during dinner time.—This familiarity seems to be encouraged rather than checked.—The consequence is evident even now, and will daily become more so, to put down the insolence engendered by a system of misplaced and ill timed indulgence. Never have I met with so brutal so impudent so lazy a race as the natives of Port Stephens.—Instead of shrinking from an inadvertent intrusion, as I have seen the other natives invariably do, they appear to make a point of thrusting themselves in the way and assailing every one with their importunities.—I could perceive none of that feeling of respect for gentlemen which characterizes our natives.—On the contrary they seem to consider you only as the means of increasing their gratifications.—The only distinction I noticed was the calling Mr. Dawson Caboun Massa—Great Master—a title of which he appeared not a little vain.—The women are quite as bad, if not worse than the men. Various evils arise from this familiarity—the most serious of which is the frequency of disease[137].—There also are various infamous reports in common circulation, utterly without foundation I have no doubt—yet their mere existence does incalculable evil upon the Establishment. (Macarthur 1827:203)

---

[137]Venereal disease was a serious problem in the settlement, primarily amongst the convicts. The 'prevalence of the Venereal Disease amongst the prisoners' became such a serious problem that on 1 February 1828, Dawson posted a notice to the effect that anyone who contracted the disease was to immediately report to the surgeon and to become a hospital patient at Carrabean. He further ordered that any prisoner not reporting their condition as soon as it was known was to be punished (Dawson 1828).

Macarthur was so petty in his criticisms of Dawson that he even noted disapprovingly that Dawson paid Aboriginal people in cash rather than in kind for their labour (Macarthur 1827:206). Most people exploited Aboriginal labour by underpaying them with low-valued and often poor-quality goods.

4.2.6 Dawson's general observations about Aboriginal people within the settled districts

Dawson explained that while in NSW he made a 'hobby' of 'the study of human nature in its wild and untutored state, and in its gradual approaches to civilization' (1831:xiii). Combining his hobby with his work he aimed to develop a full understanding of the place of Aboriginal people in the agriculturalisation of the land. It surprised him that published accounts of NSW did not provide detailed information to potential migrants about the indigenous population (Dawson 1831:xiv).

By the early 1800s, popular opinion in the colony held that Aboriginal people who had extended contact with the settlements forfeited their Aboriginality while those who remained aloof were able to maintain their cultural integrity. Popular opinion held that Aboriginal people who lived away from colonial settlement in a relatively unaffected and 'uncivilised' state were the only genuine Aboriginal people. Conversely, Aboriginal people who lived within the limits of settlement and who were to varying degrees dependent on the colonists were 'corrupt' and therefore not genuinely Aboriginal. Dawson, for example, referred to the Aboriginal people in Sydney as a 'corrupted and degraded remnant of the native tribe...the fag-end of humanity'. However, he said they were unrepresentative of Aboriginal people in general (Dawson 1831:xiv).

Dawson observed that Aboriginal people had been incorporated in a variety of ways within the settled districts. In and around the older settlements, particularly

Sydney there was a lot of alcohol abuse and many Aboriginal people lived in squalid, poverty stricken conditions. Their lifestyle had been permanently affected to their detriment and they were almost unable to obtain food without begging it from colonists. Dawson saw 'beggar families which wander from house to house, after their country has been taken from them, and whose native simplicity has been exchanged for the drunken and degraded habits acquired amongst civilized people' (Dawson 1831:329).

However, Dawson also saw some Aboriginal people who were integrated into the mainstream of colonial life. For example, one day while riding from Sydney to Botany Bay he saw a 'black man' coming towards him 'with an exceedingly clean dress...a short white smock-frock, with a blue linen collar turned down, a coloured neckerchief tied round his neck, a pair of white trousers, and a good hat' (Dawson 1831:332). The 'neat and orderly' appearance of the man induced Dawson to suppose he was 'a foreign black' and he was surprised to find he was an Aboriginal man aged about twenty. The man spoke English 'as plainly and as intelligibly as an Englishman' and told Dawson that he was a labourer who usually worked for Mr Gordon Brown at Botany Bay. Dawson was sure the man was not personally responsible for his neat, well-kept appearance and was very surprised to learn that the man washed his own clothes and 'endeavoured to be as clean as he could when he went to town'. Dawson assumed that the man returned to Aboriginal society whenever he could but was again surprised with the reply:- 'Oh, yes!...I go now and then and have a yarn with them; but I never stay long, they drink too much for me'. He hoped to recruit the man as a model for the Aboriginal people at Port Stephens. However, the man said that 'the blacks...are too wild there for me, or I should like very well to go' (Dawson 1831:333). Dawson was even more surprised to find that Mr Brown confirmed his employee's story. He also found 'several fine black native boys employed at spinning and other work, in common with white children' at Simeon Lord's woollen cloth factory at Botany Bay (Dawson 1831:334).

Comments about authenticity of Aboriginality are essential to the study of pidgin language development. Aboriginal people who spoke pidgin or English and were integrated into colonial society were generally regarded as having degraded their Aboriginality. Therefore, contact language and contact culture were closely associated, at least in the minds of colonists. Their comments suggest that a 'new' Aboriginal culture had developed out of Aboriginal interactions with colonial society. The new culture promoted 'new' language and it was in that environment that contact language could thrive. It was often commented that Aboriginal people within the settlements spoke 'broken' English and that it was one of the identifying features of an Aboriginal person who was part of the new Aboriginal culture.

4.2.7 Aboriginal languages, trade and communication networks in the Port Stephens district

There were a number of Aboriginal languages used in the Port Stephens district. Those which have been clearly identified are Ghadhang[138] and its dialect Worimi[139] (Oates and Oates 1970:149) spoken between the Hunter and Hastings Rivers, from Port Macquarie to the Hawkesbury River. Also, Birpai[140] spoken from the mouth of the Manning River, inland to near Gloucester (Oates and Oates 1970:146-149). Birpai may also have been a dialect of Ghadhang (Holmer 1966:1). Nearby languages were Geawegal[141], Ngaku[142] and Dainggati[143] (Oates and Oates 1970:147-150, 165). Nils Holmer (1966, 1967) completed a comparative study of 'Kattang and Thangatti'[144]. He used living speakers of the languages as well as historical material in undertaking his research. His conclusion was that 'of the

---

[138]Also known as Kattang, Kittang, Kutthung (Oates and Oates 1970:149).
[139]Also known as Warrimee (Oates and Oates 1970:149).
[140]Also known as Birbai, Biribi, Birippi, Birrapee, Birripai, Bripi (Oates and Oates 1970:149).
[141] Also known as Gweagal or Gwegal.
[142]Also known as Ngagu.
[143]Also known as Dangadi, Dagati, Danggadi, Danggetti, Dhangatty, Tangetti, Thangatti and Thangatty.
[144]Throughout his works Holmer used established older spellings for the names of the languages. However he provided his own representations which were:- *gatang* and *dangati.*

languages surviving today Thangatti is the closest relation of Kattang, whether or not this depends on any kind of mixing of the two languages in recent times' (Holmer 1966:9). Holmer's study is the most substantial for any languages in the area in which the AACo operated under Dawson's managership. Therefore, although his published studies are not rigorous his information is drawn upon in making conclusions about possible Aboriginal language input to NSW Pidgin in the area.

Dawson believed that 'from the Hawkesbury to Port Macquarie they speak the same language on the coast, with some slight variation: how far this extends towards the north of Port Macquarie I cannot say, but at Morton Bay, as well as in Argyleshire and Bathurst, the languages differ' (Dawson 1831:336). As noted above, it is now known that at least two languages were spoken in and around the AACo settlement and that along the coast north of Sydney many languages were spoken[145]. However, Dawson's comment suggests that Aboriginal people were able to communicate across the linguistic boundaries. It is well-known that Aboriginal people were traditionally polyglot so his comment is very likely to have been accurate. Rev Threlkeld, at Port Macquarie, also commented that Aboriginal people were able to communicate across language boundaries and over long distances.

> The blacks have much and speedy communication one with the other from different parts of the colony even where their dialects are supposed to so much differ as to prevent conversation, and their messengers, always armed, painted red, and adorned often with down in their hair, communicate with speed to the different tribes. (Threlkeld 1828:98)

Aboriginal people in the Port Stephens district did not need a pidgin language to overcome traditional linguistic barriers. However, it is demonstrated below that NSW Pidgin was not only used between Aboriginal people and colonists but also between Aboriginal people for whom no language barrier existed. They used NSW Pidgin as part of their everyday repertoire.

---

[145]See for example the listings in Oates and Oates (1970:146-47).

Aboriginal trade routes and communication networks existed along the north coast of NSW long before the colonial period (Steele 1983). Once the existence of the tracks became known they were exploited by colonists in opening up country for settlement and moving people and stock. The colonists' interest in the tracks heightened their awareness and knowledge about the connections between Aboriginal people. For example, Dawson commented that 'it was formerly supposed that the Blue Mountain Ranges prevented any means of communication between the natives of the coast-line and those west of that range, and that they were therefore not the same people; but this is not the fact, for a communication has recently been discovered between Bathurst and Hunter's River, by which I sent at one time no less than two thousand sheep' (Dawson 1831:336).

Aboriginal people are likely to have disseminated information about the colonists and any developing contact language along their tracks[146]. Dawson commented on Aboriginal people being well informed about all the happenings within the settlements through their 'gossip' networks. For example, during one of Dawson's first trips to Sydney he was forced by bad weather to take shelter south of Port Stephens. Although he had never met them before the Aboriginal people there approached him as a friend. They accepted his offer of tobbacco and offered him fish in return. He commented that 'being always well informed of all passing events in the bush, they knew who I was' (Dawson 1831:69).

While exploring inland Dawson also came across many groups of Aboriginal people with whom his Port Stephens guides were unfamiliar and who did not speak any NSW Pidgin. However, the same people had goods such as iron tomahawks and pieces of glass used as scrapers which they had obtained from Aboriginal people in

[146]Dutton (1983:95) noted that the Aboriginal 'bush telegraph' was the means by which the term 'faiv-allan' was distributed from Stradbroke Island seventy miles inland to the Darling Downs. The term was first heard by Aboriginal people on Stradbroke when castaway convicts gave them 'Five Islands' biscuits. Similarly, Aboriginal people at Roma in Queensland use the term 'the King' for alcohol just as Bennelong taught Sydney people to do in the 1790s (Troy 1990:137).

settled districts (Dawson 1831:135). Although the people had evidently not seen colonists or horses before they had 'no doubt...been made acquainted, through the medium of other tribes, with the residence of white men in the country' (Dawson 1831:135)[147]. Dawson and his Port Stephens guides on this occasion indavertently taught the unfamiliar Aboriginal people the pidgin word *choogar-bag* meaning 'honey, or any thing sweet' (Dawson 1831:137).

Dawson wrote about the pleasure the Aboriginal people he knew found in communicating with other Aboriginal groups. He noted that news of all kinds including information about the colonists and their movements was passed along the networks that connected Sydney and Port Stephens. The colonists facilitated the trade of information by giving Aboriginal people the excuses and often the means to travel outside their country. For example, Dawson often entrusted Aboriginal people with messages and post to carry to Newcastle.

> They will take letters or parcels from hence to Newcastle, (about forty miles,) for Sydney...upon the safe delivery of which you may...certainly calculate...but as they are great gossips, they will occasionally stop with their neighbours if they fall in with them, unless they are tied to return by an appointed time. (Dawson 1831:69)

He noted that 'you cannot calculate upon the time of delivery by them, for they are great Gossips and will rest with their neighbours in the woods a day or two if they meet with them on their Journey' (Dawson 1826b:18).

It is certain that some knowledge of NSW Pidgin existed in and around Port Stephens before Dawson settled the area because on arrival he found that some Aboriginal people of the district spoke 'broken English'. He wrote that a few people had acquired 'some English' from the settlement at Newcastle and it is very likely that they taught what they had learned to other Aboriginal people.

> Before I go on, I ought to state that some of these natives had been with white people before at Newcastle from which this place is distant about 40 miles by

[147]For an extended account of the event see 7:57.

> land and some cedar cutting parties having been up the river here these natives had gained a smattering of English. (Dawson 1826b:11-12)

Dawson described an incident when the colonists first arrived at Port Stephens with their cattle and the animals broke loose. The local Aboriginal people ran away from the cattle and 'sat in the branches, laughing and shouting in broken English, to direct their white friends which way to run to recover the cattle' (Dawson 1831:31). In a letter written in February 1826 when he was first in Port Stephens Dawson commented 'this was not the first time they had seen White "Pellows" as they call us, for they could all speak a little English' (Dawson 1826a:4). It seems they were familiar with some colonial goods because they eagerly accepted Dawson's gifts of tobacco and bread. In return they offered to stay with him for the night and help him collect bark to build huts the next day.

Through Dawson's early and sustained success in his efforts to encourage Aboriginal people to become part of the settlement NSW Pidgin had an ideal environment in which to flourish at Port Stephens. Dawson's embellishment of his writings with NSW Pidgin indicates it was certainly the language of cross-cultural communication in the settlement. There is also a little evidence that Aboriginal people used NSW Pidgin in attempting to overcome language barriers with other Aboriginal groups. This was particularly evident during Dawson's expeditions into the interior of the country when he used Port Stephens men as guides. For example, as noted above, on one expedition the Port Stephens guides interpreted the gestures used by some unfamiliar Aboriginal people to mean 'honey'. They told Dawson that the strangers were referring to **sugabag** 'honey', on which the strangers promptly ceased their sign language and used the NSW Pidgin word **sugabag** (Dawson 1831:136). On another of Dawson' expeditions inland he noted that his Port Stephens guides were sitting around the fire at night discussing amongst themselves the day's happenings 'principally in their own language, but occasionally in broken English...I could listen unobserved to the conversation that was going on. The little

that I understood of their language, and their occasional use of mongrel English, sufficed to give me a clue to it' (Dawson 1831:152)[148]. On another occasion a group of Port Stephens men were sitting together after a kangaroo hunt and one of them 'was chattering and boasting in broken English of the superiority of his skill' (Dawson 1831:174-5).

Dawson noted that an ability to communicate with colonists and with himself in particular became a status symbol amongst Aboriginal people.

> At Port Stephens those men (if of mature age) possessed the largest share of influence who could speak the most English, or who were supposed to have the greatest interest with me. (Dawson 1831:328)

There is also evidence that Aboriginal people who acted as messengers for the colonists between the settlements delivered their messages in NSW Pidgin. For example, an Aboriginal man gave Dawson a message in 'broken English' (7:184).

Dawson believed that in using NSW Pidgin Aboriginal people were simply speaking grossly reduced English which had very limited communicative value beyond expressing simple ideas.

> It was generally said in England, that they spoke English well, the reverse is the fact, even when they have been much and long amongst the English. (Dawson 1826b:16-17)

> They have all a smattering of our language, but I have seen none who can speak it well enough to explain themselves beyond an idea. Still they are not fools, but very much the contrary. (Dawson 1826b:14)

> ...the ceremony of marriage or the rules and customs of taking a Wife, they have never in their broken English, been able to explain to me. (Dawson 1826b:16)

---

[148]See also (7:58).

4.3 LINGUISTIC EVIDENCE

4.3.1 Introduction

Comments within his book suggest that Dawson acquired a little knowledge of Aboriginal languages[149]. However, when Aboriginal people used only their vernacular languages Dawson relied on his Aboriginal friends to act as interpreters[150]. Dawson valued his knowledge of Aboriginal languages, minimal though it was, and used that knowledge when possible. As noted above, he named the country he explored with Aboriginal rather than English names.

> The convenience of this in our intercourse with the Natives is obvious and in general their names are better than any I could find for them. (Dawson 1826)

The language which Dawson used for communicating with Aboriginal people was NSW Pidgin. The extensive passages of NSW Pidgin in his letters and book indicate that he had acquired a reasonable working knowledge of the language as it was spoken in the Port Stephens district. The use of NSW Pidgin as the principal means of communication between the people at the AACo establishment and the local Aboriginal population no doubt contributed to the development of the language.

A comparison between the texts in Dawson's book and those of his letters indicates that the letters were used as working notes for the book. In the nineteenth century, people normally kept copies of all their correspondence often through the use of carbon copy books. Dawson also used one of his journals which he produced while he was the AACo manager[151] as a chapter in his book because it was 'written on the spot, when the objects and their impressions were fresh in my memory' (Dawson 1831:44, xii-xiii). Reference to his other journals suggests that Dawson used them as general background. In writing from notes which he had collected

---

[149]For example, he was able to make a limited comparison between the Aboriginal language he encountered west of the Blue Mountains 'about a hundred miles from Port Stephens' and the language with which he was familiar at Port Stephens. He wrote that he 'discovered several words which had the same sound and signification as at Port Stephens, although the language was different' (Dawson 1831:336-337).

[150]See for example the Dawson's comments (7:57, 58).

[151]The location of the journals, if they still exist, is unknown.

first-hand Dawson provided a reliable account of at least his own knowledge of NSW Pidgin.

> Having resided in Australia for three years as the chief agent of the Australian Agricultural Company, and having travelled over a very considerable portion of the located as well as the unlocated parts of the colony, I have had ample opportunity of acquiring such information as I hope will be found acceptable and useful to those who are desirous of knowing what the country really is...I shall detail the result of my observations in my own plain and homely language, making no pretensions to a finished style of composition, which the activities of my professional career during the last twenty-five years have afforded me but very slender opportunities of acquiring; and trusting that the public, before whom I am now induced to appear at the earnest...recommendation of some valued friends who have seen my Journals, will consider the simplicity of truth, and the honest testimony of an unprejudiced mind, as some compensation for the absence of polished style and methodical arrangement. (Dawson 1831:xii-xiii)

Dawson's stated purpose in writing his book was to provide prospective migrants from England with information about the agricultural potential of NSW. He considered that much of the information available in England at the time was based on 'extravagant and romantic ideas' (1831:xii). He regarded his experience of NSW as considerable and authoritative. Accuracy was important to him. The emphasis he placed on his work as a superior account indicates that his language data was subject to the same restraints of accuracy and unembellished authenticity.

Although Dawson's book was ostensibly about the agricultural character of NSW he included a large amount of detail about the Aboriginal people with whom he was familiar. He was appalled by the treatment of Aboriginal people in general and unreconciled to the bigoted opinions he heard expressed by some colonists. In further explaining his purpose in writing the book he noted that an accurate representation of the Aboriginal people was one of his aims. The comment adds further weight to the reliability of his language data. He posited the notion that he was the most expert and experienced colonist on the subject of Aboriginal people. His was not a sustainable claim, but one which indicated a commitment to his relationship with the Aboriginal people he had known.

> The following pages are not put forth to gratify the vanity of authorship, but with the view of communicating facts where much misrepresentation has existed, and to rescue, as far as I am able, the character of a race of beings (of whom I believe I have seen more than any other European has done) from the gross misrepresentations and unmerited obloquy that has been cast upon them. (Dawson 1831:xiii)

Dawson's NSW Pidgin data attest considerable morphological stability. However, his belief that the data he recorded was 'broken English' (Dawson 1831:31) indicates that he saw it as a jargon rather than a language with rules to acquire. Dawson's data is complicated by being the product of a person who was not aware that the 'broken English' spoken around him was a developing language system in its own right.

There are inconsistencies within the data which could be attributed to a number of sources such as interference from Dawson's English, inherent instability in the pidgin and input from local Aboriginal languages. Dawson acquired NSW Pidgin as a second language over the three years of his stay in Port Stephens and it is likely that he spoke it as an interlanguage rather than as a fluent second language. Therefore, inconsistencies of form should first be suspect of being the mistakes made by an interlanguage speaker of NSW Pidgin rather than inherent instabilities in the language. The data passed through the normalising filter of Dawson's knowledge of English. He struggled to speak the language as a simplified form of English rather than a separate language.

Prior to Dawson's arrival in the Port Stephens district, Aboriginal people of the area had little use for NSW Pidgin. As explained above, some people from Port Stephens had been exposed to NSW Pidgin in Sydney and Newcastle. However, the establishment of the AACo settlement created an environment with a communicative need for a lingua franca that was filled by NSW Pidgin. NSW Pidgin was new to the district and many of its Aboriginal speakers were also likely to have been just acquiring the language. Like Dawson, their speech would also have demonstrated some predictable instabilities of grammatical and lexical form. Each speaker in the

context was at a different point in acquisition of the language. Their usage would have reinforced Dawson's impression of NSW Pidgin as an unstable jargon rather than an established system.

Dawson recognised that there were differences between the way in which he spoke NSW Pidgin and the way in which Aboriginal people spoke the language (for example, 7:83). He represented those differences with orthographic conventions which indicated something of the phonetics of Aboriginal use of NSW Pidgin. For example, he transcribed 'that' as *dat* and 'thousand' as *tousand* indicating that Aboriginal speakers did not distinguish interdental fricatives. Dawson's orthography provides some evidence for the phonology of NSW Pidgin as he perceived the system. It is not possible to know exactly what sounds Dawson intended his orthography to represent. However, some generalisations can be made by comparing his orthography with information about the sound systems of Kattang and Thangatti as described by Holmer (1966). This is discussed in some detail in Appendix 22.

Dawson's data does not provide a complete record of Aboriginal use of NSW Pidgin although it is suggestive of such a usage. It would obscure the nature of the data to force it into a mould based simply on the phonological system of the Aboriginal languages used at Port Stephens without regard for Dawson's pronunciation. For reasons already given, even with his attempt to distinguish his own use of NSW Pidgin from that of its melanolect speakers Dawson's data only represents the leukolect of NSW Pidgin. Therefore, Dawson's observations must be credited even where they appear to be in variance with the phonologies of local Aboriginal languages.

4.3.2 Grammar and lexicon of NSW Pidgin spoken at Port Stephens

4.3.2.1 Introduction

As noted above, Dawson quite deliberately used more and less English influenced versions of NSW Pidgin as a stylistic device to indicate in his writings that the NSW Pidgin spoken by of non-Aboriginal and Aboriginal people was different. His data reinforces my Melaleuka model. The data Dawson attributed to himself is a heavily English influenced version of the leukolect of NSW Pidgin. It is comparable to the kinds of registers spoken by non-speakers of pidgin in other world contexts, particularly in colonial situations[152]. In contrast, the data Dawson attributed to Aboriginal speakers contained reasonably consistent NSW Pidgin features with evidence, as noted above (and see Appendix 22), of phonological variation from standard English. However, in transcribing this 'heavier' version of NSW Pidgin he indicates that he had greater control of NSW Pidgin than is suggested by the language he ascribed to himself. I have concentrated here on the most salient NSW Pidgin data recorded by Dawson. Convergences between features in both the heavy and light forms of speech indicate the most salient features of NSW Pidgin.

4.3.2.2 Lexicon

The lexicon of NSW Pidgin, recoverable from the data, consists of around three hundred items most of which are English borrowings with a small number from Aboriginal languages. Seventeen items are borrowings from the Sydney language and five items are from Kattang and Thangatti. Four items are common to both areas but may originally have been borrowings from Sydney because the available descriptions of Kattang and Thangatti are from the middle of this century and do not provide a true, pre-contact picture of the language. Two items are from Jagara of the Brisbane River district, Queensland—**bangwal** 'an edible fern-root' and **boi** 'die' which may have been a combination of Jagara *bong* and English 'die'. One item, 'kangaroo' is from Guugu Yimidhirr of the Endeavour River, north Queensland

[152]In Papua New Guinea, for example, the speech of non-natives is commonly known as Tok Masta.

which by this time had entered the common vocabulary of Australian English (see 2.2.5). There are also about sixty five recoverable items which were created with the productive processes of NSW Pidgin. This estimate is conservative and does not include items which, although they may have been part of the repertoire of NSW Pidgin, are not distinguishable from English because of inadequacies within the data.

4.3.2.3 Morphology

Most morphemes in the data are free although there are two bound suffixes. Dawson's transcription, based as it is on the English writing system does not provide any clues about morpheme boundaries. However, it is clear from the use of particular items that they are bound. The bound suffixes are a nominaliser **-fela** (from English 'fellow', written *pellow* by Dawson) and a transitiviser with two variants **-it** and **-im** (from English 'it' and 'him' respectively). This is the first data which clearly attests **-im** although **-it** was apparent in the earlier data from Sydney.

There are items derived from English compound nouns, for example, **blakkamp** 'Aboriginal camp' literally 'blacks' camp' and **gabamenman** 'convict' literally 'government man'. There are also single morphemes which are derived from English phrases, for example, **baimbai** 'later' literally 'bye and bye' and which acts as a temporal adverb in the data. The data also contains compounds composed of an item from an Aboriginal language combined with an English item, for example, **bushdingo** 'wild dog' literally 'bush dingo', **blakjin** 'Aboriginal woman' literally 'black gin'. Reduplication of morphemes serves to intensify the meaning of an item, for example, **debildebil** 'great devil', **marrimarri** 'very, very much'. It is usual for morphemes to be fully reduplicated.

4.3.2.4 Nouns

Nouns are invariant for number and gender, can be modified with determiners, numbers and adjectives and can be single items or phrases. There is also one piece

of evidence in the data for Port Stephens for a privative form **gotno**. It modifies the nominal **pata** 'food'—**gotno pata** 'have no food' (7:162).

The suffix **-fela** functions as a nominalising suffix unmarked for number or gender which (i) converts English attributive adjectives to nouns, for example, **waitfela** 'non-Aboriginal person[153]', **blakfela** 'Aboriginal person', **painfela** 'fine one', **maiolfela** 'wild one', and (ii) English demonstrative adjectives to demonstrative pronouns, for example, **datfela** 'that one'. By conversion, compound nouns created with **-fela** also act as adjectives modifying a head noun to create a new compound, for example, **blakfela kui** 'Aboriginal call', **blakfela paia** 'Aboriginal fire', **bushblakfela** 'wild Aboriginal person'.

Noun phrases contain four optional positions and one obligatory which is a noun. There is some instability in the data but generally the noun phrase structure is:-
(DET) + (NUM) + (ADJ) + NOM

4.3.2.4.1 Determiners

There is some evidence for three articles in the Port Stephens data (Table 7). The definite article **de** 'the' appears only once in the data (77). The plural form or collective article **ol** 'all' is the best attested item (78, 79).

TABLE 7: Articles in the Port Stephens data

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
DEFINITE	**de**	
INDEFINITE	**a**	
GENERIC		**ol**

(77) *de ribber* (7:52)
de riba
the river

[153]'Person' is optional. However, it is now preferred by Aboriginal people to 'Aborigine' or 'Aboriginal'.

(78) *All black pellow been say so, massa.* (7:53)
ol blakfela bin seiso massa
The Aboriginal people said so, master.

(79) *All black pellow do so.* (7:74)
ol blakfela duso
The Aboriginal people do so.

One sentence contains indefinite article **a** (80). However, the evidence is weak as **a** is used as part of what is a fixed collocation in English.

(80) *Only a little bit, massa.* (7:149)
onli a litlbit massa
Only a little bit, master.

Another datum contains the English dialect form 't'other' (81) in which in which *t'* is a relic of the English definite article 'the' (*OED*).

(81) *t'oder side* (7:166)
tadasaid
the other side

There are two demonstrative determiners attested in the data (Table 8), **dis** 'this' (82) and **dat** 'that' (83). The absence of plural forms is probably attributable to a gap in the data.

TABLE 8: Demonstrative determiners in the Port Stephens data

	SINGULAR
NEAR	**dis**
FAR	**dat**

(82) *Dis my place.* (7:17)
dis mai pleis
This is my place.

(83) *Dat murry good massa.* (7:9)
dat marri gud massa
That is very good, master.

There are only two possessive determiners attested (Table 9)—**mai** 'my' (82, 84) and **dat** 'her' (85). Once again, the fact that all the determiners are singular suggests a gap in the data. 'Your' is well-attested in the data Dawson ascribed to himself, but it is not attested in the speech he ascribed to Aboriginal speakers.

TABLE 9: Possessive determiners in the Port Stephens data

	SINGULAR
1	**mai**
3	**dat**

(84) *Oh, my massa, my massa, my massa!* (7:138)
o mai massa mai massa mai massa
Oh, my master, my master, my master!

(85) *Mary come me. Dat husband murry bad man.* (7:11)
Mari kam mi dat hasband marri bad man
Mary came to me. Her husband is a very bad man.

4.3.2.4.2 Number

Quantity is indicated in the data by numerals and general quantifiers. Plural marking with the usual English '-s' on nominals is also attested. The plural forms are likely to have been borrowed in full from English as there is no evidence that plural '-s' was a productive suffix in NSW Pidgin, it was not extrapolated to other nouns. For example, while **oistas** 'oysters' was borrowed in full **pish** 'fish' did not gain a plural 's' but remained invariant for number as it is in English (87). One example contains a combination of a NSW Pidgin numeral **marritausand** with English plural marking on **tings** (86).

(86) *Murry tousand tings, you know.* (7:9)
marri tausand tings yuno
Very many things, you know.

(87) *Dat bring massa pish when urokah jump up, and corbon oysters.* (7:9)
dat bring massa pish wen uroka jampap and kabon oistas
I will bring master fish at dawn, and also large oysters.

The attested cardinal numbers are **wan** 'one' (88), **tu** 'two' (88, 90), **tri** 'three' (88, 89), **fo** 'four' (88, 89), **faiv** 'five' (88, 89) and **marritausand** 'any number beyond five' (91). Dawson also claimed that Aboriginal people 'have no idea of numbers beyond five, which are reckoned by the fingers...when they wish to express a number, they hold up so many fingers: beyond five they say, 'murry tousand,' (many thousands)...ten fingers indicate many thousand, or any large number that the imagination may form' (7:16, 175). **Marritausand** is a compound created from

marri 'very, big, great' and English numeral 'thousand' which never occurs alone in the data. Holmer noted that Kattang and Thangatti have 'only two basic numerals the one for "one" and the other for "two", which means that numerals do not extend even beyond duality' (Holmer 1966:59). The five number system and their forms were acquired, by Aboriginal people, from English.

(88) *One two tree four five nangry.* (7:186)
wan tu tri fo faiv nangri
One, two, three, four, five days.

(89) *Tree, pour, pive nangry* (7:8)
tri fo faiv nangri
Three, four, five days.

(90) *Two Piccaninies too much cry.* (7:200)
tu pikaniniz tumatj krai
Two children cry too much.

(91) *Thab get it murry tousand Bark.* (7:186)
dat getit marritausand bark
We will get a lot of bark.

There are two general quantifiers attested in the data, **plenti** 'many, a lot of' (92, 94) and **ol** 'all' (93) which indicates all the known objects in a group.

(92) *Plenty Black pellow get it plenty Bark.* (7:186)
plenti blakfela getit plenti bark
Many Aboriginal people will get a lot of bark.

(93) *All black pellow belonging to massa now, you know.* (7:9)
ol blakfela blongentu massa nau yuno
All the Aboriginal people are master's now, you know.

4.3.2.5 Pronouns

There are subject (Table 10) and object (Table 11) personal pronouns as well demonstrative and interrogative pronouns attested in the data. There is also a pronoun form **dat** which is salient for all the slots filled except first person plural inclusive. **Dat** was a probably a generic deictic marker.

The data suggest that speakers of NSW Pidgin occasionally spoke in the third person and used their name or title or the speaker's name rather than an appropriate pronoun (94, 95).

(94) *Plenty look out belonging to Billy Bungaree always.* (7:159)
plenti lukaut blongentu Bili Bangari olweiz
Billy Bungaree [I] always keeps watch a lot.

(95) *Bush dingo been patter when black pellow sleep.* (7:85)
bushdingo bin pata wen blakfela slip
Wild dogs ate it while Aboriginal people [we] slept.

TABLE 10: Subject pronouns in the Port Stephens data

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1 INC	**ai** (96), **mi** (97)	**wiol** (99, 100), **wi** (114)
1 EXC		**wi** (101)
2	**yu** (103)	
3	**hi** (105, 106), **it** (107)	**dei** (111), **ol** (112)

1SG

(96) *I tumble down pickaninny here.* (7:2)
ai tamboldaun pikanini hia
I was born here.

(97) *Me tingle man I bleve.* (7:58)
mi tingolman aibliv
I am a single man, right!

(98) *Dat bring massa pish.* (7:9)
dat bring massa pish
I will bring master fish.

1PL.INC

(99) *We all sitdown together, we all get drunk together.* (7:62, 63)
wiol sitdaun tugeda wiol get drank tugeda
We stay together, we get drunk together.

(100) *We all moru together.* (7:100)
wiol moru tugeda
We all walk together.

1PL.EXC

(101) *We tee, massa. We look out. We get it bark.* (7:8)
wi si massa wi lukaut wi getit bark
We see, master. We watch. We will get bark.

(102) *Dat go tit down with you.* (7:12)
dat go sitdaun with yu
We will stay with you.

2SG

(103) *You hear, Massa?* (7:1)
yu hia massa
Do you hear, master?

(104) *Dat gib ticket always.* (7:121)
dat gib tiket olweiz
You provide a letter, always.

3SG

(105) *Why for he leabe black camp when dark?* (7:18)
waifo hi lib blakkamp wen dark
Why does he leave the Aboriginal camp at night?

(106) *He come den.* (7:122)
hi kam den
She will come then.

(107) *Mary no like it, so it leabe it.* (7:11)
Mari no laikit so it libit
Mary did not like it, so she left him.

(108) *Dat murry good massa. Dat belonging to kangaroo.* (7:9)
dat marrigud massa dat blongentu kangaru
That was very good, master. It the kangaroo's.

(109) *Dat boy, I bleve massa.* (7:139)
dat boi aibliv massa
She will die, I think, master.

(110) *Dimmy Bungaree no good, dat too mun gerret I bleve.* (7:44)
Dimi Bangari nogud dat tumatj jaran aibliv
Jimmy Bungaree is bad, he is too much afraid, I think.

3PL

(111) *Dey no good, massa* (7:19)
dei nogud massa
They are bad, master.

(112) *All tit down here.* (7:44)
ol sitdaun hia
They will stay here.

(113) *Dat good, massa.* (7:19)
dat gud massa
They are good, master.

TABLE 11: Object pronouns in the Port Stephens data

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1 INC	**mi** (114, 115)	
1 EXC		**miolabaut** (116)
2	**yu** (117)	**yu** (118), **oltugeda** (119)
3	**hi** (120), **dat** (121) **shi** (7:122)	**it** (133), **dat** (132)

1SG

(114) *Brodder belonging to me, massa: tit down here always.* (7:1)
brada blongentu mi massa sitdaun hia olweiz
My brother always stays here.

(115) *Myall pellow tit down here dat patter me.* (7:43)
maiolfela sitdaun hia dat pata mi
The strangers who stay here, they will eat me.

One sentence is ambiguous (116) and can be analysed as containing an indefinite pronoun **olabaut** 'everything' or a personal pronoun **miolabaut** meaning first plural exclusive 'all of us but not you'. The context suggests that the speaker was referring to himself and that the pronoun **mi** is used as a personal referent 'me'. However, it is well established that Aboriginal people have always practised collective land ownership and it is unlikely that the man really meant he personally owned the land. Therefore, the sentence is open to two interpretations depending on the reader's point of view. However, in terms of the rule for use of the possessive **blongentu** which is that the possessed precedes and the possessor follows the preposition it is most likely that the pronoun is **miolabaut**[154].

(116) *Belonging to me all about, massa.* (7:2)

blongentu	**miolabaut**	**massa**
POSS	1PL.EX	master

It belongs to us, massa.

2SG

(117) *I been tee you Port Tebid good while ago.* (7:133)
ai bin si yu Pot Tebid gudwailago
I saw you at Port Stephens a good while ago.

2PL

(118) *You look out.* (7:155)
yu lukaut
You people keep watch.

(119) *We're brothers all together.* (7:60)
wi bradas oltugeda
As for us, we are brothers.

---

[154]The other interpretation of (117) is that it contains an indefinite pronoun **olabaut**. **Olabaut** is also attested in the data as an adverb.
Belonging to me all about, massa. (7:2)

blongentu	**mi**	**olabaut**	**massa**
POSS	1SG	INDEF.PN	master

Everything belongs to me, master.

3SG

(120) *I make it know what he 'bout.* (7:17)
ai meikitno wot hi baut
I will make known what he is doing.

(121) *You poiler dat no blow black pellow up again.* (7:194)
yu paiala dat no blo blakfela ap agen
You tell him not to chastise Aboriginal people again.

3PL

(122) *Me piola dat again I bleve.* (7:57)
mi paiala dat agen aibliv
I will speak to them again, I think.

The productive suffix **-fela** combined with the demonstrative determiner **dat** creates demonstrative pronoun **datfela** (123).

(123) *Yes, I know dat pellow; dat Wool Cope.* (7:157)
yes aino datfela dat Wul Kop
Yes, I know him; he is Old Cope.

One sentence (124) contains a possible relative pronoun **dat** 'who'. However, it is more likely that the pronoun is the third singular form 'he'.

(124) *Dat make it house for black pellow dat boy.* (7:29)

dat	**meikit**	**haus**	**fo**	**blakfela**	**dat**	**boi**
3SG	make	grave	PREP	Aboriginal person	3SG	die

He made a grave for the Aboriginal man, he died.

4.3.2.6 Verbs

Dawson recorded a variety of verbs, some of which were borrowings from English but whose usage and/or meaning was not predictable from English. The verbs were created from:-

(1) single English morphemes, for example, **katj** 'catch', **teik** 'take';

(2) compounds of two or more English morphemes which create a single morpheme, for example, **sitdaun** 'stay, remain' from 'sit down', **lukaut** 'watch, seek, wait, find' from 'look out'; or

(3) lexicon from various Aboriginal languages, for example, **koroberi** 'dance' from the Sydney language word **garabara** 'a dance', **wadi** 'beat' from another Sydney language word **wudi** 'a club'.

The verbs take tense, mode and aspect markers and are suffixed for transitivity. Although there is some instability in the data the verb phrase generally consists of three optional elements and one obligatory one, the verb. The phrase structure is generally:- (TENSE) + VERB + (ASPECT)

Dawson's data contains evidence of a transitive suffix with the two forms **-it** and **-im** which are in free variation and are equally in evidence (125, 126).

(125) *You like blackpellow Massa you gib it cornmeal, you gib it Mogo and moak.* (7:190)
yu laik blakfela massa yu gibit konmil yu gibit mogo and mok
If you like Aboriginal people, master. You give [them] cornmeal, you give [them] tomahawks, and tobacco.

(126) *You like him, black pellow? You gib him corn meal; moak, tomahawk.* (7:9)
yu laikim blakfela yu gibim konmil mok tomahok
Do you like Aboriginal people, master you should give them cornmeal, tobacco and tomahawks.

Although Dawson recorded the transitive suffix he did not understand its use and believed it to be a personal pronoun. Clear evidence of his confusion is found in one text where he glossed **-it** as 'you' (127).

(127) *That (we) get it (you) murry tousand Bark.* (7:186)
dat getit marri tausand bark
We will get you a lot of bark.

Occasionally the transitive suffix is omitted (128, 129).

(128) *Plenty black pellow, massa: get plenty bark.* (7:8)
plenti blakfela massa get plenti bark
Many Aboriginal people, master will get many pieces of bark.

(129) *Dey go udder side harbour, to get pipe-clay.* (7:28)
dei go adasaid haba tu get paipklei
They go to the other side of the harbour to get pipe-clay.

Within the data, most English-derived verbs take a transitive suffix while verbs derived from Aboriginal languages do not. For example, the item noted above **wodi** 'to beat' does not take a transitive suffix (130).

(130) *He waddy Mary.* (7:11)
hi wodi Mari
He beat Mary.

Some English-derived verbs do not take a transitive suffix if they are also used as intransitive verbs within the data. For example, **lukaut** 'seek, watch' from English 'look out' can be both intransitive (131) and transitive (132) but does not take the transitive suffix.

(131) *I look out; I take care.* (7:11)
ai lukaut ai teikke
I will watch out. I will take care.

(132) *Bael dat look out kangaroo last night, massa—dat been look out black pellow.* (7:86)
bail dat lukaut kangaru lastnait massa dat bin lukaut blakfela
He did not look for a kangaroo last night, master. He looked for an Aboriginal person.

One datum provides evidence of the acquisition of the transitive marker by unmarked verbs and suggests one of the processes by which the marker was derived. In the sentence (133) **it** still functions as a pronoun 'it' but suggests its more common function as a transitive marker.

(133) *I bleve, murry pretty girls tit down there, massa; Me go look it out by and bye.* (7:58)
aibliv marri priti gerlz sitdaun dea massa mi go lukitaut baimbai
I think, very pretty girls stay there, master. I will go and find them soon.

Verb stems are not suffixed for tense and where markers are used they are free morphemes. However, tense can be unmarked and implied by the context of the utterance. The present tense is most often signalled with temporal adverb **nau** (134).

(134) *We drink little now, you know.* (7:9)
wi drink litl nau yuno
We are drinking a little now, you know.

There is some evidence to suggest that **baut** is a present continuous verbal suffix equivalent to English '-ing'. In two sentences (135, 136) **baut** appears to be suffixed to **krai** creating the present continuous verb **kraiabaut**.

(135) *Too mun pickaninny, massa; too much cry about.* (7:80)
tumatj pikanini massa tumatj kraiabaut
Too many children, master, means too much crying.

(136) *Dat leab off by and bye; too much cry about always.* (7:177)
dat libof baimbai tumatj kraiabaut olweiz
He will stop soon. He always cries too much.

In another sentence (137) **baut** is used as the present continuous form of 'do', i.e. to 'be about'.

(137) *I make it know what it about.* (7:209)
I make it know what he 'bout. (7:17)
ai meikit no wot hi/it baut
I will make known what he is doing.

One datum evidences the use of incompletive **yet** (138).

(138) *Look out black gin good while ago; bael get him yet.* (7:58)
lukaut blakjin gudwailago bail gotim yet
I looked for an Aboriginal wife a good while ago, but did not get her yet.

The past tense is usually marked with **bin** before the verb stem (117). Distant past is sometimes indicated with the English phrase 'good while ago' meaning 'a long time ago' (117, 138). However, two sentences contain possible variations of the past tense that may have been borrowed in full into NSW Pidgin. In the first, Dawson used the English auxiliary 'have' (139) and in the second he used the English past tense of the verb 'say' (140).

(139) *Plenty black pellow have tee him.* (7:57)
plenti blakfela hab siim
Many Aboriginal people have seen him.

(140) *Pose dat black pellow, I taid, dable what he do dare?* (7:18)
pos dat blakfela ai sed debil wot hi du dea
If that was an Aboriginal person, I would have said, 'devil what are you doing there?'.

There is no evidence of future tense. Unmarked verb forms can at times be interpreted to refer to future events (141).

(141) *You no pear; I look out; I take care; I top pear, I tee him; I catch him, massa.* (7:11)
yu no pia ai lukaut ai teikke ai stop spia ai siim ai katjim massa
Don't you fear, I will watch, I will take care, I will stop the spears when I see him. I will catch him master.

However, two sentences suggest the inception of **go** as a future marker equivalent to 'will' (142, 143).

(142) *Then you go patter tea along with all black pellows at the camp.* (7:41)
den yu go pata ti along with ol blakfela at de kamp
Then you will drink tea with all the Aboriginal people at the camp.

(143) *Dat go tit down with you.* (7:12)
dat go sitdaun with yu
We will stay with you.

Future tense is also indicated with the temporal adverb **baimbai** from English 'by and by' meaning 'in the future, soon, later' (144).

(144) *Dey come back again by and by.* (7:28)
dei kam bak agen baimbai
They will come back again soon.

The data provides one attestation for one modal verb, **nokan** 'cannot' (145).

(145) *No can find him, massa.* (7:162)
nokan faindim massa
We cannot find him, master.

One sentence suggests that the adverb **gamon** can indicate that a statement is false (146).

(146) *Gammon! you belonging to carpenter.* (7:159)
gamon yu blongentu kapenta
It is nonsense that you are a carpenter.

Four kinds of aspect are marked in the data—cessative, habitual, inceptive and repetitive. Cessative is marked with **nomo** from English 'no more' and meaning 'not anymore' (147, 148) and **neba** 'never' (148).

(147) *Black pellow no more gammon.* (7:64)
blakfela nomo gamon
Aboriginal people do not lie anymore.

(148) *No more crammer, massa, nebber.* (7:165)
nomo krama massa neba
We no do not steal anymore, master, never.

Habitual is marked with **olweiz** from English 'always' and meaning 'always' (94, 114, 137, 149).

(149) *Black pellow like it nangry on beach always, when moroo coal ribber.* (7:14)
blakfela laikit nangri on bitj olweiz wen moru Kol Riba
Aboriginal people always like to sleep on the beach when walking to Coal River.

Inceptive aspect indicating a change in state is marked with the verb **kam** plus an adjective (**kam** from English 'come' and meaning in this context 'to become') (150).

(150) *Murry tousand moon den come wool-man.* (7:80)
marritausand mun den kam olman
After many thousand months then I will become an old man.

The adverb **agen** indicates repetitive aspect (151-53).

(151) *Top bit, massa, by and bye, me piola dat again I bleve.* (7:57)
stopabit massa baimbai mi paiala dat agen aibliv
Wait, master, soon I will speak to them again, I think.

(152) *Pose gib it blanket, den go in bush gain, you know.* (7:115)
pos gibit blanket den go in bush agen yuno
If you give [us] blankets, then [we] will go in the bush again, you know.

(153) *Dat no crammer 'gain massa.* (7:17)
dat no krama agen massa
He will not steal again, master.

4.3.2.7 Adjectives

Adjectives fill the third position in the noun phrase and are unmarked for number and gender. There are two adjectives familiar from earlier Sydney data—**kabon** 'great, large' and **budjari** 'good'. **Budjari** is in free variation with **gud** 'good' which is obviously a form borrowed from English. A new form **nogud** 'bad' is also very salient in the data from Port Stephens (110, 111, 173). The form **nada** 'other, another' is also very salient (254, 262, 263). Adjectives can be nominalised with the productive suffix **-fela**, for example, **kabonfela**, **gudfela**, **budjarifela**. All adjectives can occur singly or modified with an adverb (86, 154-59).

(154) *budgeree water* (7:13)
budjari wota
good water

(155) *murry budgeree fellows* (7:86)
marribudjarifela
very good ones

(156) *murry good patter* (7:45)
marri gud pata
very good food

(157) *murry corban hot* (7:38)
marri kabon hot
very great heat

(158) *Murry corbon tupid cobrer.* (7:55)
marri korbon stupid kobera
Very, great, stupid head.

(159) *Murry little way now.* (7:24)
marri litl wei nau
It is a very little way now.

The intensifiers **tumatj** and **plenti** are both adjectives and adverbs (4.3.2.8). In one sentence **tumatj** is attested as both an adjective meaning 'too many' and an adverb meaning 'too much' (135). In a noun phrase **plenti** acts as an adjective modifying the head noun and meaning 'many' (160).

(160) *Plenty piccaninny too.* (7:48)
plenti pikanini tu
Many children too.

Adjective phrases consist of an adjective modified with an adverb, often the intensifier **marri** (161). However, even for such a well attested adverb there are also alternative forms, for example, **mos** 'very' (162).

(161) *Tom murry coulor.* (7:122)
Tom marri kula
Tom is very angry

(162) *Corse most tired.* (7:38)
kos mos taid
The horse is very tired.

There are no comparative adjectival phrases in the data although there is a comparative adjective **mobeta** from English 'more better' which occurs postnominally and means the nominal qualified is, in comparison with all alternatives, the best (163).

(163) *What for you moru all about? Black pellow no like him; Port Tebid more better.* (7:97)
wotfo yu moru olabaut blakfela no laikim Pot Tebid mobeta
Why do you go everywhere? Aboriginal people do not like other places. Port Stephens is best.

4.3.2.8 Adverbs

The adverbs attested in the data are those of manner, time and place. They occur in adjective, verb or adverbial phrases where they are dependent on the head verb, adjective or adverb. In verb phrases adverbs can occur both before and after the head verb. In adjective phrases they must occur before the head adjective.

There are eight manner adverbs—**plenti** 'a lot, very' (164, 165, 166), **onli** 'only' (168), **tumatj** 'many, a lot, excessive' (135, 136), **litl** 'a little' (169) and its variant **litlbit** 'a little bit' (167)[155], **mo** 'more' (173, 174), **marri** 'very' (170, 171) and its reduplicated form **marrimarri** 'very much' (174). Adverbs can occasionally follow the head verb (167, 169).

(164) *Black pellow plenty laugh when see him.* (7:93)
blakfela plenti laf wen siim
Aboriginal people will laugh a lot when they see them.

(165) *Bush black plenty hunt him kangaroo.* (7:101)
bushblak plenti hantim kangaru
Uncivilised Aboriginal people hunt kangaroos a lot.

(166) *I hear him plenty.* (7:47)
ai hirim plenti
I hear them a lot.

(167) *Only a little bit, massa, bael hurt it.* (7:149)
onli a litlbit massa bail hertit
Only a little bit master do not hurt (him).

---

[155]Used to modify the verb 'to hurt'

(168) *Bael hurt it, massa, only blow it up dat no pight me 'gain.* (7:50)
bail hertit massa onli bloitap dat no fait mi agen
Don't hurt him, master, only 'blow him up' he won't fight me again.

(169) *Dat drink little.* (7:190)
dat drink litl
We will drink a little.

(170) *Murry plenty patter always.* (7:133)
marri plenti pata olweiz
There is a great quantity of food, always.

(171) *Murry little way now.* (7:24)
marri litl wei nau
It is very little way now.

(172) *Plenty more black pellows belonging to Port Tebid.* (7:102)
plenti mo blakfela blongentu Pot Tibid
There are many more Aboriginal people from Port Stephens.

(173) *No, no; dat no good: by and bye more.* (7:77)
no no dat nogud baimbai mo
No, no, that is no good. Soon there will be more

(174) *He like all black pellows murry, murry.* (7:25)
hi laikit ol blakfela marrimarri
He likes all Aboriginal people very, very much.

There are six time adverbs in the data—**den** 'then' (176), **sun** 'soon' (177), **nau** 'now' (178), **gudwailago** 'a good while ago' (179), **longtaim** 'a long time' (180) and **ferst** 'first' which is a temporal adverb of order (175).

(175) *Me moru go pirst.* (7:78)
mi moru go ferst
I will go first.

(176) *Den more corrobery, you know.* (7:9)
den mo koroberi yuno
Then more dancing, you know.

(177) *You come back toon?* (7:8)
yu kambak sun
Will you return soon?

(178) *You coulor now, massa?* (7:122)
yu kula nau massa
Are you angry now, master?

(179) *Dat black pellow good while ago jump up white pellow.* (7:83)
dat blakfela gudwailago jampap waitfela
He is an Aboriginal person who was reborn as a non-Aboriginal person a good while ago.

(180) *We look out for you long time.* (7:26)
wi lukaut fo yu longtaim
We watched a long time for you.

There are eight place adverbs in the data—**olabaut** 'everywhere, all around' (181, 182), **oloba** 'all over' (183), **oltugeda** 'all together, in one place' (184), **klosap** 'closely, near' (185), **adasaid** 'the other side' (129), **longwei** 'far' (187), **hia** 'here' (188) and **dea** 'there' (190).

(181) *I got it musket, den run away all about.* (7:34)
ai gotit masket den ranawei olabaut
I will get a musket, then run around everywhere.

(182) *Murry tousand tit down all about pire!* (7:55)
marritausand sitdaun olabaut faia
Many thousand stay around the fire!

(183) *Murry tick all over belonging to cobrer.* (7:117)
marri sik oloba blongentu kobera
The head has a great sickness everywhere.

(184) *Sit down all together.* (7:129)
sitdaun oltugeda
Stay in one place.

(185) *Me moru go pirst, you come close up.* (77:8)
mi moru go ferst yu kam klosap
I will go first, you follow closely.

(186) *Too mun black pellow tit down most close up ribber.* (7:52)
tumatj blakfela sitdaun mos klosap riba
A lot of Aboriginal people stay very near the river.

(187) *Home murry long way, massa.* (7:97)
hom marri longwei massa
Home is very far, master.

(188) *I tumble down pickaninny here.* (7:2)
ai tamboldaun pikanini hia
I was born here.

(189) *Here plate, massa.* (7:34)
hia pleit massa
Here is the plate, master.

(190) *What for go dere, massa?* (7:44)
wotfo go dea massa
Why go there, master?

Two adverbs can combine to create an adverbial phrase where the head adverb is modified by a preceeding dependent adverb (191).

(191) *Dat go plenty toon to-night.* (7:132)
dat go plenti sun tunait
I will go very soon tonight.

4.3.2.9 Prepositions

Several kinds of prepositions are attested in the data and they fulfill the functions of indicating location, accompaniment, benefit, possession, direction and manner. The most frequently attested prepositions are **long** and **along** which are a multifunctional forms. However, as most categories have a number of variants it seems there was some instability of prepositional forms.

The prepositions of location are **along** 'along' (192), **ap** 'up' (193), **awei** 'away'(195) and **in** 'in, into' (194). Some sentences have zero locational prepositions (196, 197).

(192) *Den dat run all along creek. Den me tee it no more, cos I been run along Micky.* (7:157)
den dat ran ol along krik den mi siit nomo koz ai bin ran along Miki
Then he ran all along the creek. Then I couldn't see him any more because I was running to Micky.

(193) *Me no morū up dere.* (7:46)
mi no moru ap dea
I will not go up there.

(194) *How many nangry in bush?* (7:98)
haumeni nangri in bush
How many nights in the bush?

(195) *Carry it away in bush.* (7:83)
kariit awei in bush
He carries him away into the bush.

(196) *Den bring misses home black camp.* (7:80)
den bring misis hom blakkamp
Then bring a wife home to the Aboriginal camp.

(197) *Me toot him, den go camp.* (7:45)
mi shutim den go kamp
I will shoot him, the go to the camp.

The preposition of accompaniment is **long** or **along** 'with' (198).

(198) *Dat go Sydney long udder white pellow.* (7:25)
dat go Sidni long ada waitfela
He should go to Sydney with the other non-Aboriginal person.

Some insight is gained into the genesis of the form from one sentence which Dawson attributed to himself in conversing with an Aboriginal man, Wool Bill (142). In the utterance, Dawson's use of *along with* reinforced the meaning of 'with' for **long**.

Along can also perform an accusative function (199).

(199) *Den when look out along William dat gone.* (7:157)
den wen lukaut along Wilyam dat gon
Then when I looked for William he was gone.

Fo 'for' is the benefactive preposition (200).

(200) *Tree, pour, pive nangry make plenty bark for white pellow, massa.* (7:8)
tri fo faiv nangri meik plenti bark fo waitfela massa
In three, four or five days we will get a lot of bark for the non-Aboriginal people, master.

The preposition of possession is **blongentu** (201), although the forms **blongena** (202), **blongen** (203) and **long** (204) are also occasionally attested. All kinds of possession are expressed by these prepositions. The possessed precedes and the possessor follows the preposition.

(201) *Brodder belonging to me, massa: tit down here always.* (7:1)
brada blongentu mi massa sitdaun hia olweiz
My brother, master, stays here always.

(202) *Tisser belonging a me massa.* (7:127)
sista blongena mi massa
My sister, master.

(203) *Massa dat Piccaninny blongen me.* (7:193)
massa dat pikanini blongen mi
Master that is my child.
Master that is the child belonging to me.

(204) *All black pellows 'long massa.* (7:26)
ol blakfela long massa
All Aboriginal people are master's.
All Aboriginal people belong to master.

Dawson also recorded two examples where the possessive preposition **blongentu** is used as a directional preposition meaning 'to'[156] (205) and an associative form 'of, from' (206).

(205) *Moru on belonging to Boarul.* (7:159)
moru on blongentu Bowarul
Walk on to Boarul.

(206) *Nebber to crammer belonging to massa.* (7:165)
neba to krama blongentu massa
Never to steal from master.

There are two prepositions of manner **olteseimlaikit** 'the same as' (207, 208, 209) and its variants **olteseim** (207), **olteseimaz** (212), **seimaz** 'the same as'(211) and **laikit** 'like' (210).

(207) *Massa piola all te same like it white pellow. I tinky so all te same.* (7:39)
massa paiala olteseimlaikit waitfela ai tinki so olteseim
Master says it is the same as a non-Aboriginal person (would do). I think it is the same.

(208) *Murry corbon wool-man, all te same like it bullock.* (7:75)
marri kabon olman olteseimlaikit bulok
A very great old man, the same as a bullock.

(209) *All te same likit white pellow, massa?* (7:84)
olteseimlaikit waitfela massa
The same as a non-Aboriginal person, master.

(210) *Razor was mad tit down on chin like it white pellow.* (7:208)
reizo was meik sitdaun on tjin laikit waitfela
Shaved like a non-Aboriginal man.

(211) *You put irons on hands, massa, same as udder pellows.* (7:25)
yu putaiononhandz massa seimaz
You handcuff him, master, the same as the other ones.

(212) *All te same as bingey.* (7:61)
olteseimaz bingi
The same as brothers.

4.3.2.10 Sentence structure

The basic sentence structure evident in the data is SVO invariant for all types of sentences. There are both verbal and nonverbal sentences. Non-verbal sentences are

[156]In Pacific pidgins **long** is a directional preposition and, as noted above, Dawson does provide evidence that **long** was a variant of the possessive **blongentu**.

those which lack the verb 'to be' and the function of the verb is fulfilled by the sentences being equational (213, 214).

(213) *Dat Wool Cope.* (7:157)
dat wul Kop
he old Cope
He is old Cope.

(214) *I murry cooler.* (7:17)
ai marri kula
1SG.S INTENS angry
I am very angry.

Interrogative sentences in the data are either indicated by question words or questioning tone suggested by Dawson's use of the usual English orthographic convention a question mark '?'. Interrogative words are sentence initial as they are in English but are not followed by a copula verb. Interrogatives formed by stative sentences uttered in an interrogative tone do not take the English sentence initial interrogative 'do' (215).

(215) *You hear, Massa?* (7:1)
yu hia massa
Do you hear, Master?

Dawson's data provides further evidence for the stability of **wotfo** 'why, what' from English 'what for' (216-19).

(216) *What for go dere, massa?* (7:44)
wotfo go dea massa
Why do you go there, master?

(217) *What for you been make it gammon last night massa, when black fellow nangry?* (7:87)
wotfo yu bin meikit gamon lastnait massa wen blakfela nangri
Why did you play a trick last night, master, when the Aboriginal people were sleeping?

(218) *What for you moru all about?* (7:97)
wotfo yu moru olabaut
Why do you go everywhere?

(219) *What for patter so much kangaroo?* (108)
wotfo pata somatj kangaru
Why do you eat so much kangaroo?

Two sentences provide evidence of variant interrogative forms—**waifo** 'why' (220) and **wot** 'what' (221). However, in the sentence containing **wot** (221) it is possible the form is still **wotfo**, but divided by a verb phrase.

(220) *Why for he leabe black camp when dark?* (7:18)
waifo hi lib blakkamp wen dark
Why does he leave the Aboriginal camp at night?

(221) *What dat kill it for, massa?* (7:25)
wot dat kilit fo massa
Why did he kill it, master.

The data also attests the use of interrogative phrase 'how many' as a question word **haumeni** (222).

(222) *How many nangry in bush?* (7:98)
haumeni nangri in bush
How many nights in the bush?

Wea (223-25) is an exception in that it is unsuffixed and aside from the lack of a following copula is used as it is in English.

(223) *Where nangry to-night, massa?* (7:38)
wea nangri tunait massa
Where will we sleep tonight, master?

(224) *Where dat pellow come from, massa?* (7:84)
wea datfela kam from massa
Where does that one come from, master?

(225) *Where nangry tomorrow, massa?* (7:112)
wea nangri tumoro massa
Where will we sleep tomorrow, master?

Negation and numerals are the only points of language on which Dawson made direct comment. In each case the context suggests he believed he was commenting on aspects of Aboriginal languages. However, he did not provide any example sentences from the Aboriginal languages with which he may have been familiar. Referring to negation Dawson wrote that 'the word bael means no, not, or any negative: they frequently say, "Bael we like it;" "Bael dat good;" "Bael me go

dere"' (7:11). In the data, **bail** occurs sentence initially and negates the statement it preceeds (226-28). Adverbial **no** is also attested (226).

(226) *Bael dat, massa, bael dat: black pellow no like it.* (7:27)
bail dat masa bail dat blakfela no laikit
Not that, master. Not that. Aboriginal people do not like it.

(227) *Bael, we want patter.* (7:31)
bail wi want pata
We do not want food.

(228) *Bael, dat belong to black pellow.* (7:84)
bail dat blongentu blakfela
He does not belong to the Aboriginal people.

Dawson provided one sentence where **no** preceded **bail** in a 'no not' double negative construction (229).

(229) *No, no, bael dat, pose dat come dat take it black pellow.* (7:85)
no no bail dat pos dat kam dat teikit blakfela
No, no, not him, if he came he would take an Aboriginal person.

Within the data there is evidence for complex sentences (230). However, the more complex sentences in the data, which contain two or more conjunctions, are generally attributed by Dawson to himself.

(230) *He will be kind to you when you jump up again suppose you are murry good fellow.* (7:84)
He will be kind to you when you are reborn if you are a very good fellow.

Evidence for coordinate clauses is found in the use of three coordinate conjunctions **and** 'and', **bat** 'but' and **so** 'so, therefore'. However, coordination is generally achieved through contextual association, with sentences strung together, rather than grammatical markers (231).

(231) *You no pear; I look out; I take care; I top pear; I tee him; I catch him, massa. Bael me care.* (7:11)
yu no fia ai lukaut ai teike ai stop spia ai siim ai katjim mass bail mi ke
Don't you fear. I will watch, take care and stop the spears. I will see and catch him, master. I don't care.

And is only clearly attested twice in the data (232, 233). However, it does occur in other constructions as part of a sentence which was likely to have been borrowed in full into the NSW Pidgin (234).

(232) *I gib it waddy and put it in watch-house you know.* (7:17)
ai gibit wodi and putit in watjhaus yuno
I will club him and put him in the watch-house, you know.

(233) *Den I put it in watch-house you know, and take it massa when urokah jump up.* (7:18)
den ai putit in watjhaus yuno and teik it massa wen urokah jampap
Then I would put him in the watch-house, you know, and take him to master when it is sunrise.

(234) *poon and all* (7:34)
punandol
spoon and all

Bat also only occurs twice in the data (235, 236).

(235) *No; but plenty black pellow have tee him.* (7:83)
no bat plenti blakfela hav siim
No, but many Aboriginal people have seen him.

(236) *I no like Gubberment man, but you no plog it.* (7:194)
ai no laik gabamenman bat yu no flogit
I don't like convicts, but don't you flog him.

So 'so, therefore' also only occurs twice in the data and both examples are transcriptions of the same utterance—the first from Dawson's published account (237) and the second from a manuscript letter (238).

(237) *Mary no like it, so it leabe it.* (7:11)
Mari no laikit so it libit
Mary didn't like him, so she left him.

(238) *Dat no like it — so dat come me.* (7:197)
dat no laikit so dat kam mi
She did not like him, so she came to me.

There are two subordinating conjunctions within the data—conditional conjunction **pos** 'suppose, if' (239-41) and temporal conjunction **wen** 'when' (242, 243). Dawson attributes the more the English-like form *suppose* to himself (239) and the more pidgin-like form *pose* to Aboriginal speakers (240, 241).

(239) *No, no more coulor, suppose you do as I tell you.* (7:122)
No, I will not be angry, if you do as I tell you.

(240) *Pose you tit down here, I gib it to you.* (7:2)
pos yu sitdaun hia ai gibit tu yu
If you stay here, I will give it to you.

(241) *We go, massa, pose you go too.* (7:56)
wi go massa pos yu go tu
We will go, master, if you go too.

(242) *When go black camp, dat break it cobrer belonging to me.* (7:122)
wen go blakkamp dat breikit kobera blongentu mi
When we go to the Aboriginal camp he will break my head.

(243) *We get it fire-stick to make fire when we nangry.* (7:19)
wi getit faiastik tu meik faia wen wi nangri
We get fire brands to make a fire when we sleep.

4.3.2.11 Interjections

There are three interjections attested in the data that were borrowed from English—**yuno** 'you know', **aibliv** 'I believe' or 'right!' and **veriwel** 'very well!'. **Yuno**, which was also attested in the data from Sydney, is well-established in the Port Stephens data as an interrogative tag at the end of stative sentences used to affirm that the speaker is in agreement or is at least listening (7:9). **Aibliv** suggests the speaker is not certain about the statement made and is asking the hearer for affirmation (7:58). **Veriwel** is attested once in the data and indicates the speaker is in agreement with the previous suggestion of the hearer (7:84).

There are also two items created with the productive processes of NSW Pidgin. The first, a greeting or commendation, combines the Sydney language borrowing **budjari** with 'you' borrowed from English—**budjariyu** 'good for you, good on you!' literally 'good you!' (7:112). **Neimyu**, which was attested in the Sydney data (27), appears from the context (244) to have become a greeting. It was first attested in the data from Sydney in the first decade of the nineteenth century.

(244) *Name you.* (7:140)
neimyu
What is your name?

4.3.2.12 Borrowed sentences and phrases

Within the data are several English phrases and sentences which appear to have been borrowed in full into NSW Pidgin. They are generally colloquialisms, common English phrases or grammatical English sentences which are unlikely to have been generated independently by speakers of NSW Pidgin. For example, the verb **lukaut** 'watch out' is reiterated with the English phrase **teikke** 'take care' (131, 141). Other examples are **datdu** 'that will do' (7:41) and **nebamaind** 'never mind' (7:125). Distant past is occasionally marked with the English phrase **gudwailago** 'a good while ago' (117, 138, 179). The English colloquial phrase 'what S is about' meaning 'what S is doing' is also attested (245).

(245) *I make it know what he 'bout.* (7:17)
ai meikit no wot hi baut
I will make known what he is doing.

Some English-derived phrases and sentences are slightly altered to concur with NSW Pidgin conventions which were becoming established. For example, instead of the usual English challenge 'who goes there?' the sentence recorded was *who come dare* (7:18). The sentence 'nothing at all about it' was likely to have been derived from the interchange:- 'What do you know.' 'I know nothing at all about it'. However, it came to mean that 'S does not exist'. The sentence is only attested once in the data and was given by some Aboriginal people in reply to Dawson's monologue about the Christian God and Devil (7:84).

The item **stopbit** 'wait' (7:57) was borrowed from an archaic English phrase 'stop a bit'. Similarly, **baimbai** 'soon, eventually' was borrowed from an archaic English phrase 'by and by'. In Sydney, Dawson encountered 'King Bungaree' and he quoted two sentences from him. The first was a greeting **yotarben** literally 'you're charming' which is likely to have been derived from the English greeting 'I am

charmed' (7:136) the other was a standard English sentence which he used for begging—'lend me one dollar, sir, if you please' (7:136).

4.3.2.13 Songs

Dawson recorded evidence for two songs which were learnt in full by the Aboriginal people at Port Stephens. The first song was taught to the people by Dawson in its English version (7:59-64). In addition there were two other versions. The first was devised by the Aboriginal people by language mixing (7:61). The second was a version devised by the convicts and taught to the Aboriginal people and which Dawson discouraged because it was about the drinking of alcohol (7:62-63).

The second song was given as a fragment—'Peggy wad a tarban gale, tarried a milken pail...Peggy was a charming girl, and carried a milking pail' (7:24). It is part of an English folk song and is very similar to a line from a song from rural Sussex called 'Dame Durden'— 'And Kitty she was the charming girl to carry the milking pail' (Copper 1971:225). It is likely that the English farming people Dawson settled at Port Stephens taught the song to the local Aboriginal people.

4.4 ADDITIONAL PORT STEPHENS DATA

4.4.1 'Alfred Dudley'

An anonymously written children's adventure story, *Alfred Dudley...*[157] (Anon 1830), was published, in 1830, just after the first edition of Dawson's book *The Present State of Australia...* appeared. The author acknowledged a debt to Dawson for advice given in writing the book and recommended the work as authoritative (Anon 1856:iv). *Alfred Dudley...* also contains data which is reminiscent of NSW Pidgin and which is very likely to have been the product of Dawson's advice to the author and of literary licence. Dawson had been back in England for at least two

[157]Neither Ferguson (item 1313) nor Wilde, Hooton and Andrews (1985:2) were able to attribute authorship of the book.

years at the time the book was published so it would have been quite possible for him to assist the author. Dawson was also working on his own book at the time the author of *Alfred Dudley...* was working on that publication.

The language data in *Alfred Dudley...* is similar to that found in Dawson. However, the data is closer to English and relied for effect on a pseudo-phonetic transcription of English words imitating Aboriginal pronunciation. At the end of the book the author included a 'glossary of the Australian language' with comment on pronunciation.

> Glossary of the Australian Language...enclosed in one of Alfred's letters...Bacca, *tobacco*. Bael, *no*, *not*, any negative. Boy, *die*. Budgere, *good*. Bush, *the country*, *forest*, *wood*, &c. Choogar, *sugar*. Corbon, *great*. Coroberry, *dance*. Gin, *wife*. Gunyer, *bark hut*. Jarret, *afraid*. Maru, *to go*. Massa, *master*. Maty, *little*. Murry, *very*, *many*, &c. Nangry, *sleep*; *its plural descriptive of days*. Ommina, *corn-meal*. Patter, *to eat*. Pickaninny, *child*. Urokah, *the sun*. Waddy, *a club stick*. Wool-man, *another name for kangaroo*...Observations...The natives always substitute *p* for *f*, saying pellow for fellow, &c....*t* for *s*, saying tee for see, &c. &c. *b* for *v* or *w*, saying bery, bant, &c. for very, want, &c. (Anon 1830:195-196)

The author claimed that the notes were copied from a sheet 'enclosed in one of Alfred's letters'. Throughout the book the author referred to letters from Alfred and it is quite possible that the letters were Dawson's, slightly modified for use by the author. The 'vocabulary' contains exactly the same spellings and glosses that Dawson used in his book, except for writing *maru* instead of *moru* 'walk'. The language in *Alfred Dudley...* appears to be a literary creation based on the writings and advice of Dawson. The constructed nature of the data is particularly evident in the close adherence of the author to the sound changes suggested by the author of the note quoted above. For example 'Pollow me, massa; we tow you right bay' (Anon 1830:52). Dawson's data contains considerable variation and is quite therefore more natural. The data in *Alfred Dudley* contains little variation and looks very much like it was the product of imagination rather than experience. It is possible that the book was written by a relative or friend of Dawson's from his letters home and with his collaboration.

The hero of the story, Alfred, made friends with an Aboriginal boy called Mickie. The NSW Pidgin data in the book is supposed to represent conversations between Alfred and Mickie. The author may have based Mickie on one of the children Dawson often mentioned in his own book and who was also called Micky (or Little Mick). Mickie met Alfred when he was lost in the bush and guided him home. Alfred and his father believed that Mickie would make a useful member of their household and coerced him into remaining at their establishment. The author claimed that Mickie could speak 'broken English' (Anon 1830:145). However, the author included the above glossary and pronunciation guide to assist the reader interpret the transcriptions of conversations between Alfred and Mickie.

> My young friend proved to be a shrewd little fellow; he had occasionally visited some of our settlements and picked up enough of English for us to be mutually intelligible. He wished to return immediately to his tribe, but we would not allow him to leave us that night and pressed upon him all the rites of hospitality. "What would you like to have to eat, my little man? said my father to him, suiting the action to the word. "Me like patter murry tings, massa." "Mention some of these then." "Me like patter, patter kankaroo, til bael me patter more—me like white pellow's ommina, me like nice honey stuff him call choogar, me like all bedgere tings." He was soon supplied with as much bread and sugar as he could "patter," which was no contemptible quantity, accompanied with tea for his beverage, and he appeared to be as pleased with his new friends as we were with him—we invited him to come to us whenever he liked, to which he eagerly promised compliance. With sunrise he was off to his tribe, but he has paid us daily visits since, and is always desirous of doing something that is useful for massa; and as I have already promoted him to the office of supernumerary to the household, you will most probably often hear of little Mickie in my future letters. But the conversations which we have together, and which I may perhaps sometimes relate, might prove unintelligible to you without explanation, I therefore enclose you a glossary of his language, with "notes critical and explanatory," by which you will be able fully to enjoy all the native eloquence of my young friend. (Anon 1830:52-54)

In the above passage two features of the language are inconsistent with very salient features in Dawson's data and are more like a parody of simplified English. Instead of the form **laikit** 'to like' the author simply wrote *like* and in Dawson's data **-im** is clearly a transitivising suffix while in the above passage it is not suffixed to a verb and is used as a pronoun. Even when the author suffixes a verb with the

transitiviser **-im** or **-it** it is usually unclear whether the marker is a transitiviser or a pronoun (246-48).

(246) *Don't tchoot, massa; me kill him all by myself.* (Anon 1830:76)
Don't shoot, master. I will kill him all by myself.

(247) *Don't let him tchoot me, massa.* (Anon 1830:85)
Don't let him shoot me, master.

(248) *Me tee it go, it dere by dis time me bleve.* (Anon 1830:59)
I saw it go. It will be there by this time, I believe.

In the dialogue quoted below it is possible to compare Dawson's technique with that of *Alfred Dudley*'s author. In quoting conversations he had with Aboriginal people, Dawson always included NSW Pidgin features similar to those used by Aboriginal people in quoting himself. However, the anonymous author has Alfred using English while Mickie replies in NSW Pidgin. Mickie's language contains the same NSW Pidgin lexicon as Dawson used for the speech of Aboriginal people. However, the structure of the language in *Alfred Dudley* is closer to SAE than is Dawson's. The author of *Alfred Dudley* clearly did not understand the complexities of NSW Pidgin.

> On my way I was surprised at overtaking little Mickie, ambling leisurely on, and singing in no very low key. I accosted him with, 'How now, Mickie, is this the diligence with which you perform a message? you set out at least four hours before me, and I find you leisurely pursuing your way as if you had been entrusted with no commission.' 'Why, massa, pony and Mickie both tired, to me taid rest and patter.' 'But where is the parcel you were to bring back?' 'Oh! dat gone long ago, bael me bait and poor missie banting dat; but de massa tell me he tend it murry, murry quicker by canoe, me tee it go, it dere by dis time me bleve.' (Anon 1830:58-59)

There are three potential NSW Pidgin lexical items attested in *Alfred Dudley* that were not in Dawson's writings—**talki** 'sulky' (7:248), **memi** 'gigantic lily' (7:252) and **pritifela** 'pretty one' (7:266). As Dawson is taken to be the source for all the lexicon in the book the items are also included in the NSW Pidgin wordlist (Appendix 21) .

4.4.2 Charles De Boos

Charles De Boos was the author of another fictional story of life on the colonial frontier, *Fifty years ago: an Australian tale* (De Boos 1867), which included reference to Aboriginal people of the Port Stephens district. The action of the book was located in the area between Port Stephens and the Manning River in the eighteenteens (De Boos 1867:1, 3). De Boos was familiar with that district, although of a later period. When he first arrived in Australia from England, in 1839, he 'tried farming in the Hunter district of NSW before turning to journalism' (Wilde, Hooton and Andrews 1985:211). From 1856 forward De Boos spent a lot of time as a reporter and later as a police magistrate on the goldfields of Victoria and NSW. Therefore, he had a broad experience of life in colonial Australia which he was able to employ in his novel.

Experts on Australian literature have described the book as having successfully combined 'several strands of early Australian life—convicts, settlers, bushrangers and Aborigines' (Wilde, Hooton and Andrews 1985:211). His book contains some evidence of contact language as spoken by two Aboriginal men from Port Stephens and district. However, most of the language data in the book attributed to Aboriginal speakers is SAE embellished with lexical items from NSW Pidgin and literary imagination. De Boos' data also include extra lexical information about NSW Pidgin not contained in Dawson's data. The items have been included in the NSW Pidgin wordlist (Appendix 21). De Boos data dates at the earliest to the 1840s. He gained his information while travelling throughout NSW and Victoria before he wrote his book which suggests that the items had currency in an area wider than Port Stephens.

Central to the story are three fictional, male Aboriginal characters—Macomo, Atara and Opara who were 'warriors' of the Moroo (or Maroo) Tribe (De Boos 1867:3). They were supposed to be from the upper Paterson River and 'as yet untouched by temptation and unreached by vice' (De Boos 1867:3). In the book are

what purport to be translations of conversations between these and other Aboriginal characters. He used literary devices reminiscent of the language ascribed to American Indian people in American frontier novels, for example, 'the dark leaves of the whitefellow' meaning 'tobacco' . The style of the language served to romanticise his subject.

> 'Atare has never smoked the dark leaves of the whitefellow?' said Macomo... Atare shook his head in reply, and then asked, 'Does it give pleasant thoughts and happy dreams, as the Port Stephens men say?'...'One smoke.' replied Macomo, 'is better than the greatest feed of wombat. When another sun goes down, we will have tobacco enough to last us many moons; and sugar and tea for warm drink, and perhaps a bottle of strong water.'...'Macomo is right,' put in Opara. ' If the sheep man goes out with his flock, we shall have what we want before the next sun goes out. He never comes back to the fire of his gunya until the sun is below the hills. We have our time.'...'But if he should send out his son?' questioned Atare. 'He is a brave man and his gun carries farther than our spears.'...'The eaglehawk mounts into the sky, and wheels round and round, watching, with untiring eye, when to make his descent upon his prey,' answered Macomo. 'Is Atare less patient than a bird? Can he not watch and wait until the moment comes for swooping down upon his prey?'...'True! True!' said Atare, somewhat abashed. 'Atare has lain and watched for half a sun to spear a wallabi; he will watch half a moon for the strong water, the sugar, and the white fellows leaves.'...'You said there were three blankets in the hut?' asked Opara...'There are three and more than three—there are six,' replied Macomo, holding up six fingers by way of enforcing the number on their minds. (De Boos 1867:4-5)

It is evident that De Boos created the register with some insight into the lexicon of NSW Pidgin. He used, for example, *moons* 'months', *sun goes down* 'sunset', *gunya* 'house'.

De Boos rarely translated the NSW Pidgin lexical items he used even when they were borrowed from Aboriginal languages. Therefore, it is likely that the items were well known to the colonial audience for which the book was intended. For example, he included a sentence with **man** 'seize' without explaining its meaning—'Opara will not need to maan a gin, for the young girls from other tribes will come to him when he shows the blanket he has to give' (De Boos 1867:5).

The main Aboriginal character was Macomo and De Boos attributed to him a very limited ability to communicate with colonists—'though Macomo may have known sufficient of the whitefellows's language to understand a simple sentence addressed

to him, there were but very few words that he could himself speak' (De Boos 1867:12). Macomo spoke 'the English jargon of the aborigines' (De Boos 1867:280) which is certainly a reference to NSW Pidgin. The other two warriors were 'altogether ignorant of the tongue' (De Boos 1867:12). Macomo relied on gesture and a few English lexical items to communicate with the colonists. They replied to him in simplified English.

> 'Now! what is it you want?' she enquired...Macomo opened his mouth, put his fingers into it in a manner not to be mistaken, and to this sufficiently comprehensible sign he added the one word. 'Eat.' (De Boos 1867:12)

> Macomo now turned to her, and going through a feigned process of drinking, said 'Tea!'...She shook her head. 'No water,' she said. 'Blackfellow go to river and get water.'...Macomo answered by pointing, with a sardonic grin, to the kettle that was boilding [sic] on the hearth...'That is for the tea that my husband takes with his dinner, and must not be used!'...Again that savage gleam shot out of the eyes of the black. He, however, contented himself with making an imperative negative gesture, and pointing to himself and his companions. (De Boos 1867:14)

Although it is a very small set, the NSW Pidgin data in De Boos' novel contains a number of the same features as Dawson's data. He used **-fela** as a nominalising suffix, for example, **waildfela** 'wild one' (249), **kropifela** 'convicted one' (7:215) and **blakfela** 'Aboriginal person' (7:213). De Boos also used **-fela** suffixed to adjectives which qualify a nominal, for example, **pofela blak** 'pitiful Aboriginal person' (7:211) and **bigfela wait** 'the non-Aboriginal leader' (7:215). This use of **-fela** is only attested in once in data given to date. The other example is from the northern district where **-fela** forms part of the nominal phrase **waitfela dans** 'non-Aboriginal dance' (3.3.2.4.3). The data suggests an adjectivising function for **-fela**. However, given the unreliability of De Boos' data these examples are not evidence enough alone.

De Boos used the NSW Pidgin form **longa** as a preposition of direction 'from' (249) and location 'at, in' (250, 251) and possession 'for' (252).

(249) *wild feller long o' hills* (7:213)
waildfela longa hilz
wild one from the hills

(250) *long o' camp* (7:213)
longa kamp
at the camp

(251) *Too many bad dibbil long o' hut!* (7:215)
tumeni bad debil longa hat
Too many bad devils are in the hut!

(252) *No good hut long o' blackfellow.* (7:215)
nogud hat longa blakfela
It is a bad hut for an Aboriginal person.

His data also attests the transitivisers **-im** (253) and **-it** (254), **bin** as a marker of past tense (254), **mi** as subject personal pronoun 'I' (253), conditional conjunction **pos** 'if' (255), **bail** as a sentence initial negator (253, 257), intensifiers **kabon** 'great' (258) and **marri** 'very' (259), numerifier **plenti** 'many' (260, 261), **sitdaun** 'stay' (De Boos example is also suggestive of a meaning 'to be') (261), **nada** 'other' (262, 263), **tamboldaun** 'die' (264), **kropi** 'convict' which in De Boos data is usually **kropifela** (260, 263, 264). De Boos provides corroborating evidence for Dawson's (81) use of the preposition of location **tadasaid** 'the other side' (265). He also used the first person form of reference rather than a pronoun (255, 256).

(253) *Bale me take 'um nipe!* (7:213)
bail mi teikim naif
I did not take the knife!

(254) *Noder blackfeller been gib it.* (7:213)
nada blakfela bin gibit
Another Aboriginal person gave the knife.

(255) *Gib Jackey nipe, 'spose Jackey go get 'lum!* (213)
gib Jaki naif pos Jaki go get ram
Give Jackey (me) the knife, if Jackey (I) get the rum!

(256) *Jackey long time way.* (7:214)
Jaki longtaim awei
Jackey (I) was away a long time.

(257) *Bale Kangawai go.* (7:215)
bail Kangawai go
Kangawai will not go.

(258) *carbonne damper* (7:212)
kabon dampa
a great bread

(259) *murra wicked blackfeller* (7:213)
marri wikid blakfela
very wicked Aboriginal person

(260) *plenty croppy feller* (7:214)
plenti kropifela
many convict ones

(261) *Plenty debbil sib down.* (7:215)
plenti debil sitdaun
Many devils stay there.
There are many devils.

(262) *noder blackfeller* (7:213)
nada blakfela
another Aboriginal person

(263) *noder croppy feller* (7:215)
nada kropifela
another convict one

(264) *Plenty croppy feller tumble down long o' hut.* (7:215)
plenti kropifela tamboldaun longa hat
Many convicted ones died in the hut.

(265) *t'oder side o' ribber* (7:213)
tadasaid o riba
the other side of the river

4.5 CONCLUSION

The NSW Pidgin data recorded by Robert Dawson in the Port Stephens area is the most extensive available for the period to 1830. Dawson's data is inherently stable. Most of the instability is attributable to his own attempts to learn NSW Pidgin which created predictable interlanguage interference. The quantity and the stability of the data allowed me to sketch out a grammar for the language (4.3). Supplementary data from other sources, although of lesser quality, provided a check on Dawson's data (4.4). Many of the lexical items and grammatical features evident in the Sydney and Newcastle districts (see Chapters 2 and 3) as early as the turn of the nineteenth century are reattested in the Port Stephens data. Therefore, the Port Stephens data reinforces the proposition put forward in Chapter 3 that NSW Pidgin was stabilising and consolidating in the first two decades of the nineteenth century. It also shows that the language exhibited considerable morphological stability by at least the third decade of the century.

In Chapter 3, I suggested that NSW Pidgin was initially disseminated beyond the limits of settlement along Aboriginal communication networks[158]. This point is again raised above (4.2.7). Later dissemination of the language was via the movement of colonists into settlements north and south of Sydney. While searching for land for the AACo Dawson encountered some of the Aboriginal people who had been, to varying degrees, in contact with colonists. He also met colonists who, through their extensive travels and employment of Aboriginal people, were considered expert in dealing with Aboriginal people. In 1825, when Dawson was exploring the north coast of New South Wales, there were many Aboriginal people who were assisting other colonists in the processes of settlement. They acted as guides and informants, procurers and preparers of food and general hands on expeditions. In settlements they used their knowledge of the bush to provide the colonists with building materials, food and water. Aboriginal people also provided an informal messenger service between Sydney and the north coast settlements. Dawson often employed them as guides and translators—'if the expedition was of importance...two or three natives always attend as guides and interpreters' (Dawson 1831:49). They were also his informal postal service delivering letters and parcels to Sydney (Dawson 1831:69). Dawson found that NSW Pidgin, he called it 'mongrel' or 'broken' English, was the lingua franca between Aboriginal people and colonists on the north coast of NSW and was commonly used by Aboriginal people who acted as guides and translators. Dawson's writings contain further clues about the dissemination of NSW Pidgin and the use of the language by Aboriginal people amongst themselves.

---

[158]See also Troy 1990a.

5

BATHURST AND THE INLAND DISTRICTS: NSW PIDGIN ON THE PASTORAL FRONTIERS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Bathurst was the first inland settlement in Australia and provided a gateway to further British colonisation of NSW. As a focal point for western and south-western settlement it became an important centre for the development and spread of NSW Pidgin. One of the main incentives for the spread of NSW Pidgin was the involvement of Aboriginal people in the expanding pastoral industry. In the Bathurst district contact between Aboriginal people and colonists first occurred as early as 1813. However, the sources of data do not refer back further than the 1830s when there was an influx of free settlers into the district. Wellington had a key role in contact between Aboriginal people and colonists because it was the site for the earliest attempt to missionise Aboriginal people remote from the main centres of settlement. The Lachlan River in turn became a focus for pastoral endeavours by people who were not happy with the rate at which the government was releasing land. Land along the river was rapidly taken up by people who initially simply 'squatted' on the land and later attempted to select it legally.

5.2 BATHURST

5.2.1 Historical background

In 1813, the Blue Mountains, the great barrier between the coast and the inland of NSW, were crossed by Blaxland, Wentworth and Lawson and the possibility of inland settlement became reality (Maps 6 and 7). In late 1813, Governor Macquarie sent Assistant Surveyor Evans and a small party to explore further beyond the mountains (Map 8). The party briefly encountered a small group of Aboriginal people near the river which Evans named the Macquarie (Taussig 1976:4). Evans

was delighted with the country he found and waxed lyrical about the agricultural potential of the broad, lightly treed country that he named the Bathurst Plains—'I cannot speak too highly of the Country, the increase in Stock for 100 years or more cannot overrun it' (Evans quoted by Taussig 1976:4).

Evans' report was so favourable that Macquarie built a road along the explorers' route. A gang working for William Cox began work on 18 July 1814 and finished the road on 14 January 1815 (Taussig 1976:4-5). On 15 April, the Governor, his wife and an official party of thirty seven travelled the road to Bathurst Plains. They were met by the road builders and a group of local Aboriginal people, three men and four boys (Taussig 1976:5). Major Antill noted that they could not communicate with the people as they did not speak the same language as the Sydney people. However, he wrote that the people 'were perfectly mild and cheerful, and laugh at everything they see and repeat everything they hear' (Antill quoted by Taussig 1976:6).

Very little is recorded of the interactions between Macquarie's party and local Aboriginal people. Three Aboriginal men submitted to having their hair cut and to being dressed in 'slops' (convict clothes) shirts, trousers, jackets and leather caps. Macquarie also presented them with tomahawks and swapped a piece of yellow cloth for a possum coat. The party also lost a man who was last seen with a group of Aboriginal men, heading for their camp in an intoxicated condition (Taussig 1976:9).

During his stay, Macquarie initiated a military base on the Bathurst plains on the left bank and south side of the Macquarie River. His impression of the quality of the land also made him determined to establish the area as an agricultural settlement by means of government grants to chosen settlers. On 7 May 1815, he officially inaugurated the town and township of Bathurst, naming it after the Earl of Bathurst who was the current Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies (Taussig 1976:7).

In mid 1815, William Lawson became the first settler in the Bathurst district when Macquarie honoured his promise to grant Lawson one thousand acres in the new country in recognition of his part in the first crossing of the Blue Mountains. However, settlement did not begin in earnest until several years later when Macquarie granted small farms in fifty acre blocks to ten men in February 1818 (Taussig 1976:14). Settlers in the county of Cumberland harassed Macquarie to rapidly open up the land west of the mountains to settlement to relieve overcrowding in the Cumberland Plain. However, Macquarie continued to limit grants in the area and confined settlers to the north bank of the Macquarie River retaining the south bank as government land. The township of Kelso was the local centre until Bathurst was laid out and the sale of allotments began in 1833 (Templeton 1976:20). In 1831, the government had replaced the grant system with sales of land at public auction and this combined with the steady increase in numbers of free settlers arriving in the colony swelled the settlement of Bathurst (Templeton 1976:22).

By the early 1830s, the Bathurst district was settled with small farms worked by their owners and larger properties run by overseers for absentee landlords. Some local Aboriginal people worked for the colonists but most were persecuted. In the worst cases colonists cleared their land by killing its Aboriginal owners. In the mid 1820s the Aboriginal population retaliated with violence but were suppressed by a government declaration of martial law. 1830s accounts suggest that most Aboriginal people of the district were affected in some way by the settlement and many had developed a symbiotic relationship with the colonists.

> The blacks began to be very useful to us, some of them at least. Some of them had powers of tracking cattle, more surely than a hound would fox or hare; though occasionally employed. I must, however, say that lounging about the huts and intercourse with the shepherds and stockmen (who were nearly all assigned convicts), by no means improved their morals or appearance.The blacks become vitiated and exterminated among the whites, except, as in the case of the mounted black police, they are brought under wise and free discipline, and taught self-respect. This is a reason why writers, who only see a few debauched Sydney or Bathurst blacks, so falsely represent them to English readers. If they were all

The first book, *Lawrence Struilby...* (1863) was set in the 1830s and 1840s and was written by an Irish Protestant minister Rev John Graham with the help of his brother James who settled in Australia. The second book is a collection of reminiscences and stories by William Suttor, the son of one of the first settlers in the Bathurst district, and covers the period of the 1840s to 1850s. Both works centre on Bathurst but include sections dealing also with south-western NSW. However, the NSW Pidgin data is almost the same for all areas with only slight lexical variation. The book of memoirs was written by Louisa Anne Meredith about her stay at Bathurst in 1839. She stated that a 'a curiously composite tongue' was spoken in Bathurst (Meredith 1973:96) and, judging by her examples, it was NSW Pidgin. The manuscript memoir, written by Alice Augusta Clapham, covers the period from the late 1870s to late 1880s, a much later period than that covered by the other authors. It contains the reminiscences of the author about two Aboriginal people who lived and worked on her farm.

5.2.2.1 'Lawrence Struilby'

Lawrence Struilby... was a semi-biographical work about the life of James Graham who migrated to Australia from Ireland. The book was written by James' brother John after James returned to Ireland. John wrote the book from James' letters home to his family and using his oral reminiscences. To hide the real identity of characters in the book, John followed the common convention of using fictional names or giving only an initial for a name.

John Graham's biography was in turn written by his brother Charles. Charles provided some background information about the writing of *Lawrence Struilby....*

> While in Dublin, in August, 1854, he [*John Graham*] had the joy of welcoming home his eldest brother from Australia, after an absence of more than twenty years...It was a part of this eldest brother's colonial life which John afterwards

> wrote under the title of *Lawrence Struleby*[160]. The name taken from the river Strule, which flows near the place of our birth. (Graham 1880:86-87)

As a young man, James Graham was in the Bathurst district, from the early 1830s to the late 1840s. In his journal[161] John wrote that he was inspired by the experiences of 'a very dear friend' to go to Australia as a Congregational minister. The 'friend' was actually John's brother James.

> My mind has for several years, been turned to the subject of Australia's spiritual capabilities and wants. A very dear friend of mine spent nearly twenty-five years there. His letters and conversations, more than anything else, interested me in Australia...I edited a little book on Australia [*Lawrence Struleby; or twenty five years of bush life in Australia*, Longman & Co] and it deepened my impressions, and called some attention to the editor. (Graham 1880:111-112)

James spent some time in Tasmania before moving to NSW. In Hobart he 'went to see the remnant of the aborigines...after they had been entrapped by command of the government' but 'never afterwards saw a native in Van Diemen's Land' (Graham 1863:58-59). James then went to Bathurst in the early 1830s to work on the station of 'Mr Walker' called *Baroo Narang*[162]. The first Aboriginal people he encountered in NSW were 'halfway between Bathurst and Baroo' and they quickly assessed him to be a 'new chum' or new arrival in the colony (Graham 1863:66). They spoke NSW Pidgin (8:1) which Graham considered to be a limited form of English (Graham 1863:66).

While finding the country 'odd compared with Ireland' James considered his lifestyle to be healthy and exciting (Graham 1863:73). His main companion was 'Ash' who was related to the owner of the property and was in the colony to gain experience. They both made friends with the Aboriginal people who lived on and around Baroo Narang and Graham related many of the conversations he and Ash

---

[160]In the title of the published book the name is 'Struilby'. John has here confused himself because Struilby is a slightly altered version of Strule which is, as noted above, the name of a river significant to the Grahams. The Strule River flows through Omagh in County Tyrone, in what is now Northern Ireland.

[161]John Graham's journal was quoted from by Charles Graham.

[162]The station was probably *Boree Nyrang* owned in 1848 by Barton and Darvall, and in 1866 by RJ Barton.

held with the people. They were particularly friendly with 'Eagle-Hawk Nimagauley' and his son 'Dick Nimagauley'. Graham wrote that Eagle-Hawk was 'head of the little clan, whose sit down was next us. Old Eagle-Hawk was a splendid specimen of a black. He had been a foremost warrior and a terrible enemy to the early colonists, and had taken many lives' (Graham 1863:81). Through Eagle-Hawk's influence James was privvy to much of the daily life and some of the ceremonies of the 'Bamraman clan'. He also became a speaker of NSW Pidgin and his knowledge of the language informed the data recorded *Lawrence Struilby....*

After ten years in Bathurst, James moved south to the Lachlan and Murrumbidgee districts. He managed several properties before acquiring his own, *Mowpoke*, on the 'Yeo Yeo River'. In 1842, he formed a station for James Black called *Burrangong* between the Ovens River and the Mitta Mitta River and north west of the Australian Alps (Andrews 1920:132). The property 'was the commencement of the Mullindolingong holding...the mountains at the head of the Little river are shown as the Burrangong Mountains' (Andrews 1920:90). James married 'Selina Price' whose letters were also quoted in the book and contain further evidence for NSW Pidgin.

James was aware of cultural and linguistic differences between the Wiradhuri speaking Aboriginal people of the Bathurst district and the people south of the Lachlan (Graham 1863:126). He observed that the Lachlan people spoke the language with which he was familiar in the Bathurst district. He found that the people of the Snowy Mountains 'spoke a different language' (8:50) and were of the 'Murray Nation' (Graham 1863:219). James first encountered the Snowy Mountains people when he was living on the Murray River at *Mitta Mitta*, the station he set up for 'Jim Black'. However, the NSW Pidgin he documented for the Lachlan district contains only slight lexical differences to that of the Bathurst district. James was aware of the differences and commented on those which were most salient such as

the use of **lubra** instead of **jin** 'woman, wife'. **Lubra** is particularly characteristic of data from the Port Phillip district in the area now known as Victoria (7.4.3.1.1).

The language James used in communicating with Aboriginal people in general and which they in turn used with him was what he called 'the mixed lingo of English and Warragera' [Wiradhuri] (8:48). James commented that his friend Ash 'made a patronising effort to speak Dick's lingo' (8:7). His observation suggests that he was aware that NSW Pidgin was a true language which could not simply be made up by speakers unfamiliar with its rules.

5.2.2.2 William Suttor

William Suttor was a member of one of the first non-Aboriginal families to colonise the Bathurst and Lachlan River districts. The Suttors were well-known for the good relationship they had developed with the local Aboriginal people and had a number of them working on their properties. The Aboriginal resistance leader, Windradyne, spared their property *Brucedale* from attack because of their popularity amongst the Aboriginal people. When Windradyne died he was buried at Brucedale.

Suttor's book contains his own reminiscences and some oral histories of the district. There is a little NSW Pidgin data recorded in the book which is very similar to that recorded by James Graham. Suttor's data is also set in locations outside as well as within the Bathurst district. However, as in the case of Graham's data, there is only a little lexical variation between the data for each of the different areas. The manuscript, discussed below (5.2.2.4), was also written by one of the Suttors and is about two Aboriginal people who spent time on Brucedale when William was the owner.

5.2.2.3 Louisa Anne Meredith

Louisa Anne Meredith arrived in Australia with her husband Charles Meredith, on 27 September 1839. After several years in the colony she decided to write about her experiences in order to inform people in England about life in Australia. She, like Robert Dawson (Chapter 4), was dismayed by the general ignorance of the English about Australian colonial life in spite of their close connections with and interest in the colony. The purpose of her book was to add to 'the present small fund of information on common every-day topics relating to these antipodean climes...to give true and general descriptions of scenery, people, and the various objects which strike a new-comer as novel or remarkable; just, in fact, as they appeared to myself...My own observation, aided by my husband's long experience in these Colonies, is my sole resource' (Meredith 1973:vii).

In October 1839, the Merediths went to Bathurst for a month and Charles continued on to inspect his properties on the Murrumbidgee. During that time Louisa observed and made notes about the Aboriginal people living in and around the settlement (Meredith 1973:92). She saw a number of Aboriginal people employed on local properties, many of whom often travelled outside the district with the colonists.

> Several of the native 'attachés' to the establishments of settlers become useful servants, and are comfortably attired in suitable clothes, and their more than erect carriage (for a plumb-line dropped from the top of the head would fall some inches behind the heel) is still more striking in their civilized than savage costume. These men often accompany their masters' drays to Sydney, and sometimes join the long and toilsome stock-driving expeditions across to Adelaide; but even after a sojourn of many months with Europeans, and in a comparatively civilized state, they invariably return to their old habits, and relinquish their smart and comfortable clothes for the corrobbory costume of nudity and pipe-clay. (Meredith 1973:101)

She also noted many instances of Aboriginal people from other districts visiting the Bathurst people. For example, the visit of the Goulburn people for a 'grand corrobbory' (Meredith 1973:101). However, she commented that Aboriginal people were very wary of travelling outside their districts because they had the 'most rigid

laws touching all boundary questions, each tribe having a certain allotted portion of country, beyond which they cannot pass but in peril of their lives, or at least without risk of a battle' (Meredith 1973:101).

Louisa was very observant on linguistic matters and made comment about Aboriginal borrowings from English and concurrences of sound and meaning between English and Aboriginal languages. She also observed that the 'vocabulary of the language used by the native tribes near Adelaide' was completely different from the 'words...used to express the same thing by the tribes about Bathurst, Goulburn, and the Murrumbidgee' (Meredith 1973:95-96).

> I have been told by a friend of Mr. Meredith's, who had made himself thoroughly acquainted with many of the tribes, and was known among them as the chief who spoke their tongue, that great diversity of dialects exists among them—not slight variations merely, but a distinctly different vocabulary, of which he gave me many striking instances. (Meredith 1973:96)

She identified that Aboriginal people around Bathurst spoke NSW Pidgin which she called a 'patois' which they used to converse with the colonists. She believed the language had developed as a direct result of language contact between speakers of Aboriginal languages and English.

> 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 used to beg anything. (Meredith 1973:96)

5.2.2.4 Alice Augusta Clapham

In the late 1880s, Alice Augusta Clapham wrote a memoir of an Aboriginal couple, Maryann, who came from near Dubbo, and Charlie, who was from the Clarence River district (8:109). Alice was a Suttor of *Brucedale* and had grown up with Aboriginal people living around her on the property. She married Samuel George Clapham from Leeds, England, on 21 August 1879 and they moved to their small farm at Peel. Maryann and Charlie lived and worked on the Clapham's 'small farm'

which adjoined *Kiloola Estate* and *Grosvenor Estate* at Peel in the Bathurst district. The couple itinerated between other local properties, particularly that of the Grists for whom Maryann worked as a shepherd. Alice developed a firm friendship with Maryann over a period of about ten years from 1879, when she first moved to the property as a newly-wed until Maryann died in about 1888. Five years before Alice wrote her memoir Maryann and Charlie made a permanent home in a log hut near the Clapham's homestead (8:109). Maryann loved the Clapham children and often helped Alice around the house when she wasn't shepherding for the Grists.

The language attributed to Maryann and Charlie in Alice's manuscript is much closer to English than the data from the other sources discussed in this chapter. For example, Alice's data contains evidence for the full range of English articles which is not a feature of NSW Pidgin. The data is also free of the very salient pidgin transitivising suffixes **-it** and **-im** which are well-attested in the other sources. Alice's familiarity with the couple and their manner of speaking suggests that had their speech been NSW Pidgin she would have commented on their 'broken English' or characterised their speech as less English-like. Alice commented that Charlie 'spoke very well with a great deal of manner and attitude' (8:108), which suggests her data is an accurate reflection of her perceptions of the language of the couple.

The lack of evidence for NSW Pidgin in the data can be attributed to the late nineteenth century date for the manuscript. Aboriginal people in the Bathurst district had been in contact with English-speaking people for at least fifty years at the time when Alice was writing. It is very likely that some people had learnt to speak English. However, the data does contain some indication of an influence from NSW Pidgin of the couple and these features are discussed below.

5.3 WELLINGTON

5.3.1 Historical background

In 1817, Governor Macquarie instructed Surveyor General John Oxley with George William Evans and Allan Cunningham to explore the western district beyond Bathurst (Map 9). They came upon a fine, well-watered valley which they named Wellington after the Duke of Wellington. They also found traces of cattle which suggested that land hungry pastoralists had already made some forays into the area (McDonald 1968:3-5).

In 1823, Governor Brisbane established a penal settlement at the junction of the Bell and Macquarie Rivers. It was known as the Wellington Valley Agricultural Station (Read 1988:12). Brisbane instructed Commandant Simpson to establish friendly relations with the local Aboriginal people and to reward them with wheat, tomahawks or fish hooks if they apprehended stray cattle or runaway convicts (McDonald 1968:9). By 1825, there were about eighty four people, mostly male convicts, at Wellington and by 1829, there were ninety-two convicts (McDonald 1968:13).

During the time of the penal settlement John Harper was sent by the Wesleyan Mission Society to the Wellington Valley to missionise the local Aboriginal people and care for the spiritual welfare of the non-Aboriginal community (McDonald 1968:15). In 1825, he returned to Sydney to account for himself and to seek funds for a permanent mission. Harper claimed that there were few Aboriginal people in the area and 'identified them as belonging to six tribes—Bathurst, Murrlong, Mury, Banjaring, Mudgee and Myawl' (McDonald 1968:15). He also claimed to have six children under his care and reading the Bible. However, the society soon found that he was unreliable and sent him to Twofold Bay.

In 1830, Governor Darling abandoned the penal settlement because it was not economically viable (McDonald 1968:14). Christian missionaries took over the government buildings. They attempted for many years, with little success, to attract the local Aboriginal people to settle on the mission station. The missionaries set themselves up in opposition to the local pastoralists who had established a symbiotic relationship with the Aboriginal population. Aboriginal people had made themselves very useful on local properties as itinerant labourers, accepting payment in food and goods. The non-Aboriginal population of the area remained small well into the nineteenth century. In 1840, there were only about thirty people in the area including the police force (Mackenzie 1845:229).

In December 1828, Charles Sturt visited the Wellington penal settlement. He also found that there were three pastoral stations owned by two men, Wylde and Palmer, below the settlement at a distance of five, nineteen and thirty four miles. Sturt noted that the settlement was well-disciplined and orderly with the prisoners well under control. Sturt hoped to take some Aboriginal guides with him down the Macquarie River, but, found that the local people were 'too fond of Maxwell's [the superintendent beef to leave it for a precarious bush subsistence' (Sturt, vol. 1, 1833: 10). However, he obtained 'some intelligent lads' with Palmer's stockmen who were prepared to act as his guides (Sturt, vol. 1, 1833:10). The explorer, Hamilton Hume, who was with the expedition was able to 'interrogate' the Aboriginal people they met west of Wellington (Sturt, vol. 1, 1833:14). One young man, whom the stockmen named 'Botheri', 'attached himself' to the expedition and 'acted as interpreter' (Sturt, vol. 1, 1833:19). His lively 'facetious manner' kept the party laughing. The expedition was helped along the way by Aboriginal people who even aided them in crossing the river by carrying bags of flour weighing up to one hundred pounds. Sturt commented that in the crossing 'the natives worked as hard as our own people, and that too, with a cheerfulness for which I was altogether unprepared' (Sturt, vol. 1, 1833:20-21).

The men of the expedition and the Aboriginal people of the western district mingled freely and managed to communicate. Sturt's comments indicate that interpreters from both peoples were relied upon to affect communication. After crossing the river their guides who had joined them along the way left them to their own devices and subsequent meetings with Aboriginal people further west were not successful. The people reacted with great alarm and fled from the expedition when possible. However, near Mount Harris, Sturt met a man who impressed him with his great courage. The man appeared to be unfamiliar with horses and people riding horses but understood their request for water and directed them to a nearby source (Sturt, vol. 1, 1833:64-65). In the vicinity of the Darling River the party had a number of encounters involving limited communication with Aboriginal people.

Peter Read, who made a study of the Aboriginal people of the Wellington district and their relationships with the colonists, claims that the Wellington district developed into an area with a 'triangular conflict of interest' (Read 1988:12). One point of the triangle was occupied by pastoralists in the district. They were few in number and their operations very basic. The pastoralists were protected by a detachment of mounted police stationed at Wellington by Governor Bourke (McDonald 1968:21). The stations offered casual work to Aboriginal men and boys in the form of shepherding, dray-driving, splitting and cutting timber. They were paid with tobacco, flour, tea and a little meat. 'The stations served as a resource around which the family groups would gather when food was short elsewhere. In summer, the families might not be seen by the settlers for months' (Read 1988:12).

Another point in the triangle was the Church Missionary Society mission. Aboriginal people were initially bribed into visiting the establishment with gifts of tobacco and food. Later they were encouraged to earn the goods by staying on the mission, attending church on Sundays or for giving the right responses to questions

about the Christian religion. The mission came to be regarded by the local Aboriginal people as a safe haven. In contrast to their experiences on the stations the mission did not exploit them sexually or for their labour. Supplies were available and required little effort to procure (Read 1988:13).

The third point of the triangle was formed by the Aboriginal community. Their camp was on the banks of the Bell River, near the mission. The community was constantly shifting and numbers ranged from between forty and sixty individuals. Large numbers of people from all over the region would swell the numbers in the camp to well over one hundred individuals when important ceremonies were being held. When the main group went into the bush, children and women were often left at the mission for protection (Read 1988:13).

Within the triangle was a dynamic society with language needs that encouraged the use of NSW Pidgin as a lingua franca. On the one hand there were the missionaries with their attempts to speak Wiradhuri. They also had limited success in teaching some children to read and write in both English and their version of Wiradhuri. Even though the missionaries attempted to learn Wiradhuri the speech they recorded as the medium of everyday conversation was NSW Pidgin. The local settlers and government officials were interested in communication for their own benefits and not as a linguistic exercise and NSW Pidgin suited their purposes. The use of NSW Pidgin in previously settled areas of New South Wales and particularly the neighbouring settlement of Bathurst encouraged its use in the Wellington area.

5.3.2 The Wellington missionaries

The Wellington Mission Station began during the governorship of Richard Bourke (1831-87) when the Secretary of State for the colonies, acting under the advice of the Archdeacon of Sydney, Thomas Hobbes Scott, invited the Church Missionary Society (CMS) to establish a state supported mission in NSW (McDonald 1968:17).

Rev William Watson and Rev Johann Christian Simon Handt were selected by the CMS to establish its New Holland Mission in the Wellington Valley. In 1830, Governor Bourke signed over seven thousand acres of land and the former Agricultural Station buildings to the CMS (Read 1988:12). Watson and Handt with their wives arrived at the station on 3 October 1832. They were escorted into the station by a group of Aboriginal people who had been told by local colonists that the missionaries had blankets for them. The Aboriginal people also told the missionaries that the settlers claimed that the missionaries would take Aboriginal children to Sydney and put them in prison and would 'yoke' the men and make them grow their own food (Bridges 1978:326).

The missionaries planned to establish a viable, self-supporting station with willing Aboriginal labour. However, they were never successful. They only managed to maintain relations with the people by providing them with bribes to stay at the mission and participate in religious activities (Bridges 1978:328-30). Antagonism from local settlers, who continued to lure Aboriginal people away from the mission, was a constant worry to the missionaries. The settlers taught Aboriginal people to drink, swear and prostitute women (9:4, 23).

Relations between the missionaries themselves were also poor. Watson and Handt found it increasingly difficult to work together (Bridges 1978:339). In 1836, Handt was transferred to Moreton Bay and the Watsons continued the mission alone until 1837. In August 1837, Rev James Günther arrived at the mission to replace Handt. Günther was also committed to learning Wiradhuri and compiled a sketch grammar and lexicon (Günther 1892). However, it is likely that Watson's pioneering work in the analysis of Wiradjuri formed the basis, if not the substance, for Günthers' more widely recognised linguistic work (Bridges 1978:485-87). Relations between Günther and Watson also deteriorated and Watson left the mission, in 1838. He set up in opposition on the site of the present Nanima reserve

(Read 1988:17). Günther finally left Wellington Valley in 1843, dispirited by his lack of success in converting the Aboriginal people to Christianity. Watson was gone by 1850 from his unofficial mission also unable to claim success (Read 1988:21).

Watson and Handt were 'particularly disappointed...that even when the blacks would give them a hearing they seldom showed sufficient interest to seek elucidation or elaboration by asking any question. Sometimes they flatly denied any belief in the truth of what the missionaries told them or pained them with a frank negative to such questions as whether they loved God or Jesus or repented of their sins' (Bridges 1978:393). Only a few Aboriginal people bothered to learn the Christian prayers and observe solemnity at Christian worship (9:22). There was no indication that general conversion to Christianity was taking place (Bridges 1978:393). Compliance with the missionaries' wishes was usually connected with the receiving of goods and food (Read 1988:14).

In spite of their lack of success in converting Aboriginal people to Christianity the missionaries did contribute to the complexity of the linguistic context in the Wellington district. Aboriginal people who interacted with the missionaries at the settlement were exposed to English and the missionaries' attempts to speak Wiradjuri. The data that remains for cross-cultural communication suggest that NSW Pidgin was the principal means of communication (see Appendix 9). In 1832, a travelling commentator observed that the Aboriginal 'king' of the valley spoken 'broken English' (9:14). The local people had also learnt many 'oaths and obscenities' and 'English phrases' from the convict servants at the mission (9:4).

5.3.3 The study of Wiradhuri by missionaries at Wellington

In line with mission policy of the time, Watson and Handt planned to learn the local Aboriginal language and 'to instruct by means of the vernacular' (Bridges 1978:410).

Therefore, 'the tasks of learning the language and reducing it to written form were the missionaries' first duties and in their conception everything else waited upon a sufficient mastery of the language to begin teaching religious dogma' (Bridges 1978:410). While still in London they began to study Threlkeld's sketch of Awabakal spoken at Lake Macquarie, *Specimens of a dialect of the Aborigines of New South Wales* (1827a). To their disappointment they discovered that the Aboriginal people at Wellington spoke Wiradhuri which was a completely different language. However, by March 1833, Watson reported that he 'attempted to use Wiradjuri to speak to Aborigines he met up with in the bush' and claimed that 'some of them seemed "pleased to hear me, and said they believed that I was a Black fellow once"' (Watson quoted in Bridges 1978:410). Watson further claimed, in 1834, that he was praying and reading 'some portions of the scriptures in language the blacks could understand, he was teaching them to pray in their own tongue' (Bridges 1978:410). Watson discovered from the reports of local pastoralists that Aboriginal people in the Lachlan district also spoke Wiradhuri and his hopes were raised that his field of influence would be wider than first hoped (Bridges 1978:410).

In 1837, Watson wrote that he was hindered in acquiring Wiradjuri by 'the broken English and speed of the speech of the Aborigines and above all by their extreme unwillingness to teach their language' (Bridges 1978:484). It is clear that Aboriginal people in the Wellington district viewed NSW Pidgin as the appropriate language for communicating with non-Aboriginal people. Günther confirmed Watson's comment by stating that the Aboriginal people spoke 'enough English to express themselves as it regards their bodily wants and this appears to be all' (Günther quoted in Bridges 1978:485). Günther commented that he found it very difficult to make himself understood by the Aboriginal people (Bridges 1978:485).

In 1838, Günther observed that Watson was able to speak Wiradjuri fairly fluently and 'frequently gave addresses and read translations of portions of scripture and the

Book of Common Prayer' (Bridges 1978:484). However, in the same year, Watson lost interest in language studies and ceased to do translations or give services in Wiradhuri. He had decided that 'reliance on Wiradjuri was educationally unsound especially when English was necessary for the blacks under colonisation and was being acquired by them' (Bridges 1978:484-85). Missionaries throughout NSW commonly adopted what they called 'English' as the medium for instruction because it was easier than attempting to work in Aboriginal languages (Bridges 1978:493). However, it is clear from the data that they were actually using NSW Pidgin. The evidence (Bridges 1978:493) suggests that NSW Pidgin had an acknowledged value for Aboriginal people as a lingua franca for use amongst themselves once they began to travel outside their usual social boundaries.

In November 1838, Rev Richard Taylor, at the request of Bishop Broughton, visited the mission to make a report on its progress. He included comment on the languages used at the mission. Taylor was impressed with the service he attended which was given by Watson in Wiradhuri to 'about two dozen attentive blacks who made all the responses' (Bridges 1978:475). Watson told Taylor that the Wiradhuri service was not used when the Aboriginal people in the audience could understand English and that English comprehension was increasing amongst local Aboriginal people (Bridges 1978:475). Taylor was surprised to find that many of the Aboriginal people spoke English and that others were readily acquiring the language 'with very little foreignness of accent' (Bridges 1978:475). The prayers taught to Aboriginal people by the missionaries also seem to have become part of the language contact complex. Aboriginal people were known to repeat the rote learnt pieces and to create humorous versions for their own amusement and that of other colonists (Bridges 1978:479).

> Whenever the Natives turned their prayers into ridicule, it was generally done at the Solicitation of Whites; they did not seem to have any serious impression of the sacredness of prayers, nor to have any shame at ridiculing them, altho' sometimes they expressed some fear of Mr Watson hearing of their doing so. (John Maughan, 1838, quoted in Bridges 1978:479)

Taylor also commented that he was pleased with the educational progress of the children (Bridges 1978:475). 'There were twelve Aboriginal children, mostly girls, living with the Watsons' who could 'read fluently without any trace of a foreign accent' (Bridges 1978:492). The children were also being taught to write, to keep accounts and were beginning work in English grammar and geography (Bridges 1978:492). Aboriginal people at Wellington continued to have an English-style education available to them throughout the nineteenth century (9:21).

5.3.4 Pastoralism in the Wellington district

Illegal grazing of stock began around Wellington in the late eighteenteens. However, the first settler officially granted land in the district was GD Palmer, in 1824, who set up *Murrumbidgerie*. Next was the grant made to John Wylde who set up *Gobolion* (McDonald 1968:26). Ben Boyd, bought Gobolion in the mid 1840s to add to his pastoral empire. The property was again sold after his financial collapse and death in 1851. In 1831, many of the numerous squatters in the district took advantage of the government's offer to purchase land. By 1839, they had occupied most of the land between the Macquarie and Bell Rivers (McDonald 1968:26-27). In the late 1830s and 1840s, settlers began pushing beyond the limits of settlement outside the Wellington district.

In 1842, the Wellington Mission Station was closed and reclaimed by the government. By 1846, the government had approved plans for the village of Wellington (McDonald 1968:46). Wellington grew steadily as the focal point for an important grazing district. By 1844, there were five hundred and ninety free settlers and one hundred and thirty-eight bond servants in the district which extended ninety miles east of Cobar. There were one hundred and seventy-five thousand five hundred sheep and fifty-three thousand five hundred and thirty head of cattle grazed within the valley of the Macquarie River (McDonald 1968:32). Aboriginal people

continued to be employed by settlers in a variety of rural activities. For example, at *Nanima*, the property established by Joseph Barrow Montefiore in 1834 and sold in 1849 to Joseph Aarons, Aboriginal people were employed as sheep washers supervised by Podgy Dicky Taylor a former convict who had served his time at Wellington (McDonald 1968:30).

5.4 THE LACHLAN RIVER DISTRICT

5.4.1 Background history

In 1813, Governor Macquarie instructed George Evans, to explore the south western district (Map 8). One hundred miles south-west of Bathurst near present-day Cowra he encountered the Lachlan River. He returned with a very positive assessment of the land which prompted the governor to further investigate the country. In 1817, Evans and John Oxley with Evans explored the recently flooded river (Map 9). They decided that the country was an uninhabitable marsh. Between 1828 and 1830, Charles Sturt again explored the Lachlan and Macquarie river country (Map 14). His excursion was after a long drought when the flooded marshes had dried up and he consequently gave a much more encouraging report (Perry 1963:82-83). Although the Lachlan River had been explored, its outflow into the Murrumbidgee River was not known to colonists until Thomas Mitchell's 1836 expedition (Map 17) (Cowan 1983:22).

The successful settlement of the Bathurst district in the 1820s encouraged further exploration of the Murray basin. A stock route developed between Bathurst and the Molonglo and Murrumbidgee Rivers. Between 1826 and 1829, much of the land between the Lachlan and the Macquarie was occupied for grazing (Perry 1963:86). Farms in the western district tended to be either large sheep runs or small 'crop-and-stock' farms owned by ex-convict small farmers (Perry 1963:90). However, the area had a distinct pastoral emphasis and most people attempted to increase the size of

their holdings even if they began as small farmers. Many properties had absentee landlords who ran large numbers of sheep tended by shepherds and stockmen.

By the 1830s, the Lachlan River district was attracting land-hungry people who unofficially explored the area and took up land with or without government permission. '"Going beyond the limits" was the anthem for many of those early settlers along the Lachlan' (Cowan 1983:22). The limits of official settlement were proclaimed as the 'nineteen counties' in October 1829 and the Lachlan River formed a large part of the western boundary (Roberts 1964: 4). However, the temptation to follow the rivers to more land was too great and the limits were only vaguely respected. In 1840 there were ninety eight stations in the squatting district formed by the Lachlan River and sixty in the Wellington squatting district (Roberts 1964:139).

5.4.2 Lachlan River district sources

Two minor sources for Lachlan district data have already been discussed as sources for Bathurst data. They are William Suttor for the 1850s (5.2.2.2, Appendix 8:75-82) whose family had pastoral properties in the Lachlan district and James Graham who both managed properties and took up his own selection in the district (5.2.2.1, Appendix 8:68-73).

The main source for the Lachlan district is a semi-biographical work based on the lifestory of Reginald Crawford one of the original settlers in the area in the late 1830s (Ranken 1895). In the late 1870s, Crawford related his memoirs to George Ranken who published them initially as a serial story in *The Australian* in 1878 and 1879 (Ranken 1895:ix). Ranken claimed that the story 'tells of actual occurrences, under a thin veil of fiction' (Ranken 1895:v). He was able to write with authority because he also had a long association with early pastoral settlement in Australia. A trained surveyor, Ranken emigrated to Australia from Scotland. In 1851, he spent

some time in Queensland before becoming the Commissioner for Crown lands in 1868. In 1869, he moved to Sydney and began to write articles and books and addressing issues of land settlement, land law and life in the bush. *Windabyne* is considered to be the most significant of his two novels (Wilde et al 1985:577-78).

The places named in the book suggest that Crawford's first experience of station life in Australia was on a property not far from Boorowa in the Lachlan district—'the Western Country' in the mid 1840s (Ranken 1895:1-12). The station was owned by a former colleague of Crawford's father who had seen service with him in India. He spent two years on the property and most of the book was devoted to that period of his life. The station employed Aboriginal labour—'black boys, those forms of ready, serviceable labour that a large, liberally managed establishment draws around it'. It was on that station that Crawford first encountered Aboriginal people and NSW Pidgin (Ranken 1895:17). The book contains a number of NSW Pidgin texts with features consistent with those from the Bathurst district (see Appendix 10).

5.5 LINGUISTIC EVIDENCE

5.5.1 Introduction

The NSW Pidgin data from Bathurst and the inland districts from the 1830s and 1840s is very similar to that recorded for the mid to late 1820s in the Port Stephens district. This suggests a continuity of development. The similarity of the grammatical forms is such that, to avoid repetition, the analysis below skims over identical features and focuses on those features which are new. There are some new lexical items apparent in the data, including borrowings from Wiradhuri, which indicate regional input to the pidgin. One source, Graham, who had experience of using NSW Pidgin near Port Phillip in the early 1840s, also gives the first attestation for NSW of the item **lubra** 'wife or woman'. He wrote that 'lubra' was a 'Kuntungera dialect' word 'for gin or woman' (8:51). Aboriginal languages spoken in the Bathurst district were Wiradhuri and Gundungura and Darkinyung was spoken nearby (Map

4). Generally, the Bathurst data are evidence for further stabilisation of established features of NSW Pidgin and a reduction of variation in forms. Maximum simplicity and regularity is deemed to be a feature of developed pidgins (Mühlhäusler 1986:4). Therefore it is likely that the Bathurst data represents a further stage in the development of NSW Pidgin. The expanded lexicon also supports this contention.

Bathurst and the Lachlan district provide the most fullsome sources of data. Wellington is disappointing because the principal sources are the missionaries who were concerned with recording the local Aboriginal language. They were not keen to promote NSW Pidgin and were disparaging about its existence even though they knew that it was a valuable communicative tool.

5.5.2 Comment on orthography

The sources contain only a few spelling innovations suggestive of Aboriginal pronunciation. In the data borrowings into NSW Pidgin from Aboriginal languages are generally spelt semi-phonetically. However, borrowings from English in the Bathurst and Wellington data are usually spelt as they would have been in English. In the Bathurst data the exceptions are—*shaw* 'show' (8:2), *yallock* 'gallop' (8:3), *hab* 'have' (8:24), *hundrit* 'hundred' (8:24), *fist* 'first' (8:28), *mittiss* 'misses' (8:66). The Wellington data contain the item *parton* 'parson' (9:7). Little can be concluded from these items except that Aboriginal speakers appear to have been acquiring sibilant 's'.

The Lachlan data from Ranken (1895) contain more attempts at phonetic spellings. For example, the items *petch* 'fetch' (10:3) and *tchoot* 'shoot' (10:6) suggest a preference by speakers of NSW Pidgin for stops or affricates rather than fricatives initially. The feature is in agreement with the general phonologies of Aboriginal languages. Another phonetic spelling was *whi fella* 'white fellow' meaning 'non-Aboriginal person' (10:16) in which the alveolar is deleted. Ranken commented that pronouncing words 'Aboriginal fashion' 'transmogrifies' them into

different forms. He gave as an example the modification of Joe Grant into 'Sugar-hands' (10:13) which would have been pronounced by Aboriginal people as 'tjugant'.

5.5.3 Grammar and lexicon

5.5.3.1 Lexicon

There are three hundred and ninety five NSW Pidgin lexical items recoverable from the data from the Bathurst, Wellington and Lachlan districts (contained in Appendix 21)—ninety five more than were obtainable from the Port Stephens data. One hundred and twenty three of the items are new to the lexicon. This suggests that the lexical base for NSW Pidgin had expanded. Of the items borrowed from Aboriginal languages there are fifteen from the Sydney language. The same items were also apparent in the Port Stephens set. In addition there are thirty seven borrowings from Wiradhuri (see Table 12 and, for more information about the items, Appendix 21) and two of those items replaced earlier borrowings from the Sydney language. **Madjigong** 'doctor' replaced **karadji** (although it was also attested) and **yaba** 'speak' replaced **paiala**. There is also an increase in the number of items which were created using the productive processes of NSW Pidgin. The nominalising suffixes **-fela** and the new form **-wan** are both in evidence. Another process was the use of descriptive phrases as compounds, for example, **gunya longa dingo** 'dog kennel' literally 'house belonging to a dog'.

The limited Wellington district data provided only one new lexical item—**parton** 'parson'. However, the Lachlan district data contains sixty-six new items of which fourteen were from Wiradhuri. Amongst the borrowings from English is one which attests the influence of the Wellington missionaries—**meri** 'woman, girl' from the biblical *Mary* (10:20) which was given in phrase form **waitfela meri** 'non-Aboriginal girls'. Another item of note is **meikalait** 'see' or 'look sharp!' which was noted in the Newcastle data as **straikalait**.

TABLE 12: Wiradhuri borrowings in NSW Pidgin of Bathurst and the inland districts[163]

ITEM	REF[164]	MEANING
aiama	(B49)	look
ama!	(L3)	an interjection
ara!	(L3)	an interjection
balogan	(B45)	old woman
bilbi	(B35)	flea
bilibong	(B62)	waterholes that fill after rain
bumbili	(B15)	tobacco
dilidili!	(L16)	an interjection
ei!	(L4)	an interjection
gilgai	(B80)	shallow pool
gira	(L1)	southern
hipai	(L15)	a leader
imu	(B43)	emu
indu	(L5)	you (singular)
jindi	(B81)	to play around
kai!	(L14)	an interjection
kainbi	(B62)	a pool with springs of water
kalin	(B3)	the sea, water or to drink
konoi	(B18)	a long, flat digging stick used by women
kulamin	(L274)	an Aboriginal dish (Sydney language word **gulima**, possibly also Wiradhuri)
madjigong	(B39)	doctor
mangi	(B27)	fish
minyang	(L5)	why?
morami	(B102)	crayfish (maybe a yabbie)
nimbli	(B52)	cry
niuk	(B101)	knife (etymology unknown possibly Wirahuri)
piuk	(B88)	pipe (etymology unknown possibly Wirahuri)
taligala	(L27)	scrub turkey
wah!	(L16)	an interjection
wari!	(L3)	an interjection
wer!	(L3)	an interjection
yakadai!	(B46)	a cry uttered by women
yakai!	(B76)	'oh dear!'
yambil	(B32)	lies
yan	(B3)	come or go
yarraman	(L25, B3)	horse (word of uncertain etymology, probably Sydney language word **yaraman**, possibly Wiradhuri word)
yui!	(L30)	an interjection

5.5.3.2 Morphology

The morphology of the data is that same as that of Port Stephens with the addition of a new nominalising suffix **-wan**. **-Wan** is limited in range when compared to **-fela**. It suffixes to English demonstrative adjectives 'that', 'this' and 'another' creating

[163]See Appendix 21 for derivations.

[164]I have used the abbreviation references here to help show the distribution of items (see 1.3.2 for an explanation of the different systems of referencing to examples used in this thesis).

demonstrative pronouns **datwan** and **diswan** and to English interrogative 'which' creating interrogative determiner **witjwan**.

In connection with the item **debildebil** 'great devil', Meredith noted that 'the doubling of the phrase denotes how terrible or intense a devil he is' (8:91). Her comment reinforces the previously attested use of reduplication as an intensifying device.

Günther observed that Aboriginal people at Wellington applied the Wiradhuri verbalising suffix *-marra* to English verbs and gave as examples **graindmarra** 'to grind' and **ringmarra** 'to ring the bell' which suggests a purposive function. He explained that *marra* was the Wiradhuri verb 'to do or make'[165] (9:1).

5.5.3.3 Nouns

Nouns in the data are formed in the same way that they were in the Port Stephens data. As noted above, the nominaliser **-fela** is joined by a less well-attested variant **-wan** also unmarked for number or gender.

5.5.3.3.1 Determiners

Articles are poorly attested in the data with only one sentence containing evidence for the indefinite article **a** 'a' (10:25). However, the category of determiners is expanded in the data (see Tables 13 and 14) in comparison to the number of forms found in the Port Stephens data (Tables 7, 8 and 9). There is also a little evidence to suggest the development of an interrogative determiner, **witjwan** 'which' (266). However, the evidence is weak as it occurs only once and is only attributed to a non-Aboriginal speaker.

(266) *Which one black fellow?* (8:66)
witjwan blakfela
Which Aboriginal person?

[165]It is also a well-known pan-Australian word for 'hand' (Dixon 1980:99-100).

The category of demonstrative determiner is much expanded in comparison to the Port Stephens data which contained only two singular forms. In the data discussed here there is evidence for four forms including singular and plural (see Table 13)—**dat** 'that' (267), **diz** 'these' (268), **datwan** which is not marked for number and means 'that, those' (269, 270) and **nadawan** 'another' (271).

TABLE 13: Demonstrative determiners in the data from Bathurst and the inland districts

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
NEAR		**diz** (268)
FAR	**dat** (267), **datwan** (269)	**datwan** (270)
GENERIC	**nadawan** (271)	

(267) *Ay, ay, that bird brother belonging to you, I b'lieve.* (8:7)
aiai dat berd brada blongentu yu aibliv
Yes, that bird is your brother, I believe.

(268) *these poor fellows* (8:73)
diz pofela
these are poor fellows

(269) *Too much like it that one wool.* (8:75)
tumatj laikit datwan wul
It is too much like that wool.

(270) *Jim sit down there where that one cattle make it that one row.* (8:81)
Jim sitdaun dea wea datwan katel meikit datwan rau
Jim stays there, where those cattle are making that row.

(271) *Good way more farther—another one country belonging to master.* (8:58)
gudwei mofatha nadawan kantri blongentu masa
Go on much longer—another one about your country.

There are only two possessive determiners evident in the data (Table 14) **main** 'my' (272) and **yo** 'your' (273). **Main** is strongly attested while **yo** only occurs once and is therefore, highly suspect. Neither occurred in the Port Stephens data.

TABLE 14: Possessive determiners in the data from Bathurst and the inland districts

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	**main**	
2		**yo**

(272) *Mine Dick piala you for weeli.* (8:83)
main Dik paiala yu fo wili
My Dick will talk to you about possums.

(273) *You yabber no more to your friends.* (8:8)
yu yaba nomo tu yo frendz
You will not speak your friends anymore.

5.5.3.3.2 Number

Quantity is indicated in the data with numerals and general quantifiers. However, the category of number in the data is limited in comparison with that of Port Stephens. In the Bathurst data there are three cardinal numbers—**menitausand** 'many thousand' (275), **hundrit** 'hundred' (275) and **wan** 'one' (275). In the Lachlan data another form **tausand** 'a large number' is also attested (10:39). **Wan** was also noted at Port Stephens and **menitausand** is similar to the Port Stephens **marritausand**. However, **hundrit** is an innovation. Plural marking with English '-s' on nominals is attested, as it was in the Port Stephens data. In the Bathurst data -s also occurs on borrowings from Aboriginal languages, for example, **tulas** 'fathers' graves'. There is only one general quantifier attested in the Bathurst data, **oranjibita** 'a little bit' which is a compound of the Sydney language item **narang** 'little' and English 'bit of' (276). In the Lachlan data the general quantifier **plenti** reappears (10:21, 23, 24). The Lachlan data also contains the innovation **tufela** 'two' in which nominaliser **-fela** is suffixed to a numeral (277, 10:26). **Tu** 'two' also appears unsuffixed in the data (10:20).

(275) *White fellow hab many tousand sheep, and hundrit dog, and none gin only one—what for white fellow hab but one gin?* (8:24)
waitfela hab menitausand ship and handrit dog and nan jin onli wan watpo waitfela hab bat wan jin
Non-Aboriginal men have many thousand sheep, and hundreds of dogs, but almost no wives, only one. Why do non-Aboriginal men have only one wife?

(276) *owrangey bit o' bacco* (8:101)
oranji bita baka
a little bit of tobacco

(277) *two fella bullock* (10:12)
tufela bulok
two bullocks

5.5.3.4 Pronouns

There are subject (see Table 15), object (see Table 16) and reflexive personal pronouns, an indefinite pronoun and demonstrative pronouns[166]. The general form **dat** observed in the Port Stephens data is not apparent. New forms in this data are—**main** 'I' (280), **mi** 'me' (290), **indu** 'you' (singular) (360) which was a borrowing from Wiradhuri, **yuandmi** first plural inclusive object 'us' (292), two reflexive pronouns **mainounself** 'myself' (295), and **himself** 'himself' (296) and an indefinite pronoun **olem** 'all of them' (297). There is also one sentence which contains evidence for a possessive pronoun **hiz** 'his' (278).

(278) *Directly me maan his Gins.* (8:93)
dairekli mi man hiz jinz
I will soon take his wives.

TABLE 15: Subject personal pronouns in the data from Bathurst and the inland districts

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1INC	**ai** (279, 330), **main** (280)	**wi** (281)
1EXC		**wi** (282)
2	**yu** (283), **indu** (360)	**yu** (284)
3	**dat** (285)	**ol** (286), **dat** (287), **dei** (288)

1SG
(279) *I believe so.* (8:98)
ai bliv so
I believe so.

(280) *Mine make it buggery wool jump up.* (8:52)
main meikit budjari wul jampap
I am making good hair grow.

1PL.INC
(281) *We find him now, my word!* (8:81)
wi faindim nau maiwod
We will find him now, my word!

2PL.EXC
(282) *We don't see any ducks.* (8:92)
wi dont si ani daks
We don't see any ducks.

[166]Demonstrative determiners nominalised with **-fela** or **-wan**.

2SG

(283) *You got him 'bacca?* (8:77)
yu gotim baka
Do you have tobacco.

2PL

(284) *You fist-rate black fellow.* (8:28)
yu ferstrait blakfela
You are first-rate Aboriginal people.

3SG

(285) *Lady there, that Gin 'long o' you?* (8:87)
leidi dea dat jin longa yu
The lady there, is she your wife?

3PL

(286) *All tumble down when euroka jump up.* (8:73)
ol tumboldaun wen urokajampap
They will die at sunrise.

(287) *That make it shaw.* (8:2)
dat meikit shaw
They made a show.

(288) *Directly they jump up coolar.* (8:97)
dairekli dei jampap kula
Soon they will become angry.

TABLE 16: Object personal pronouns in the data from Bathurst and the inland districts

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1INC	**main** (291), **mi** (290)	**yuandmi** (292)
1EXC		
2	**yu** (293)	
3		**dem** (294)

1SG

(289) *You always good to me.* (8:43)
yu olweiz gud tu mi
You were always good to me.

(290) *Piala me what for spear um like it that?* (8:9)
paiala mi watpo spirim laikit dat
Tell me, why spear them like that

(291) *You piala buggerie alonga mine brother belonging to Bobindi.* (8:61)
yu paiala budjari alonga main brada blongentu Bobindi
You tell the truth to me, the brother of Bobindi.

1PL.INC

(292) *Boodgeree breakfast belonging to you and me.* (10:40)
budjari brekfast blongentu yuandmi
A good breakfast for us.

2SG

(293) *Cobon like it you.* (8:12)
kabon laikit yu
They are very like you.

3PL

(294) *White fellows pater them?* (8:9)
waitfelaz pata dem
Non-Aboriginal people eat them?

(295) *Mine own self Jemmy, cobon stupid doing like it mine own self.* (8:72)
mainounself Jemi kabon stupid duing laikit mainounself
Myself, Jemmy, it is very stupid, copying myself.

(296) Gunyon all along of himself. (8:100)
gania all alonga himself
a house all for himself

(297) *All 'em brothers and gins belonging to you come out here, I b'lieve.* (8:8)
olem brada and jin blongentu yu kam aut hia aibliv
All of them, your brothers and wives are appearing here, I believe.

As discussed above, there are two forms attested for the demonstrative pronoun 'that one'—**datfela** (300, 301, 302, 328) and **datwan** (298, 299). They are created by adding the nominalising suffixes **-fela** and **-wan** to demonstrative determiner **dat**. **Datfela** is the more salient form in the data and persists in the data from the late nineteenth century manuscript source (302). There is also one attestation of demonstrative pronoun **diswan** 'this one' (298) although there is no attestation for demonstrative determiner **dis** 'this'.

(298) *I believe this one gold: mine yan 'long master now, and tell it that one.* (8:74)
aibliv diswan gold main yan long massa nau and telit datwan
I believe this is gold. I will go to master now and tell him.

(299) *We'll find him that one now.* (8:78)
wil faindim datwan nau.
We will find him now.

(300) *You hear him that one, that fellow find him little boy.* (8:81)
yu hiarim datwan datfela faindim litl boi
Do you hear them, they have found the little boy.

(301) *Well, that fellow shoot.* (8:92)
wel datfela shut
Well, he shoots.

(302) *That fellow come to the camp last night wanting this and that and tobacco.* (8:121)

5.5.3.5 Verbs

As they were in the earlier data from Sydney, Newcastle and Port Stephens, verbs are again borrowed from both English and Aboriginal languages. English borrowings are usually suffixed for transitivity with either **-im** (303, 305) or **-it** (304) and can take tense and aspect markers but are not marked for modality. A new feature is the marking of verbs borrowed from Aboriginal languages with a transitive suffix, for example, **man-im** 'take-TrM' (305). Some verbs which are used transitively do not take transitive suffixes, for example, **meikalait** 'look' (306).

(303) *We'll find him that one now.* (8:81)
wi faindim datwan nau
We will find that one now.

(304) *Bell give it blanket.* (8:32)
bel gibit blankit
Did not give blankets.

(305) *Let black fellow come and man him gunyah.* (8:59)
let blakfela kam and manim gunya
Let the Aboriginal people come and take the house.

(306) *Make a light white fellow there.* (8:48)
meikalait waitfela dea
Look at the non-Aboriginal person there.

Tense is marked with free morphemes or indicated by the context of the utterance. The present tense is the least marked, but is occasionally indicated with the temporal adverb **nau** 'now' placed before a verb stem (307, 308) as it was in the Port Stephens data.

(307) *Now fight, like it white man.* (8:92)
nau fait laikit waitman
Now fight like a non-Aboriginal man.

(308) *Now he dead.* (8:93)
nau hi ded
Now, he is dead.

Once again, past is the most highly marked tense with **bin** being placed before the verb stem (309, 310) However, **bin** is not as frequently used as it was in the Port Stephens data.

(309) *Little Jimmy been scratch him face along a that one.* (8:79)
litl Jimi bin skratjim feis longa datwan
Little Jimmy scratched his face on that.

(310) *Close up Mr. Reggie bin lose him alonga bush.* (10:3)
klosap Mista Reji bin lusim alonga bush
Mr Reggie soon lost it in the bush.

The future tense is usually unmarked (311). However, temporal adverbs **narangwail** 'a little while' (312) and the better attested form **dairekli** 'soon' (313, 314, 9:2) are occasionally used before verbs to indicate future tense.

(311) *Me and Hougong go out look for duck.* (8:92)
mi and Hugong go aut luk fo dak
Hougong and I will go and look for ducks.

(312) *Jackey jump up narang while.* (8:41)
Jaki jamap narangwail
Jackey will rise in a little while.

(313) *Directly me maan his Gins.* (8:93)
dairekli mi man his jin
Soon I will take his wives.

(314) *Directly find him now.* (10:14)
dairekli faindim nau
He will soon be found, now.

The temporal adverb **baimbai** 'in the future, soon, later' which was well attested in the data for Port Stephens is not apparent in the data for Bathurst. However, evidence that it was acceptable in the Bathurst area, at least by the late 1840s, is found in an article in *The Bathurst Advocate* (5.2.1848:3) in which it was commented that '...a certain celebrated poet, and embryo-editor of a comical newspaper, which, to use an aboriginal phrase, will appear '*by-and-bye!*'

Cessative, habitual and incompletive aspect are attested in the data. However, cessative, which is marked with **nomo** 'never again (315, 316, 317), and habitual,

marked with **olweiz** (318, 319), are only found in the Bathurst data. Incompletive is attested in each data set and is marked with **yet** 'yet' (320, 321, 327).

(315) *You yabber no more to your friends.* (8:8)
yu yaba nomo tu yo frendz
You will never again talk to your friends.

(316) *No more wash him jumbuck.* (8:32)
nomo wasim jambak
[We] will never again wash the sheep.

(317) *No more track him yarraman.* (8:32)
nomo trakim yaraman
[We] will never again track horses.

(318) *You always good to me.* (8:43)
yu olweiz gud tu mi.
You were always good to me.

(319) *You always like it that.* (8:47)
yu olweiz laikit dat
You always do it that way.

(320) *Bell poor fellow yet.* (8:41)
bail pofela yet
Not dead yet.

(321) *more sign yet* (10:24)
mo sain yet
yet more signs

5.5.3.6 Adjectives

Adjectives in the data are unmarked for number and gender. Two items borrowed from Aboriginal languages, **kabon** 'big' and **budjari** 'good', which were attested in the earlier data for Sydney and Port Stephens are also salient in the Bathurst and Lachlan data. The previously well attested forms **nogud** 'bad' and **nada** 'another' are each only attested once in the data. **Nogud** reappears in the Lachlan data (10:34) and **nada** in the Wellington data (9:2). Once again, adjectives can be nominalised with the productive suffix **-fela**, for example, **blakfela** 'Aboriginal one', **waitfela** 'non-Aboriginal one', **pofela** 'pitiful one, dead one, bachelor[167]', **stupidfela** 'stupid one', **budjarifela** 'good one'.

[167]This translation of **pofela** as 'bachelor' is given in a Bathurst source—'A "poor fellow" meaning a bachelor, and the possession of a wife, among them, being in fact equivalent to keeping a servant, as the unfortunate gins perform all the labour' (8:87). The item **poman** was given in an earlier Sydney source in a similar context and suggests that poman is a variant of **pofela** 'bachelor'—'Being all three

Adjectives occur singly (322-25, 328) and can also occur in adjective phrases (326-27). Adjective phrases consist of an adjective modified with an adverb as they do in the Port Stephens data. Surprisingly, the previously attested and very salient adverb **marri** 'very' is not present in the Bathurst or the Lachlan data and its function is taken over by **kabon**. However, **marri** reappears in the data from Wellington (327).

(322) *buggery wool* (8:53)
budjari hair
good hair

(323) *fist-rate black fellow* (8:28)
ferstreit blakfela
first-rate Aboriginal person

(324) *cabou grasse* (8:94)
kabu gras
great whiskers

(325) *little boy* (8:81)
litl boi
little boy

(326) *These black fellows cabon coola.* (8:37)
diz blakfela kabon kula
These Aboriginal people are very angry.

(327) *Murry hot yet.* (9:22)
marri hot yet
It is still very hot.

(328) *Kabawn new chum that fella.* (10:3)
kabon niutjam datfela
That one is very much a new arrival.

5.5.3.7 Adverbs

Adverbs in the data occur in adjective or verb phrases where they are dependent on the head verb or adjective. In verb phrases adverbs can occur before and after the head verb. However in adjective phrases they must occur before the head adjective. There are fewer adverbs in the data than were attested in the Port Stephens data.

---

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*.' Wives, it seems then are treasures among the New Hollanders' (4:11).

There are five manner adverbs—**mos** 'very' (329), **tumatj** 'many, a lot, excessive' (269), **ol** 'completely' (330), **olgon** 'all gone' (331) and **oltugeda** 'all, completely' (332, 333).

(329) *You most liked devil.* (8:53)
yu mos laikit debil
You are very like a devil.

(330) *I been all mistake.* (8:6)
ai bin ol mistaik
I was completely mistaken.

(331) *Black fellow all gone.* (8:32)
blakfela olgon
The Aboriginal people are all gone.

(332) *That fella carry altogether post and rail.* (10:12)
datfela kari oltugeda post and reil
That one will carry all of the posts and rails.

(333) *cattle altogether mad* (10:10)
katel oltugeda mad
the cattle are all mad

There are also five time adverbs in the data—**den** 'then' (334), **sun** 'soon' (335), **klosap** 'soon' (338), **nau** 'now' (336) and **ferstaim** 'first' (337).

(334) *Then I shoot, and Hougong falls dead!* (8:92)
den ai shut and Hugong fals ded
Then I will shoot, and Hougong will fall dead!

(335) *White fellow soon poor fellow.* (8:59)
waitfela sun pofela
The non-Aboriginal man will soon be dead.

(336) *Mine yan 'long master now.* (8:74)
main yan alonga masta nau
I will go to master now.

(337) *You shoot first time.* (8:92)
yu shut ferstaim
You shoot first.

(338) *Close up Mr. Reggy been lose him alonga bush.* (10:3)
klosap Mista Reji bin lusim alonga bush
Mister Reggy soon lost him in the bush.

In the late nineteenth century data from Bathurst there is evidence for two place adverbs **ola** 'in this spot' (339) and **olabaut** 'all around, everywhere' (340) which is

also attested in the Lachlan data (341). The other sources contain evidence for an additional five place adverbs **hia** 'here' (342), **dea** 'there' (343), **ova** 'over' (356), **adasaid** 'the other side' (344) and **klosap** 'near' (344).

(339) *The day before Charley said to us 'Mary Ann is going she has a grand bonnet from Mrs Grist and all a rose here' pointing to the top of his head.* (8:142).

(340) *A beautiful breeze comes up of an evening all about.* (8:109)

(341) I believe, plenty blak fellow all about. (10:23)
aibliv plenti blakfela olabaut
I believe there are many Aboriginal people all around.

(342) *All 'em brothers and gins belonging to you come out here.* (8:8)
olem brada and gin blongentu yu kamaut hia
All of them, your brothers and wives are coming here.

(343) *Make a light white fellow there.* (8:48)
meikalait waitfela dea
Look there is a non-Aboriginal man.

(344) *Close up other side.* (10:39)
klosap adasaid
Nearby on the other side.

5.5.3.8 Prepositions

In both the Bathurst and Lachlan data **alonga** (also realised as **along**) replaces the earlier Port Stephens form **long** as the most frequently attested multi-purpose prepositional form. **Alonga** acts as a preposition of accompaniment 'with' (350), reason 'about' (351) and possession (352) and also demonstrates an expanded range of locative functions—'at' (345, 360, 10:20), 'on' (346), 'near' (348) and 'in' (349, 359, 361). In data from all the areas **long** expresses one locative function 'to' (336, 362). A similar variant, **longa**, expresses possession (353, 354) as does the previously established **blongentu** (292, 342). **Blongentu** also expresses association 'from' (271). The form **laikit** is also multifunctional. In the Bathurst data it is both a preposition of manner 'like' (350) and of location 'on' (347). However, in the Lachlan data **laikit** is attested as a postposition of direction 'to' (363)

(345) *Walker, sit down along a name Carumba.* (8:1)
Woka sitdaun alonga neim Karamba
Walker lives at a place named Carumba.

(346) *You yan along mine sit-down.* (8:3)
yu yan alonga main sitdaun
You walk on my territory.

(347) *Where like it?* (8:83)
wea laikit
Where [were you bitten] on?

(348) *That one gindie along a little Jimmie.* (8:81)
datwan jindi alonga litl Jimi
They playing around near little Jimmie.

(349) *yan along canoe* (8:28)
yan along kanu
go in a canoe

(350) *Now fight, like it white man, along o' musket.* (8:92)
nau fait laikit waitman alonga maskit
Now fight like a non-Aboriginal man with a musket.

(351) *What you think a long a blackfellow now?* (8:82)
wat yu tink alonga blakfela nau
What do you think about Aboriginal people now?

(352) *Gunyon all along of himself.* (8:100)
gania ol alonga himself
a house all for himself

(353) *gunyon 'long of dingo* (8:100)
gunya longa dingo
a house belonging to a dog
a dog kennel

(354) *Gin 'long o' you.* (8:87)
jin longa yu
your wife

(355) *That bird brother belonging to you.* (8:7)
dat berd brada blongentu yu
That bird is your brother.

(356) *you come yallock yarraman over mine toolas* (8:3)
yu kam yalok yarraman ova main tulas
You come and gallop your horses over my ancestors' graves.

(357) *Piala me what for spear um like it that?* (8:9)
paiala mi watpo spirim laikit dat
Tell me why are they speared like that.

(358) *You always like it that.* (8:46)
yu alweis laikit dat
You always do it like that.

(359) *That fella tumble down alonga dirt.* (10:3)
datfela tamboldaun alonga dert
He will fall into the dirt.

(360) *Min yang indu alonga tockyard?* (10:5)
minyang indu alonga tokyad
Why are you at the stockyards?

(361) *fire alonga reed-bed* (10:10)
faia alonga ridbed
fire in the reedbed

(362) me put him two fella bullock—long spare chain (10:12)
mi putim tufela bulok long speatjen
I will attach the two bullocks to the spare chain

(363) *That fella wind blow him straight like it station.* (10:10)
datfela wind bloim streit laikit steishon
That wind will blow it straight to the station.

(364) *I believe you go like it that fella.* (10:18)
aibliv yu go laikit datfela
I think you should go to him.

A sentence from the data (produced by a colonist and used in speaking to an Aboriginal person) suggests the genesis of the preposition of accompaniment, **alonga** 'with' because it contains both the preposition **along** and the English preposition 'with' (365). It is likely that this was the original construction employed by English-speaking people during the genesis of NSW Pidgin and that it provided the model for the meaning of **alonga** for Aboriginal speakers.

(365) *You, Snipe, go along with black fellow.* (8:49)
yu Snaip go along with blakfela
You, Snipe, go with the Aboriginal people.

5.5.3.9 Sentence structure

The data demonstrate the same basic SVO sentence structure as attested in the Port Stephens data and the same kind of verbal and non-verbal sentences. Interrogative sentences are again either indicated with a question mark on a stative or are formed with a sentence initial interrogative word. **Wotfo** 'why' is attested as the most common interrogative word throughout the area under discussion (366-68). However, **wea** 'where?' (369) is attested in the Bathurst data. The Lachlan data contains an interrogative interjection **wotsap** 'what is happening?' and the word

minyang 'why' (370) which is a borrowing from Wiradhuri *minyang* 'what' (Günther 1892:98)[168].

(366) *What for throw it there?* (8:6)
wotfo throwit dea
Why throw it there?

(367) *What for you walk about on Sundays?* (9:6)
wotfo yu wokabaut on Sandeiz
Why do you roam on Sundays?

(368) *What for baal you read him blackfellow newspaper?* (10:24)
wotfo bail yu ridim blakfela niuspeipa
Why can't you read the 'Aboriginal newspaper'?

(369) *Where white fellows?* (8:63)
wea waitfelaz
Where are the non-Aboriginal people?

(370) *Min yang indu alonga tockyard?* (10:5)
minyang indu alonga stokyad
Why are you at the stockyards?

Negative sentences are again formed with **bail** 'no, not' which is attested in the data from Bathurst (371-73) and the Lachlan (374, 375). **Bail** is generally sentence initial although there is some indication of variation (371).

(371) *You bell jerran yan along canoe.* (8:28)
yu bail jaran yan along kanu
You are not afraid to go in a canoe.

(372) *Bell give it blanket.* (8:32)
bail gibit blanket
Blankets were not given.

(373) *Bell (not) bullock yan (go) up there; bell yarraman (not a horse) yan up there; bell emu, bell jumbuck (sheep), bell kangaroo.* (8:61)
bail bulok yan ap dea bail yaraman yan ap dea bail emu bail jambak bail kangaru
Bullocks won't go up there, horses won't go up there, not emus, not sheep, not kangaroos.

(374) *Baal gammon you—baal you new chum.* (10:2)
bail gamon yu bail yu niutjam
There is no nonsense about you, you are not a 'new chum'. (i.e. a new arrival)

The data contains evidence for complex sentences. Coordination is usually achieved through contextualisation and with stringing of sentences (376). Both the Bathurst and Lachlan data contain the coordinate conjunction **and** 'and' (375, 377).

---

[168]A similar item is also apparent in the Sydney language **minyin** 'why' (Troy 1994).

The Bathurst data also attests **but** 'but' (377) as well as the conditional conjunction **if** 'if' (376).

(375) *Look yere, Jeems, you nail him two crosspiece alonga here, and that fella carry altogether post and rail; and me put him two fella bullock—long spare chain—Nobby and Yallaman; and then you and me bring him fence büdgeree—eh ghindi!—baal mine pumpkin cobra!* (10:12)
lukia Jims yu neilim tu krospis alonga hia and datfela kari oltugeda postandreil and mi putim tufela bulok long speatjen Nobi and Yalaman and den yuandmi bringim fens budjari ei jindi bail main pampkin kobera
Look here, James! You nail the two crosspieces on here and they will carry posts and rails and I will attach the two bullocks to the spare chain—Nobby and Yallaman , and then we two will bring the fence easily, eh 'childs play'! I am no pumpkin-head!

(376) *Ay, ay, you come yallock yarraman over mine toolas—you yan along mine sit-down, pater mine weeli—white man tink tuck me, shoot me, if I pater white fellow jumbuck or gin-bullock.* (8:3)
aiai yu kam yalok yarraman ova main tulas yu yan along main sitdaun pata main wili waitman tink tak mi shut mi if ai pata waitfela jambak o jinbulok.
Yes, you come and gallop over my ancestors' graves. You travel on my homeground, eat my possums. Non-Aboriginal people think to hang me, or shoot me if I eat the non-Aboriginal people's sheep or heifers.

(377) *White fellow hab many tousand sheep, and hundrit dog, and none gin only one—what for white fellow hab but one gin?* (8:24)
waitfela hab menitausand ship and handrit dog and nan jin onli wan wotfo waitfela hab bat wan jin
Non-Aboriginal men have a huge number of sheep, and a great many dogs, but only one wife. Why do non-Aboriginal men have only one wife?

5.5.3.10 Interjections

The missionaries and their allies frequently commented that Aboriginal people at Wellington had acquired a large number of 'oaths and obscenities' from the colonists (9:4). New interjections noted in the data are—**amen** 'Amen!' (8:2), **bladirog** 'bloody rogue!' (8:32) and its variant **kabonrog** 'big rogue' (8:93), **maiwod** 'my word!' (10:6), **lukia** 'look here!' (10:12) and **jindi** 'what fun!' or 'child's play!' which was an interjection borrowed from the Wiradhuri item *kindai* 'to play' (Günther 1892:96). Several interjections previously attested in the Sydney, Newcastle and Port Stephens data are again attested in the data—**aibliv** 'I believe' (8:1) and **bailgamon** 'no nonsense! (10:2)', **veriwel** 'very well!' (9:9). Table 12 contains a number of interjections borrowed from Wiradhuri into NSW Pidgin. **Aiai** 'yes'

which was recorded earlier at Newcastle was commented on in the Bathurst data by Meredith who noted that it had acquired a range of meanings in NSW Pidgin.

> It is used doubtfully, positively, interrogatively, or responsibly, as the case may be, and contains in itself a whole vocabulary of meanings, which a hundred times the number of words could not convey in writing. Suppose you inquire of a native if he have seen such and such a person pass, as he has gone that way:—"Ay, ay?" (interrogatively.) "Yes, a tall man."—"Ay, ay" (thoughtfully). "A tall man, with great whiskers." "Ay, ay (positively). Good way up cobbra, cabou grasse; ay, ay" (corroboratively). ..."Good way up cobbra," means 'head high up;" *grasse* is used to express hair, beard, or moustache; and *cabou* means great deal, or very much'. (8:94)

5.5.3.11 Borrowed sentences and phrases

As in the Sydney and Port Stephens data there are again a number of sentences and phrases which were borrowed in full from English into NSW Pidgin, for example, **stopabit** 'wait' (10:40). There are also whole phrases adapted from English to express a single concept, for example, **veribigweiof** 'far' from English *very big way off* (10:37).

5.5.3.12 Songs

There are two songs in the Bathurst data, both of which were recorded by James Graham. He commented that at corroborees a variety of songs were presented for entertainment and that some dealt with their interactions with the colonists. Some 'exceedingly droll' items 'mimicked the white man's ignorance of bush-life, and his peculiar habits and vices' . 'The Bamraman clan satirized a white man called Marsh, who employed them; but broke his word and did not pay'. The last song was delivered in NSW Pidgin (8:32).

'Another was a song of joy for the release of convicts at a squatter's establishment, on expiration of their time' (8:33). The song was sung as part of the entertainment at the same corroboree. At the festivities were two young Irishmen who, the context suggests, offered the song as their contribution. They translated it for the Aboriginal people present into 'Irish-Warragera' or Irish and Wiradhuri. The text can be

analysed as a composite of those two languages. Graham noted that the English version of the song offered in the book was not a fair translation of the non-English text. The following is suggested as a closer translation based on my analysis of the text and Graham's 'original' English version of the song.

> Come here give your hand,
> Because of the European
> Come here give your hand
> Because of the croppy's joy,
> Give hand-because the European
> Croppy's joy

The translation is still unsatisfactory but plausible. I have not found a suitable translation in either language for *kanga*. However, Günther (1892.:57) recorded *gu* the Wiradjuri dative inflection 'to', 'for', 'towards' and *ga* the abbreviated form for the imperative *galla* (Günther 1892:61). Dixon has noted *-ga* as a general imperative form in Aboriginal languages (1980:454). Threlkeld recorded *ka-i* ' come' in Awaba (Threlkeld in Fraser 1892:144). Therefore, it is possible *kanga* meant 'come here'. It is also possible that *kanga* is 'I speak to' with the Irish *canaim* for 'speak' and the Wiradjuri *-ga* 'to'. *Rome* is likely to be the Irish *roinn me* which means 'give me'. *Mara* is Wiradjuri for 'hand' (Günther 1892:97). *Menala, menala, morealah* may be the Irish item *mar a thárla* which meand 'as it happened' and could loosely be 'because'. *Dhe* appears to be English *the* or Irish *de* which is pronounced 'd'e' with aspiration and therefore fits nicely with *dhe* and which means 'of'. *Dhe* might well be a combination of 'the' and 'of'—'of the'. The only other possibility for the form *dé* appears in Günther's Wiradjuri analysis as the 'imperfect definite' of the 'indicative mood' for 'eat' (Günther 1892:61 & 66), ie. 'would eat'. However, 'eat' does not fit well with the lyrics. *Booreeman* is likely to be the item *burrambin* 'a term first applied to white people by the blacks' in Wiradjuri (Günther 1892:77). *Dhelobhan* is likely to be the Irish *daoine bán* which means 'white man'. It is likely that this item refers to the convicts as *bán* in Irish is a term of endearment and the song indicates that the 'croppy' (convict) is the hero. It is also possible that

dhelobhan is the Irish *dlúthbhearrtha* meaning 'crop-eared' or 'croppy'. *Gra* is an Irish term of affection or pleasure, literally 'love'.

5.6 CONCLUSIONS

In Chapters 4 and 5 it was established that NSW Pidgin was already considerably stabilised and was used as the lingua franca in the major settled districts by the 1820s. The evidence presented in this chapter demonstrates that NSW Pidgin was a well-established lingua franca by the 1830s[169] and that it showed increasing stabilisation of forms and expansion of its lexical base. The data presented above indicates that there was considerable continuity between NSW Pidgin as it was spoken in the Cumberland Plain and on the north coast of NSW and in the Bathurst, Wellington and Lachlan districts. The similarity of forms between the earlier description of NSW Pidgin and that presented here suggests that it is very likely that NSW Pidgin was imported to the district with the first settlers in the late teens to early eighteen-twenties. There is no evidence to suggest that NSW Pidgin was either reinvented in the inland districts or that it had a completely local genesis. However, there is also evidence, mainly lexical, for regional input to NSW Pidgin with Wiradhuri providing most of the innovations. It is clear that NSW Pidgin had its genesis in Sydney, was expanded and consolidated in Sydney and neighbouring coastal areas and was then transported to the new pastoral frontiers. As the language became known to the wider Aboriginal community in the western districts it was relied upon by colonists to overcome the language barrier that existed between themselves and the Aboriginal people whose country they were invading.

Unfortunately, there is little evidence from this period for the use of NSW Pidgin amongst Aboriginal people. Comments such as those made by observers at

[169]There is some evidence which suggests that NSW Pidgin may have become the general lingua franca acquired by non-English-speaking people in the colony. There were many such people who had come to Australia either as indentured labourers (many of them from India and China) or lured by the prospect of finding work and who filled positions as rural labourers. The evidence is found in a datum which purports to be a record of the speech of 'Henry the Belgian' (10:36) and which is reminiscent of NSW Pidgin in its structure and use of **oltugeda** 'all'.

Wellington suggest that the ability to communicate with the colonists was increasingly valued amongst Aboriginal people for the access it helped to provide to their goods. It was also noted above that Aboriginal people relied on their limited knowledge of NSW Pidgin in overcoming language barriers that existed between their own social groups.

6

NSW PIDGIN IN THE MONARO DISTRICT, 1830 TO 1850

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The Monaro district never gained 'precise administrative definition'. Hancock in his definitive study of the Monaro observed that 'politicians and administrators have fiddled so frequently with the map that nobody quite knows where the district begins and ends, or what it contains' (Hancock 1972:6). In 1840, the Monaro squattage district extended from the edge of the settled counties across the alps country and well into what is now Victoria (Map 21). It stretched from the coast to the Great Dividing Range. However, in 1846, the lower section was excised by surveyors from Cape Howe to the nearest source of the River Murray. The district subsequently lost its coastal zone and, on 21 December 1848, was gazetted into three inland counties (Hancock 1972:6-8). Most of the data examined below was produced in the first half of the nineteenth century and therefore includes south coast data.

6.2 BACKGROUND HISTORY

The Monaro was not settled until the 1830s and before that time was only briefly invaded by exploring parties. The first invasion occurred in 1798, when an official government exploring party led by Mathew Flinders called briefly at various points along the south coast of NSW. The Aboriginal people they encountered at Twofold Bay were interested in the colonists and basic communication was effected in sign language (12:1). The inland section of the Monaro was invaded by non-Aboriginal people in June 1823 (Hancock 1972:3). An exploring party led by Captain Mark Currie travelled beyond Lake George to the open country of the Monaro Plains. They encountered a group of Aboriginal people who fled at first sight, but were later

reconciled by 'tokens of kindness...biscuits, etc.'. Currie wrote that communication was effected with the 'assistance of a domesticated native' who 'induced them to come nearer and nearer, till by degrees we became good friends'. However, the Aboriginal people remained fearful of the explorer's horses. The party was told by the local Aboriginal people 'that the clear country before them was called Monaroo[170]' and that it was a very extensive area. However, Currie tentatively named the area 'Brisbane Downs' after the governor of the day (Currie quoted in Hancock 1972:3). The name was rejected by both the colonial administration and the first settlers to the district, who began to come in as squatters in the 1830s. They, instead, adopted the Aboriginal name.

Illegal grazing in the Monaro was a well established practise by the early 1830s. Squatters sent their herds into the grassy pastures from land they held legally near to the area. In 1836, the government issued licences to graze outside the limits of settlement and large numbers of stock were driven 'down the valley of the Murrumbidgee to the Cooma area, where they fanned out west to Adaminaby down Kosciusko way, and south to Nimmitabel and Bombala' (Clark 1979b:265). By 1840, there were one hundred and fifty-two stations in the Monaro (Roberts 1964:139).

Aboriginal people provided Monaro pastoralists with a reasonably steady rural workforce. They recruited some Aboriginal people locally and brought in others from previously settled districts. Aboriginal people had specialised skills for cutting bark and working timber which the pastoralists found to be particularly useful when building permanent structures on their properties. The people were also highly valued for their ability to work stock and track the animals when they went missing (11:81). Aboriginal labour was relatively cheap because they accepted payment in

---

[170]The explorers believed the Aboriginal people gave the meaning 'woman's breast' to *monaro* because of the gentle undulating country (Hancock 1972:3).

kind for their labour. Pastoralists offered payment in goods such as bread, tea, sugar, beef, mutton, tobacco and clothing. However, the goods were not essential to the people and provided only transient motivation for them to work on properties. The new foodstuffs were rapidly incorporated into the Aboriginal diet but bush food continued to be their staple until well into the nineteenth century (11:84).

Benjamin Boyd was the most famous entrepreneur in the Monaro district. Boyd planned to create a pastoral empire in the grazing lands of the Monaro and Riverina districts and a sea-based empire at Twofold Bay on the coast. In 1847, he imported sixty-five young men from the Loyalty Islands to work as shepherds or labourers for five years on his pastoral properties (Clark 1979:369). However, the venture was a failure because the men were completely dissatisfied with their working conditions and demanded to be sent home. A number of the men went to Sydney in the hope that they would receive some government support for their cause. However, the islanders confronted resentment from the local population who regarded them as great nuisances and a burden on the colony (Clark 1979:370).

By the early 1830s, the south coast section of the Monaro district had become a major whaling and fishing centre for the colony. The industry employed a number of the local Aboriginal people. In the early 1830s, the Imlay brothers set up a bay whaling station on the beach at Eden on the north side of Twofold Bay. They trained Aboriginal men to form part of their whaling crews and paid them with clothes, tobacco and food. During the whaling season the Aboriginal men lived at the station and at the end of the season returned to their families (Colwell 1964:70). Boyd's whaling station was set up in opposition to the Imlays on the other side of the bay. He also used Aboriginal men in his boat crews (Colwell 1964:73). The anthropologist, Howitt, noted that in the mid nineteenth century 'it was customary for the Twofold Bay Yuin to go as harpooners, or, as they put it, to go "spearing whales"' for the commercial whalers of the south coast (Howitt 1904:263).

6.3 THE MONARO SOURCES

6.3.1 Stephan Lhotsky, early 1830s

Between January and March 1834, the naturalist and physician, John Lhotsky made a self-funded scientific excursion to the Monaro. He believed he was the first non-Aboriginal person to enter the Monaro district until he read Currie's account of his 1823 expedition. Lhotsky travelled south from Sydney through Bong Bong to Goulburn and Gunning down to the Limestone Plains where he paused at Limestone Cottage. From there he travelled on through Cooma to a place then known as Mutong and now called Dalgety where he side-tracked to what was known as Mt King William IV and is now Mt Terrible. On returning to Mutong he travelled south again into the Snowy River country from where his route is unclear (Andrews in Lhotsky 1835:54-55).

One of the objects of Lhotsky's journey was to comment on the Aboriginal population of NSW[171] and he included his observations in his publication (Lhotsky 1835). He even published separately a song which he claimed to have obtained from the 'women of the menero' (Lhotsky n.d.). Lhotsky was disappointed to find that the Aboriginal population was sparse in all the settled districts (Lhotsky 1835:11). The first group of people he met outside Sydney were just past Sutton Forest. He did not stop to socialise with them because they were so few. However, the people were offended by his ignoring them and not giving them any tobacco and they abused him with 'some strong oaths'.

On the Bredalbane Plains he met a group of about sixty Aboriginal people with whom he was able to communicate and found that they were members of the 'Pajong tribe' a subgroup of the 'Menero tribe' and that their territory extended to Goulburn and the Yass Plains (Lhotsky 1835:40). The little bit of linguistic evidence contained

[171]Lhotsky referred to Aboriginal peoples as 'Papuas'.

in Lhotsky's record of the encounter suggests that some of the people spoke some NSW Pidgin. The younger men were able to understand him and could answer his questions more easily than any of the other people. He claimed that the people were 'half-civilised' although they had never been to Sydney and did not know the use of money (Lhotsky 1835:40-45). He was told by an overseer who lived in Kuma Hut (where Cooma is now) that 'the Menero tribe is already very weak, consisting of about fifty men, they are entirely tame (indeed not civilized, but corrupted), and wander as far as Yass and Limestone Plains'. The Kunora' or 'Gundanora' people, as Lhotsky called them, who lived in the alps 'may have consisted of three hundred men but never go farther than the Monaro'. There was also the 'Omeo tribe' near the lake and Stanley's plains. The 'western tribes' were 'numerous but very shy' (Lhotsky 1835:106).

6.3.2 Alexander Harris, late 1830s and 1840s

In 1825, Alexander Harris 's (1805-1874) parents sent him to Australia from England because they could no longer tolerate his 'dissolute living'[172] (Wilde, Hooton and Andrews 1985:319). He remained in the colony until 1840, during which time he gained a broad experience of the population. He worked as a cedar getter in the northern districts and in the pastoral industry in the Bathurst and Goulburn districts. Several books he wrote record his experiences in the colony and they contain some evidence for his knowledge of NSW Pidgin.

The data in Harris's works probably represent the general features of NSW Pidgin used throughout the colony by the 1830s. The characters in his books who use NSW Pidgin were either Aboriginal people or colonists who were very familiar with Aboriginal people such as stockworkers and pastoralists. He published his first book *Settlers and convicts...* in 1847 (Harris 1964). It was a semi-autobiographical work

[172]Harris was one of the many 'remittance' people who were considered socially unacceptable by their conservative and financially comfortable families. They accepted exile from their country and families in exchange for remittance which allowed them to live their chosen lifestyle in Australia, far from the criticisms of their family and associates.

containing a very small amount of NSW Pidgin data which Harris used to characterise the speech of Aboriginal people in the Bathurst and Goulburn districts. In 1849, he published a novel, *The emigrant family...* (Harris 1967), which was set mainly in the Monaro district. The novel is the richest source of NSW Pidgin data in Harris's writings. In the novel all the Aboriginal people and colonists who have regular dealings with them use NSW Pidgin. Harris used a very heavy form of NSW Pidgin to characterise the speech of stockworkers such the man Morgan Brown who lived closely with Aboriginal people (11:26). Harris's extensive use of NSW Pidgin suggests that it was the principal lingua franca for cross-cultural communication between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people at the time of his writing.

The emigrant family... was written from Harris's personal experiences in the colony and drew on his knowledge of the Monaro district in particular. The setting was the Braidwood-Shoalhaven districts on the Sydney road and the country to the north of Sydney (Ramson in Harris 1967:vii). Harris claimed that his aim for the novel 'was the delineation of the actual life of an Emigrant Family, and the scenery about their homestead in the Australian colonies, in the middle of the nineteenth century...with the single exception of the introduction of a character necessary to furnish the tale with sufficient of plot to interest the lovers of romance, everything exhibited is a simple copy from actual daily life' (Harris 1967:5). The story is about the establishment of the fictitious Bracton family's property, *Rocky Springs*. It was near or in the Monaro with some Murrumbidgee River frontage (Harris 1967:24) and ten miles from Ghiagong township which is possibly present day Jugiong (Harris 1967:45).

Several pages in the novel contain long passages of dialogue in NSW Pidgin. The conversations were between the station's overseer, Martin Beck, and the local Aboriginal people who were 'ruled' over by 'Bondi, King of the Snowy Mountains' (Harris 1967:233). Beck and the stockman Morgan Brown incited Aboriginal

people, who were usually friendly with the 'whites at Manaroo', to attack the station and plunder the stores (Harris 1967:234).

Historians and scholars of Australian literature consider Harris's books to be 'the most realistic and comprehensive accounts of early colonial life in Australia'. Through their accepted authenticity the books have been a valuable reference source for social historians, who have found in them informed and accurate comment on...features of the colonial scene' (Wilde, Hooton and Andrews 1985:320).

6.3.3 George Bennett, 1832

In August 1832, George Bennett arrived in NSW and found the colony 'much improved and enlarged' in comparison to its state during his previous visit in 1829 (Bennett, vol. 2, 1834:52). He travelled through the colony making notes as he went. Later he wrote up his notes in the very popular nineteenth century travelogue genre.

Bennett was particularly interested in Aboriginal people and made many observations about those he met. At 'Dabee' near the Cudgegong River on the road to Bathurst he encountered his first group of Aboriginal people. They struck him as 'inferior' to the Polynesian people and 'similar' to the the 'Papuan or Oceanic race' (Bennett, vol. 2, 1834:119). At Yass River he met a group of Aboriginal people who had just built a temporary camp. Bennett was fascinated with their dwellings made from sheets of bark propped up on timber frameworks. He noted that Aboriginal people were expert at stripping bark and that the colonists often employed them to obtain bark for the purpose of building their own dwellings (Bennett, vol. 2, 1834:169).

Bennett also found many Aboriginal people in the 'settlers habitations' as 'chimney ornaments...placing themselves on each side of the fire-place, or almost in the hearth, to get warm' (Bennett, vol. 2, 1834:175). He observed that in the Tumut

district Aboriginal people were accused of spearing large numbers of cattle and that tension was arising as it had done in the Bathurst district in the 1820s (Bennett, vol. 2, 1834:280). At Darbylara on the Murrumbidgee and Tumut junction, Bennett stayed at a station where Aboriginal people occasionally worked for the farmer 'grinding wheat and other occupations' such as finding strayed cattle (Bennett, vol. 2, 1834:305).

6.3.4 David Mackenzie, 1840s

David Mackenzie was a clergyman who visited Australia twice between 1835-1845 and 1848-52. He published a first account of his experiences, in 1845, which proved so popular that he expanded the work and republished it, in 1851. Little has been written about him other than what appears in his own works. However, it is clear from the evidence in his book that Mackenzie had a working knowledge of NSW Pidgin of the late 1830s to 1840s and that he spent some time in the Monaro district. Mackenzie recorded a NSW Pidgin wordlist (6.4.3.1) and also commented that Aboriginal people were so 'quick of hearing' that they had 'picked up many words and phrases in the English language in an incredibly short time' (11:141).

6.3.5 Joseph Phipps Townsend, 1840s

In March 1842, Joseph Phipps Townsend arrived in Port Jackson from England (Townsend 1849:3). He travelled to NSW because he had heard an eminent English physician say that it was the place for people to gain health. Coupled with 'the double inducement of health and wealth, who could resist' (Townsend 1849:1-2).

Townsend observed that Sydney was a fine place with its prosperity and growth built on exports (Townsend 1849:4). During his first ten days in Sydney he made several coastal voyages and eventually called in at 'the snug little harbour of Ulladulla' where he stayed for some time with a relative who had a property (Townsend 1849:10). Townsend became quite familiar with the local Aboriginal

people. He observed that a number of the people worked for and traded with the settlers (Townsend 1849:11).

In 1849, Townsend published an account of his travels in Australia which contains some data for NSW Pidgin. The evidence suggests that he had gained some control of NSW Pidgin during his stay on the south coast part of the Monaro district. In the account of his 'excursion' through the colony he compared Aboriginal people who had '"come in," or become partially civilised' through living in and around colonial settlements with 'wild' Aboriginal people who had maintained their autonomy and their distance from the colonists (11:24). In rhetoric typical of the time, he claimed the 'civilised' Aboriginal people were 'fine people' and the 'wild' people were 'savage' and 'cowering' (Townsend 1849:75). Townsend saw that Aboriginal people who had become part of colonial society were often given positions with some authority. For example, he met an Aboriginal man at Moruya who had an official piece of paper which designated him as a constable authorised to apprehend runaway convicts[173]. Aboriginal people understood colonial power politics and respected those colonists who had power over others. They distinguished clearly between those with and those without power, 'between master and man' [174] (Townsend 1849:96).

While at Ulladulla, Townsend also met a former convict who had been emancipated for his rescue of Eliza Fraser. Fraser had been wrecked with her husband Captain Fraser and the crew of his ship on what is now known as Fraser Island. The man had been a convict run away and lived for many years solely with Aboriginal people. At the time Townsend met him he had an Aboriginal wife and was living half time with the local Aboriginal people. Townsend described him as a 'half-caste Cingalese' who was proud of the fact that he was the son of an army

[173]Chapters 3 and 4 also contain notes about the use of Aboriginal constables at Newcastle and Port Stephens. The remoteness of the settlements and unfamiliarity of the country to the colonists meant that Aboriginal assistance was very important in tracking escaped convicts.
[174]As noted in Chapter 4, Dawson also observed this in Aboriginal people at Port Stephens.

lieutenant and therefore had 'the blood of a gentleman in his veins' (Townsend 1849:75).

Townsend wrote lively and interesting accounts of individual Aboriginal people known to him at Ulladulla. He claimed that 'one or two' Aboriginal people were 'generally to be found on the premises of every settler in the bush, forming, in fact, a part of his household' (Townsend 1849:87).

> About Ulladulla were many smart, active, young black men, who occasionally made themselves useful, especially in reaping, and in felling timber; and in the former employment they were very expert. In order to make them work, it was essential to keep them in good humour; and the occasional discharge of a broadside of jokes produced great vigour and activity in their operations. Their reward generally consisted of beef and flour, with the occasional gift of a shirt; but, their greatest treat, and most favourite dish, was boiled rice, with abundance of sugar sprinkled over it. ...Those black women who live with stockmen are fair housewives, and wash and cook very well. ...Those of the aborigines who would make themselves useful (but there was employment for a few only) gained, in the course of the year, no small portion of food and clothing from the settlers; but all could at any time supply themselves with opossums, bandicoots, kangaroos, fish, and wild fowl. ...Some aboriginal children have been taught to read, and some of the men have been trained to act as policemen, and are very efficient. ...I should imagine that the number of aborigines on the coast-line between Jervis Bay and the River Moruya, a distance of one hundred miles, is about four hundred. They sometimes assembled to hold corrobories, and to play at foot-ball. They are now peaceable and well conducted—in fact, polite and gracious in their manners'. (Townsend 1849:90-103)

6.4 LINGUISTIC EVIDENCE

6.4.1 Introduction

The data for the Monaro confirms many of the features of NSW Pidgin already discussed in previous chapters including some which were weakly attested. It also adds to the lexical inventory of the language and provides some extra grammatical information.

In 1832, Bennett wrote of the 'peculiar English' spoken by Aboriginal people in the Monaro (11:79). Later, in the early 1840s, Harris observed that although 'the language of the aborigines varies most remarkably in different parts...there is a sort

of slang, in which communication is held between them and the white people, common to all parts of the colony' (11:30). In the late 1840s, Townsend commented that Aboriginal people spoke in a 'lingo invented by whites' and described it as 'a strange jargon' (12:10, 31). Mackenzie marvelled at the ability of Aboriginal people to 'pick up many words and phrases in the English language, in an incredibly short time' (11:141). The data discussed below demonstrate that the the 'lingo', 'slang' and 'peculiar English' which these contemporary observers wrote about was actually NSW Pidgin.

6.4.2 Orthography

The data contain some keys to the pronunciation of NSW Pidgin in the Monaro district by Aboriginal speakers. Not surprisingly, there is again evidence that the sound system of local Aboriginal languages had some influence on the sound system of NSW Pidgin.

There is a preference for voiced rather than unvoiced sounds. For example, alveolar stop 't' in 'hat' is written in its voiced form 'd', *had* (11:49), and velar 'k' in 'Cape Howe' is also written in its voiced form 'g', *gab owe* (12:5). The data also indicate a preference for stops rather than fricatives, for example, 'father' and 'mother' are written as *f'ader* and *moder* (12:42). In one instance a terminal stop is omitted completely—the name of an Aboriginal boy Prince Leopold was given as *Prince Leebo* (12:21).

6.4.3 Grammar and lexicon

The grammatical and lexical characteristics of NSW Pidgin established in previous chapters are reinforced by the Monaro data. However, the available data are not as extensive as they are for the Port Stephens, Bathurst and inland districts. This fact might account for the absence in the Monaro data of some features of NSW Pidgin

previously well-attested. Limited though they are, the data do contain evidence of a few new grammatical and lexical features.

6.4.3.1 Lexicon

The data contain a small number of new lexical items and most of those items are English borrowings or items created using the productive processes of NSW Pidgin. As noted above, Townsend suggested that NSW Pidgin was invented by non-Aboriginal people. He would have gained that impression from the large number of English borrowings into the language. The data only contains a small number of new borrowings from Aboriginal languages. In the absence of substantial, reliable information about Monaro languages it is impossible to make much comment about the etymologies of the borrowings.

An innovation in the Monaro data is the significant use of descriptive phrases to create a single lexical item. For example, **kabon pot blongentu ti** 'teapot' (11:30), **kabon wisel** 'bugle' (11:130), **wilbaro and bulok** 'bullock dray' (12:34) and **blakfela blongentu Niu Ziland** 'Maori' (12:35). An extreme example is one Aboriginal person's identification of a clergyman in terms of his association with Sunday, his actions and dress (378).

(378) *He, white feller, belonging to Sunday, get up top o'waddy, pile long corrobera all about debbil debbil, and wear shirt over trowsel.* (11:70)

hi	**waitfela**	**blongentu**	**Sandei**	**gotap**	**topa**	**wadi**
he	non-Aboriginal person	ASS	Sunday	climb	onto	wood
paiala	**long**	**koroberi**	**olabaut**	**debildebil**	**and**	
speak	about	song and dance	everywhere	Devil	and	
wea	**shert**	**ova**	**trausel**			
wear	shirt	over	trousers			

He is a non-Aboriginal person associated with Sunday, (who) climbs onto a wooden platform, speaks about the song and dance everywhere (made by) the Devil and wears a cassock.

The data also contain evidence for the extensive use of compounding to create new lexical items. For example, there are a number of Monaro items which were created using **olfela**, **waitfela**, **olwuman** and **yangfela** compounded with another

lexical item to make a new item such as **waitfela pason** 'clergyman' and **waitfelaz korobori** 'military parade' (see Appendix 21 for more examples).

A number of new lexical items appear in the data. Some of the items replace earlier items which suggests that the Monaro data also contains some regional variation (Table 17). Fourteen of the sixty-seven items are borrowings from Aboriginal languages (they are marked with an asterisk *). The replacements usually coexist in the vocabulary for the area with the items they replace (see Appendix 21). The compounds and other items mentioned above and also items which are were recorded as stem forms in earlier data are not included on the list below.

TABLE 17: New NSW Pidgin items in the Monaro data

NEW ITEM	REPLACES	MEANING	REFERENCE
banji *		boot	(12:2)
beilap		apprehend	(12:16)
buki *	**debil debil**	great devil	(11:55)
fatfelaz		mountain currawong	(11:101)
ful	**stupid**	fool	(11:38)
galanggalang *		cicada	(11:79)
ganggang *		gang gang cockatoo	(11:108)
gomo	**meikalait**	hurry	(11:44)
gorong *	**plenti, marri**	plenty	(11:127)
gotap	**jampap**	rise	(11:70)
guri *	**fat**	fat	(11:32)
kamap	**jampap**	rise	(11:69)
kantriman		countryperson	(11:48)
karo *		magpie	(11:118)
katelsteishon		cattle station	(11:32)
ke		care	(11:38)
korijong *		currajong	(11:3)
kunuma *		snow	(11:139)
lasttaim		last time	(11:40)
leit		late	(11:28)
leta		letter	(11:48)
matj	**marri, kabon**	a lot	(11:126)
maunten		mountain	(11:32)
meikget		obtain	(11:128)
meikheist		hurry	(11:42)
milik		milk	(11:131)
misa/mita	**masa**	mister	(11:23, 12:38)
mit		meet	(11:36)
mitong *		strong	(11:146)
mundara *		thunder	(11:139)
netbul *		possum fur net bag	(11:52)
no		know	(11:40, 12:42)

noiz		noise	(11:79)
nuruma *	**walin**	rain	(11:139)
obatjia		overseer	(11:37)
olfela		old male possum	(11:51)
or		or	(11:79)
ort		ought	(11:131)
parli[175]	**sei, paiala, yaba**	talk	(12:40)
pelageri *		wife	(11:139)
pot		pot	(11:31)
pototi		pot of tea	(11:48)
put		put	(11:42, 12:38)
raskal		rascal	(11:26)
rememba		remember	(11:36)
sapa		supper	(11:113)
sheped		shepherd	(11:32)
shiling		shilling	(11:70)
ship	**jambak**	muton	(11:131)
skrab	**bush**	scrub	(11:48)
smok		to smoke	(11:48)
sno		snow	(11:98)
stokkipa		stock keeper	(11:26)
stokwip		stock whip	(11:40)
suga	**sugabag**	sugar	(11:26, 12:33)
teikawei		steal, take	(11:42, 30)
til		until	(11:28)
togara		soldier	(11:22)
topa		on top of	(11:70)
tow		toe	(11:48)
trausis		trousers	(11:48)
tufaawei		too far away	(11:32)
tupis		two pieces	(11:16)
waitmani		silver money	(11:47 12:21 30)
wet		wet	(11:48)
witjwei	**wea**	where?	(11:31)
yangfela		young female possum	(11:51)

Mackenzie made a list of words that he considered to 'be the most common' in 'the Aboriginal language' (11:139, Table 18). Most of the items are part of the core vocabulary for NSW Pidgin (marked with an asterisk, Appendix 21) and were already established in NSW Pidgin which suggests that the language he was referring to was NSW Pidgin. He was evidently not aware that there were many Aboriginal languages. The language he was familiar with was NSW Pidgin which was the language known to most colonists and the Aboriginal people who associated with them.

[175]From an old English form *parley* (*OED*).

TABLE 18: Mackenzie's NSW Pidgin wordlist

bimbel *	ground
budjari *	good
bulga	hill
bundijeri	to understand
barabari *	to make haste
krama *	steal
gunya *	hut
kabon *	large or much
kalin *	water
karadji *	doctor
kobera *	head
kunuma	snow
mandowi *	foot
mangi *	fish
marambidji	river
moru *	path
mundara	thunder
nangri *	night or sleep
narang *	small
nuruma	rain
pata *	eat
pelagari	wife
tagera *	cold
uroka *	sun
wadi *	tree or stick
walin *	rain
yaba *	speak
yan *	to go

6.4.3.2 Morphology

The data from the Monaro district contains the same features as have been discussed in previous chapters. However, the nominalising suffix **-wan** which was first attested in the data from Bathurst and the inland districts (see 5.5.3.3) is only attested once in the data. It occurs only as part of the demonstrative pronoun **datwan** 'that' (12:5). Most noteworthy are the new definite articles **hi** and **him** both meaning 'the' (6.4.3.3.1). The data also contains good evidence for a privative form which is realised in several forms based on **gotno** (6.4.3.3.2).

6.4.3.3 Nouns

Nouns are again formed as they were in the data discussed for Port Stephens, Bathurst and the inland districts. The most salient nominalising suffix is **-fela**.

6.4.3.3.1 Determiners

The Monaro data contain a similar range of determiners to those evidenced in previous chapters. However, the data does not contain any evidence for interrogative determiners.

The indefinite article **a** 'a' is once again apparent although it is not well attested (379, 380, 381). There is also one sentence in which **dat** is used as definite article 'the' (382).

(379) *So that die and bury him in a little sandy creek.* (11:50)
so dat dai and beriim in a litl sandi krik
So he died and was buried in a little sandy creek.

(380) *That corrobbera a good deal.* (11:50)
dat korobara gud dil
He danced a lot.

(381) *Old woman Galang, galang, no got, no make a noise.* (11:79)
olwuman galang galang nogot no meik a noiz
The female cicada has none, (she) does not make a noise.

(382) *That jumbuc (sheep) too much drink up all bardo (water).* (11:30)
dat jambak tumatj drinkap ol bado
The sheep drink excessively, finishing all the water.

There are two demonstrative determiners attested in the data—**dis** 'this' (383), **dat** 'that' (384). There is also a sentence in which the demonstrative pronoun **datwan** 'that' is used in the way that a demonstrative determiner would normally (385). This use of the demonstrative pronoun was also attested earlier in the data from Bathurst (269). This is a reduced set in comparison to that evident in the data from Bathurst and the inland districts (6.5.3.3.1).

(383) *...just the same as this black fellow...* (11:30)
jast de seim as dis blakfela

(384) *You see, that pot a-bilin.* (11:31)
yu si dat pot abilin
You see, that pot is boiling.

(385) *By G--d, gab owe that one.* (12:5)
baigod gabow datwan
By God, that is Cape Howe.

The Monaro data contains only two possessive determiners—**yo** 'your' (386, 387) and two variants for 'my', **mai** (388, 389) and **main** (390).

(386) *That going to take away your boat I believe.* (11:50)
dat gowingtu teik awei yo bot aibliv
He is going to take away your boat, I think.

(387) *Black fellow your friend, you know.* (11:33)
blakfela yo frend yuno
Aboriginal people are your friends, you know.

(388) *You my binghi.* (11:36)
yu mai bingi
You are my brother.

(389) *...my fader...my moder...* (12:42)
mai fada mai moda
my father...my mother

(390) *But all gone coula mine (my anger) this time.* (11:43)
bat olgon gula main distaim
However, my anger is now all gone.

6.4.3.3.2 Privative

A privative form 'to have not' is apparent in the data in four variants—**gotno** (391, 458), **nogot** (392), **gotnoting** (393) and **gotnatingatol** (394). The first evidence for a privative form is one attestation in the Port Stephens data (4.3.2.4) and it is only attested once elsewhere, in the Port Phillip data (7.4.3.3.2).

(391) *got no supper* (11:113)
gotno sapa
has no supper

(392) *Black feller no get bread or yam.* (11:79)
blakfela nogot bred o yam
Aboriginal people had no bread or yams.

(393) *get noting to patta* (11:131)
gotnoting tu pata
has nothing to eat

(394) *Bye and bye that got nothing at all to patter.* (11:14)
baimbai dat gotnotingatol tu pata
Eventually they had nothing to eat.

6.4.3.3.3 Number

Mackenzie (6.3.4) commented that Aboriginal people counted by moons. He also said their use of numbers was difficult to understand unless they held up their fingers and used sign language. The numbers he was familiar with were **gudi** 'one', **blythum** 'two', **gudi blythum** 'three', **bulabula** 'four' and **bulabula gudi** 'five'. George Bennett also commented on numerals. He wrote that 'the numerals among the aboriginal tribes of Goulburn Plains are as follows. One, Metong; – Two, Bulla; – Three, Bulla, metong; – Plenty, Nerang and Gorong' (Bennett, vol. 1, 1834:323). **Bula** is attested in the Sydney Language meaning 'two' (Troy 1994). However, none of the above items are attested in any of the other data considered in this thesis. Therefore, it is uncertain whether or not the numbers were part of NSW Pidgin as it was spoken in the Monaro district.

The general quantifier **plenti** 'much, many' which was so salient in the data discussed in earlier chapters is again very much in evidence (395, 396). The data also contains a new form of the pluraliser or collective article **ol** 'all'—**ola** (397). A similar form **ol** 'all' was attested previously in the Port Stephens data (4.3.2.4.2).

(395) *Plenty water before white man come, plenty pish (fish), plenty kangaroo, plenty 'possum, plenty everything: now all gone.* (11:14)
plenti wota bifo waitman kam plenti pish plenti kangaru plenti posam plenti everiting now olgon
There was a lot of water before the non-Aboriginal people came, many fish, many kangaroos, many possums and plenty of everything. Now there is nothing.

(396) *Plenty him blackfellow.* (12:8)
plenti him blakfela
A lot for Aboriginal people.

(397) *oller tree* (12:43)
ola tri
all the trees

6.4.3.4 Pronouns

The Monaro data contains evidence for subject (Table 19) and object personal pronouns (Table 20). In addition to the use of pronouns it is again common in the

data to find the human subject of a sentence referred to by name. The data also contain demonstrative and possessive pronouns and one interrogative pronoun—**wot** 'which' (457). The variety and number of pronouns are generally reduced in comparison to those attested in previous chapters. The number of object forms attested is reduced to just two items. However, the reduction of forms is probably due to a paucity of data rather than a genuine reduction in the NSW Pidgin pronoun set as it was used in the Monaro district.

There are similar subject personal pronouns to those previously attested (Table 19). There are two forms for the first person singular **ai** and **mi** 'I'; a second person singular **yu** 'you'; three forms for the third person singular **hi** 'he', **dat** and **him** which are both unmarked for gender; and a third person plural form **dat** 'they'.

TABLE 19: Monaro district subject personal pronouns

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1INCL	**ai** (401), **mi** (398, 407)	
1EXCL		
2	**yu** (399)	**yu** (405)
3	**dat** (340), **him** (402), **hi** (403)	**dat** (394, 401), **ol** (404)

(398) *Me tell you.* (12:4)
mi tel yu
I will tell you

(399) *Poor fellow you, binghi; most dead you, I believe.* (11:17)
pofela yu bingi mos ded yu aibliv
You are a poor fellow, brother. You are almost dead, I think.

(400) *Baal master yan till that patter breakfast.* (11:28)
bail massa yan til dat pata brekfast
Master will not go till he eats breakfast.

(401) *Baal I like Englishman. That too much take away black fellow's land.* (11:30)
bail ai laik inglishman dat tumatj teikawei blakfelaz land
I do not like Englishmen. They are excessive in taking Aboriginal land.

(402) *Blackfellow him got no blanket, him merry cold.* (12:36)
blakfela him gotno blanket him marri kold
Aboriginal people, they have no blankets, they are very cold.

(403) *Drink white feller grog all tam he get him pblenty sick.* (12:43)
drink waitfela grog oltaim hi gotim plenti sik
Drinking alcohol always will make him or her very sick.

(404) *Ver' soon all die.* (12:43)
veri sun ol dai
Very soon they will die.

(405) *Which way you yan (travel).* (11:31)
witjwei yu yan
Where do you (plural) travel?

TABLE 20: Monaro district object personal pronouns

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1INCL	**mi** (406)	
1EXCL		
2	**yu** (407)	
3		

(406) *I believe I take ole man master along o' me when I yan.* (11:28)
aibliv ai teik olman masa alonga mi wen ai yan
I think I will take the old boss with me when I go.

(407) *Me now see what you want.* (11:87)
mi nau si wot yu want
I can now see what you want.

There are four demonstrative pronouns **dis** 'this' (408, 409), **dat** 'those' (426), **dat** 'that' (429) and **nada** 'another' where **nada** refers to a boat (410).

(408) *You see this, massa.* (12:20)
yu si dis masa
Do you see this master?

(409) *Murry wet, this.* (11:48)
marri wet dis
This is very wet.

(410) *...then 'nother what I come in along-a-gentleman: 'nother coming across...* (11:49)
den nada wot ai kam in alonga jentilman nada kaming akros
then another like I came in with a gentleman, another is coming across

There is evidence for a possessive pronoun **him** 'his' (411). A pronoun with the same meaning but a different form, **hiz**, was attested in the Bathurst data (278).

(411) *him brother* (11:58)
him brada
his brother

6.4.3.5 Verbs

Verbs in the Monaro data are again marked for tense and aspect and are suffixed for transitivity. They may also be marked for mode as discussed below. An innovation in the Monaro data is the use of the verb **sitdaun** as the verb 'to be' (412, 443).

(412) *Plenty bacca, plenty sugar, plenty tea, plenty flour, sit down there.* (11:26)
plenti baka plenti suga plenti ti plenti flaua sitdaun dea
A lot of tobacco, a lot of sugar, a lot of tea and a lot of flour is there.

The previously well attested transitivisers **-im** (413, 416) and **-it** (414) are again very well attested. There is one piece of evidence for a possible new transitiviser **-a** (415). However, the item is ambiguous and may be an indefinite article **a** 'a'. As in the Bathurst and inland districts data (5.5.3.5), verbs borrowed from Aboriginal languages can again be marked with NSW Pidgin transitive suffixes, for example, **man-im** 'take-TrM' (417).

(413) *What for you not fetch 'em gun and shoot 'em parrot and patter (eat)?* (11:17)
wotfo yu not fetjim gan and shutim parot and pata
Why do you not fetch the gun and shoot parrots and eat?

(414) *Bail boos got it chop (the bush has got not shops).* (11:17)
bail bus gadit tjop

(415) *Old woman Galang, galang, no got, no make a noise.* (11:79)
olwuman galang galang nogot no meika noiz
The female cicada, does not have it, makes no noise.

(416) *tell um Queen* (12:36)
telim kwin
tell the Queen

Tense is again marked with free morphemes in the form of temporal adverbs or indicated by context. The past tense is marked with the well established form **bin** (417).

(417) *I bin man him, massa.* (12:12)
ai bin manim masa
I took it master.

The present tense is again rarely marked but is occasionally indicated with the adverb **nau** 'now' (407, 430). The future is also marked as established previously with the

forms **baimbai** (394) and **dairekli** (425) both of which mean 'soon, eventually, directly'

The aspect markers are not as well attested as they are in previous chapters. Habitual aspect is again well marked with **olweiz** 'always' (423, 11:26, 28, 30, 42, 50) and with a new form **oltaim** 'always' (403). However, the previously well attested cessative aspect marker **nomo** 'never again' is only attested twice in the Monaro data. It appears in a sentence attributed to a non-Aboriginal speaker (418) and again in an early twentieth century record of NSW Pidgin collected from a speaker on the south coast of NSW (12:43). Incompletive **yet** 'yet' is also poorly represented with only one attestation (419).

(418) *Why you will no more be able to catch kangaroos or opossums.* (11:87)

(419) *Not yet jump up.* (11:153)
not yet jampap
Not yet grown.

6.4.3.6 Adjectives

Adjectives are once again unmarked for number and gender and occur singly (422, 425) or in adjective phrases which consist of an adjective modified with an adverb (426, 428). Adjectives can again be nominalised with **-fela** (420, 427).

(420) *Cabon (fine) fellow that Dumby I believe.* (12:15)
kabonfela dat Dambi aibliv
That Dumby is a fine one, I believe.

The adjective **nada** 'another, other' which was apparent in the data for Sydney (66, Table 6), Wellington (9:2) and Port Stephens (4.3.2.7) is again in evidence in the Monaro data (421).

(421) *yan alonga 'nother yerriman* (11:37)
yan alonga nada yaraman
go on another horse

The very characteristic NSW Pidgin adjective **budjari** 'good' (428) and the adjective/adverbial forms **kabon** 'large' (420, 422, 423, 424) and **marri** 'very, many' (402, 409, 425-29) are well attested in the Monaro data.

(422) *Cobbong this.* (11:87)
kabon dis
This is large.

(423) *Oh, I told 'em that old man settler cobbon (great) rascal: always flog white man at cobbon gunyah (court-house).* (11:26)
o ai toldim dat oldman setla kabon raskal olweiz flog waitman at kabon ganya
Oh, I told them that the old settler is a great rascal, always flogging the non-Aboriginal people at the court house.

(424) *cabon swell* (12:21)
kabon suwel
very fine

(425) *I believe murry togra directly.* (11:22)
aibliv marri togara dairekli
I believe there will be many soldiers soon.

(426) *That murry gourri jumbuc (very fat sheep) sit down t'other side Warraghi Bill cattle station.* (11:32)
dat marri gurri jambak sitdaun tadasaid Waragi Bil katelsteishon
those very fat sheep are on the other side of Warraghi Bill's cattle station

(427) *You murry stupid fellow.* (11:38)
yu marri stupidfela
You are a very stupid one.

(428) *Murry budgery that, I believe.* (11:40)
marri budjari dat aibliv
That is very good, I think.

(429) *Murry fool you, old Bondi: almost murry rascal, I believe.* (11:43)
marri ful yu ol Bondi mos marri rascal aibliv
You are a great fool old Bondi, you are almost a great rascal, I think.

6.4.3.7 Adverbs

Adverbs in the Monaro data again occur in either adjective or verb phrases where they are dependent on the head verb or adjective.

There are five manner adverbs—**tumatj** 'excessive' (382, 401, 431, 437), **ol** 'all' (382), **olgon** 'completely gone' (430), **oltugeda** 'completely' (431), **kabon** 'very' (432) and **marri** 'great, very' (433).

(430) *Now all gone.* (11:14)
nau olgon
Now completely gone.

(431) *Too much parley (say) bring um wood, bring um wood; too much altogether, too much altogether.* (12:40)
tumatj parli bringim wud bringim wud tumatj oltugeda tumatj oltugeda
Excessively saying 'bring wood, bring wood', completely excessive, completely excessive.

(432) *Cabonn buggel along bingee (that is, I am very sick in the stomach).* (11:144)
kabon budjel along binji

(433) *Murry make haste!* (11:22)
marri meikheist
great hurry

The variety of time adverbs is much expanded in comparison to those previously attested. There are twelve temporal adverbs in the Monaro data several of which are different forms for the one adverb—**distaim** (390) and **nau** meaning 'now' (407, 430); **baimbai** (394), **dairekli** (425) and **sun** meaning 'soon' (404); **bifo** (395) and **lastaim** (435) which indicate the simple past; **longtaimago** which indicates the distant past (12:38); **den** 'then' (410, 446); **tumoro** 'tomorrow'(434); **tudei** 'today' (434); **samdei** 'in the future' (436).

(434) *To-day I make a light good many bullock. To-morrow make a light murry tousand (a great many more).* (11:28)
tudei ai meikalait gudmeni bulok tumoro meikalait marri tausand
Today I will find many cattle. Tomorrow I will find a great many more.

(435) *Murry sick you, last time you make-a-light my station, Tallboy!* (11:40)
marri sik yu lastaim yu meikalait mai steishon Tolboi
You were very sick the last time you looked for my station Tallboy!

(436) *I believe some day, blak fellow mann jumbuc belongin to Mr. Bracton, when that murry hungry.* (11:32)
aibliv samdei blakfela man jambak blongentu Mista Bracton wen dat marri hangri
I think that one day Aboriginal people will take Mr Bracton's sheep when they are very hungry.

The set of place adverbs is also large, containing six items—**klosap** 'near' (437), **tufaawei** 'very distant' (437), **olabaut** 'everywhere' (378, 438), **diswei** 'here' (439), **dea** 'there' (412) and **ova** 'on top of' (378).

(437) *That too much, close up mountains. Before shepherd and hutkeeper yan (travel) into farm, black fellow too far away.* (11:32)
dat tumatj klosap mauntenz bifo sheped and hatkipa yan intu fam blakfela tufaawei
They are very close to the mountains. Before the shepherd and hutkeeper can arrive at the farm, the Aboriginal people will be very far away.

(438) *Walking all about.* (12:34)
woking olabaut
Walking everywhere.

(439) *Whenever blackfellow yan (travel) this way.* (11:30)
weneva blakfela yan diswei
Whenever Aboriginal people travel here.

There is also evidence for the negative forms **not** 'not' (440) and **bail** (441, 442) 'no, not' used adverbially.

(440) *Not budgeri you.* (11:5)
not budjari yu
You are not a good man.

(441) *Oh, baal me stupid, Misser Kable.* (11:23)
o bail mi stupid missa kabel
Oh, I am not stupid Mister Kable.

(442) *Baal patta old woman gin.* (12:37)
bail pata olwuman jin
Not eat old women.

6.4.3.8 Prepositions

As in the data from Bathurst and the inland district **alonga** is again the most well attested multi-purpose prepositional form. There is only one example of **long** and it is used to mean 'about, concerning' (378). **Alonga** or **along** most frequently occurs as a preposition of accompaniment 'with' (406, 410). It also acts as a preposition of location 'on' (421), 'in' (443, 444) and 'at' (445), 'to' (446, 447). The forms **in** 'in' (409) and **at** 'at' (422) are also apparent in the data as alternatives to **alonga**. Unlike in previous data there is no evidence for **alonga** fulfilling a possessive function.

(443) *How many blackfellow sit down along a camp?* (11:34)
haumeni blakfela sitdaun alonga kamp
How many Aboriginal people are in the the camp?

(444) *Cabonn buggel along bingee (that is I am very sick in the stomach).* (11:144)
kabon budjel alonga binji
very sick in the stomach

(445) *...along Brisbane water...* (11:50)
along Brizban wota
at Brisbane Water

(446) *...then gins yan away along of bush...* (12:35)
den jinz yanawei alonga bush
...then the women run away to the bush...

(447) *...speak along of Queen...* (12:36)
spik alonga Kwin
...speak to the Queen...

Another preposition of location attested in the data is the form **tadasaid** 'the other side' (426) which was first attested in the Port Stephens data.

In the Monaro data the preposition of manner **laikit** (449, 451) is also attested as **laik** (448, 450) unmarked with the transitiviser **-it**. However, it does not function as a preposition of location as it did in the Bathurst data.

(448) *What for you stupid like that?* (11:17)
wotfo yu stupid laik dat
Why are you stupid like that?

(449) *Cabon budgery patter like it Emu,* (11:151)
kabon budjari pata laikit imu
very good food like emu

(450) *...good meat, good fat, like bullock.* (12:37)
gud mit gud fat laik bulok
good meat, good fat, like beef

(451) *What for you like-a-that.* (11:42)
wotfo yu laikit dat
Why do you do it like that.

The only preposition of possession attested in the data is **blongentu** (452). This form was common in the data discussed in earlier chapters. As it did in the data from Bathurst and the inland districts, **blongentu** also expresses association (453-55).

(452) countryman you belonging to me (11:48)
kantriman yu blongentu mi
my countryman

(453) *You belonging to black fellow.* (11:30)
yu blongentu blakfela
You are of the Aboriginal people.

(454) *constable belonging to Bronlee* (12:16)
konstabal blongentu bronli
a constable from Bronli [probably Broulee]

(455) *Murry bellyache belonging to stockwhip, I believe.* (11:42)
marri beliaik blongentu stokwip aibliv
A big bellyache from the stockwhip I believe.

6.4.3.9 Sentence structure

In the Monaro data sentence structure is once again basically SVO. Interrogative sentences are either indicated orthographically with a question mark or are marked with a sentence initial interrogative word. The common interrogative forms are **wotfo** 'why' (413, 448, 451) and **haumeni** 'how many' (443). There is also a new interrogative word **witjwei** 'where' (405).

Negative sentences are indicated with the well established negative form **bail** 'no, not' used sentence initially (400, 401, 414, 441, 442). The form **not** is also attested as a sentence initial negator (440).

There are few complex sentences in the data. It is more usual for speakers to achieve coordination through contextualisation and by stringing sentences together (456). However, the coordinate conjunction **and** 'and' (413) and the conditional **pos** 'if' (457, 458) and **bat** 'but' (390) which were attested previously are again in evidence.

(456) *Suppose toger (soldier) make-a-light you to-day; good-bye old King Bondi.* (11:42)
pos toga meikalait yu tudei gudbai old King Bondi
If the soldiers see you to today, it will be goodbye to Old King Bondi.

(457) *What blackfellow yan along-a-me and drive jumbuc, suppose I give him plenty tobacco?* (11:42)
wot blakfela yan alonga mi and draiv jambak pos ai givim plenti tobako
Which Aboriginal person will go with me and drive the sheep if I give them a lot of tobacco?

(458) *Take up white fellow 'pose him got no pass.* (12:16)
teikap waitfela pos him gotno pas
Catch the non-Aboriginal person if he/she has no pass (ie convict's pass).

6.4.3.10 Interjections

The interjection **aibliv** 'I believe', **aiblivso** 'I believe so!' and **olgamon** 'nonsense! (11:153) are again very popular. Townsend commented that 'a favourite expression is "gammon"' (12:31). New forms are **yu yang manki** 'you young monkey!' (11:44), **kas** 'curse!' (11:48), **aisei** 'I say!' (12:17) and **aitink** 'I think' (11:50).

6.4.3.11 Borrowed sentences and phrases

Once again the data attest borrowing of whole phrases from English into NSW Pidgin, for example, **maind yo bisines** 'watch out' (12:16). A new hail is the borrowing **neimyu** 'what is your name' (11:4).

6.4.3.12 Late nineteenth, early twentieth century data

Amongst the articles published by the amateur anthropologist Edmund Milne was an article which quoted Coomee who was an old Aboriginal woman from Murramurang on the south coast of NSW. Milne had known the woman since he was young. Coomee's speech as quoted by Milne is NSW Pidgin(12:43). The article was published in 1916 which suggests that NSW Pidgin was still in use in that area in the early twentieth century.

A number of features of Coomee's output as recorded by Milne are predictably NSW Pidgin. For example, there are the very characteristic transitivisers **-it** and **-im**, although they are used inconsistently. Other characteristic NSW Pidgin forms are the first person subject and object pronoun **mi** 'I', the number **plenti** 'many, very', the verb **sitdaun** 'live' (which is also used in the data to mean 'home'), the preposition of location **longa** 'in', the prepositions of manner **olteseimlaik** 'like', the cessative aspect marker **neva nomo** 'never again' (which is poorly attested in the other Monaro data) and the multifunctional form **ol** 'all'. New items in Milne's data are **wotyukol** 'named', the habitual form **oltaim** and a new general quantifier **ola** 'all' (397). The

preposition of manner **olteseimlaikit** (459) was only previously attested in the Port Stephens data (4.3.2.9).

(459) *Him eat native food all same like old wild myall feller.* (12:43)
him it neitiv fud olteseimlaik old waild maiolfela
He eats bush tucker exactly like an old wild uncivilised Aboriginal person.

6.5 CONCLUSION

The data for the Monaro district do not reveal very many new insights into the nature of NSW Pidgin. However, they help to confirm that NSW Pidgin was a colony-wide and considerably stabilised lingua franca with only a little regional variation by the 1830s. In an attempt to show up any micro-regional differences within the district, the data were divided into the Monaro (Appendix 11), which contains the inland data, and the south coast (Appendix 12). However, the distinction between the coastal and the inland data did not reveal any significant differences. The data only contain a few new grammatical and lexical forms and most of the borrowings from Monaro languages are ambiguous. It is clear from the data presented here that by the mid-nineteenth century English was the source for most of the new lexical forms borrowed into NSW Pidgin.

In this and the previous chapter there is considerable anecdotal evidence that by the 1830s NSW Pidgin was very important as the colonial lingua franca. Social commentators gave some time to speculating about its origins and nature. For example, in the 1840s, Townsend made the astute comment that 'the lingo used by them, when talking to Europeans, consists of broken English, interlarded with a jargon generally believed to be composed of words of their dialects, but being, in fact, a collection of barbarisms invented by the whites, and acquired from them' (12:31). He clearly recognised the mixed nature of the language, the large contribution of English borrowings to the lexicon and the fact that the language was the product of the social context produced by English colonisation of Aboriginal land. His observations are similar to those made by Meredith in Bathurst in the

1830s (5.2.2.3). Townsend's comment that the language was invented by the colonists suggests the importance of the input from colonists to NSW Pidgin. Colonists contributed to the perpetuation and expansion of the language.

7

NSW PIDGIN IN THE PORT PHILLIP DISTRICT: REGIONAL VARIATION

7.1 INTRODUCTION

The district of Port Phillip took its name from Port Phillip Bay which was the first point of entry for colonists in the area who ventured into the bay in 1802. Early attempts at settlement from the coast were slow. It was not until 1836 when graziers moved into the district that Port Phillip was really colonised. At that time there was a steady stream of people moving overland into the district from the north. Many early immigrants also arrived from Sydney and Tasmania by sea. They then moved into the interior of the colony via the settlement at Melbourne which was the commercial focal point for the district. In July 1851, the district achieved independence from NSW and was declared to be the Colony of Victoria. However, as most of the data discussed in this chapter dates from the first half of the nineteenth century when the area was a district within NSW it is here referred to as Port Phillip.

Port Phillip and Van Diemen's Land (now Tasmania) were both settled as colonies of NSW at about the same time. There was considerable communication and movement of settlers between the two colonies. This contact between the two colonies with populations of Aboriginal peoples who were quite different to each other is likely to have had a strong influence on the development of NSW Pidgin in the areas. However, an examination of NSW Pidgin in Tasmania is beyond the scope of this thesis[176]. Therefore, the relationship between NSW Pidgin in Tasmania and in Victoria is not explored in this thesis. Certainly further research in that area would be most rewarding.

[176]For some information about pidgin language in Tasmania see Crowley 1993.

The population of the district grew steadily and reached seventy-seven thousand by 1851. The economy of Port Phillip remained based on grazing and agriculture until gold was discovered in central Victoria in the early 1850s. Port Phillip, which was by then the colony of Victoria, experienced an economic and population boom. Itinerant miners from all over the world invaded the colony and swelled the population in six years to almost five hundred thousand (*AE* vol 9:121).

The area covered by the district of Port Phillip was quite large. Therefore, for the purposes of the following account the data are divided into smaller data sets to facilitate the detection of any areal differences. The data are grouped into two sets corresponding to broad notional, not historical, north and south distinctions. The south has Melbourne and immigration via the sea as its focal point and the north is focussed on the Murray River and overland traffic from Sydney. The Edward River district is included in northern Port Phillip because it borders on the Murray River and the data from that area demonstrate influence from Aboriginal languages of Victoria.

This notional distinction also facilitates the identification of any unique input to NSW Pidgin from the sociolinguistic environment created by Melbourne. Melbourne and its surrounds were densely settled and Aboriginal people near the settlement were more exposed to English than those in the sparsely settled northern district. In the north, NSW Pidgin was a viable lingua franca useful to the Aboriginal population employed on the properties of pastoralists. The scarcity of English-speaking people provided an environment in which the language could prevail.

Within the two broad divisions the data are further grouped into appendices according to the rivers which provided the foci for settlement. The Murray River is divided into the historically recognised upper and lower regions. Exploration and settlement proceeded along the lines of the rivers because agriculture and grazing was

only feasible in areas well supplied with water (Cannon and MacFarlane 1991:xiv-xvii).

7.2 BACKGROUND HISTORY

7.2.1 Early exploration and settlement of Port Phillip

In February 1797, non-Aboriginal people first set foot in the area which became known as Port Phillip. They were survivors of the ship *Sydney Cove* which was beached on Preservation Island. Guy Hamilton, the ship's master, sent his long-boat to Port Jackson. Most of the remaining crew attempted to walk to Sydney. Only three people survived the journey of two months and were rescued at Coalcliff by a fishing boat (Boys 1935:4). Some of the lascar seamen stayed with the wreck and were rescued in October 1798 by Mathew Flinders' exploring party (Boys 1935:6).

Between December 1797 and January 1798, George Bass with six naval volunteers sailed from Port Jackson in an open whale-boat to Western Port. He established that a strait separated Van Diemen's Land from NSW. However, it was not until early in 1801 that James Grant in the *Lady Nelson* completed the first survey from Wilson's Promontory to Western Port. An Aboriginal man and his wife from Sydney accompanied the expedition (Boys 1935:9). Grant built a large timber structure and planted some crops on Churchill Island at Western Port.

On 12 November 1801, another party of explorers found Grant's structure and crops. They also came in the *Lady Nelson*, but under the command of John Murray who became the first non-Aboriginal person to enter Port Phillip. In March 1802, Murray annexed the area in the name of the British. The only contact the party had with Aboriginal people was hostile. About ten miles from Portsea at Port King, Murray sent an armed party ashore to make contact with the local Aboriginal people. They were attacked and retaliated by shooting some of the people (Boys 1935:11).

Governor King wrote to the Duke of Portland, on 21 May 1802, recommending settlement of Port Phillip (Blainey 1984:17). He was afraid that the French might occupy the area and prevent he British from using the strait. In January 1803, under King's orders, Surveyor-General Charles Grimes surveyed the shores of Port Phillip Bay. He then sailed up the Yarra River where he and his party had a friendly meeting with some Aboriginal people (Boys 1935:7).

The British government sanctioned a settlement and, on 7 October 1803, the first colonists led by Lt Colonel David Collins landed at Sullivan's Bay near Sorrento. The settlement consisted of about three hundred convicts, a few free settlers, civil and military officials and a number of families (Boys 1935:18). However, Collins was discouraged by Aboriginal hostility and poor agricultural conditions. On 5 November 1803, he wrote to King asking for permission to abandon the settlement. The upper part of the bay was more fertile but he wrote 'were I to settle in the upper part of the harbour, which is full of natives, I should require four times the force I have now to guard not only the convicts, but perhaps myself, from their attacks' (Boys 1935:19). King agreed to Collins' request and he removed the settlement to the Derwent River in Van Diemen's Land on 30 January 1804 (Boys 1935:20-22).

A number of convicts absconded from the settlement. Twelve of them were either captured or returned voluntarily, one was shot in an attempt to escape and six were never heard of again. One man, William Buckley became famous when he reappeared at Indented Head, in 1835, after living with Aboriginal people since his escape (Boys 1935:22). He became an adviser and interpreter for the government in their dealings with local Aboriginal people

There was no further official activity in the Port Phillip area until November 1826 when Governor Darling attempted to establish a new colony at Western Port, under the charge of Captain Samuel Wright. The company consisted of twenty soldiers, some

with their wives, and twenty convicts. They found that sealers who were working the area had settled on Phillip Island and were growing crops of wheat and maize (Boys 1935:28). Aboriginal women were living and working with the men. Sealers and escaped convicts were also found living at Port Fairy (Boys 1935:32). Again the settlers found the area too difficult to colonise and the new settlement was abandoned in April 1828 (Boys 1935:31).

In 1824, Governor Brisbane encouraged two graziers, Hamilton Hume and William Hovell, to find an overland route between Sydney and the southern coast of NSW. They left Hume's station on Lake George in October 1824 and in early 1825 arrived at Corio Bay, an arm of Port Phillip, believing that they had arrived at Westernport (Map 12) (Perry 1963:100). Along the way they observed that 'the country was of a most superior description, in respect to pasturage' and were very enthusiastic about its prospects for settlement (Hume and Hovell quoted in Scott 1921:297). Governor Brisbane rewarded them for their efforts and announced 'the discovery of a new and valuable country of great extent, extending from Lake George towards Western Port' (Boys 1935:27).

Hume and Hovell found signs of occupation by Aboriginal people but had no encounters on the journey out. However, at Corio Bay and on their return journey at the Murray River they had amiable meetings with the local people. The people at Corio Bay knew a few words of 'English'. Hume and Hovell speculated that the people had learnt the words from the people who had attempted to settle Port Phillip. Most of the communication which took place between the people and the explorers was through the medium of graphic gesture (20:194). Hume attempted, unsuccessfully, to communicate with them using what he knew about an Aboriginal language spoken in the Jervis' Bay area (20:295). The explorers noted a few words in the local language for birds and natural features of the Corio Bay area (20:195). The people were very fearful of the horses and bullocks and the explorers decided that their

fear of the animals was the reason for their not encountering many Aboriginal people on their journey (20:195).

Hume and Hovell's discoveries made colonisation of the Port Phillip area feasible. However, restrictive government policies hindered the expansion of settlement. Also, in 1823, Cunningham successfully opened a route between Bathurst and the Liverpool Plains and followed up with exploration of the Namoi, Macintyre and Condomine Rivers and the Darling Downs (Younger 1976:12). His discoveries directed the attention of potential settlers to the northern districts.

In 1829, an expedition under the instructions of Governor Darling and led by Captain Charles Sturt sailed over half the length of the Murray River (Map 14). Sturt was not impressed with the country he saw and only recommended its lowest reaches to the governor (Younger 1976:12-13). On the 17 January 1830, the explorers' camp was visited by a group of Aboriginal men and Sturt made friends with one man. Soon after, they encountered a large number of hostile people waiting for them on the riverbank. Sturt's friend protected them from attack by intervening on their behalf (Younger 1976:18). In 1830, Governor Darling instructed Sturt to trace the course of the Murrumbidgee River. His party started a few miles below where Hay is now and marched and sailed to the Murray River. In January, the party met hostile Aboriginal people on the Darling River but avoided engaging in open conflict (Boys 1935:32-3). They reached the ocean by foot from Lake Alexandrina but were unable to reach St Vincent's Gulf to meet a return vessel and were forced to backtrack. On the return journey they were worried by a number of tense encounters with Aboriginal people. However, they were also helped over some difficult river rapids by a group of friendly people (Boys 1935:33).

In 1836, Major Thomas Mitchell explored the middle Murray River area and gave a glowing report (Map 17). Mitchell was so impressed that he called the new country

'Australia Felix'. Subsequently, the Port Phillip district became a focus for the attention of graziers and potential settlers. On previous expeditions in NSW hostile Aboriginal people had harassed Mitchell and his party. However, during his Murray River expedition an Aboriginal woman called Turandurey with her little girl joined the explorers near Booligal. She remained with them for six months and acted as an interlocutor between them and Aboriginal people they encountered (Cumpston 1954:117). The expedition also had an Aboriginal guide from Bathurst called Piper who had accompanied Mitchell on a previous expedition to the Darling River. They were joined on the Lachlan River by two Aboriginal boys known to the expedition as Tommy Came-first and Tommy Came-last after the order of their joining the expedition (Cumpston 1954:114). The Aboriginal people of the Darling River area who were hostile to Sturt also threatened Mitchell's expedition. One encounter ended with Mitchell's men killing a number of Aboriginal men. However, just below the junction of the Murrumbidgee and Murray Rivers the expedition encountered a friendly group of Aboriginal people.

Near Swan Hill, Mitchell surveyed what he considered to be the finest plain for grazing and agriculture in the colony. Continuing through excellent grazing country he reached the sea at Portland Bay where he was surprised to find illegal settlers. They were the Henty brothers from Van Diemen's Land who had established pastoral enterprises in the area in 1834 (Powling 1980:3). He then turned north-east and joined Hume and Hovell's route across the Goulburn River and other tributaries of the Murray River (Younger 1976:22-23). News of the fine grazing country reached Sydney with advance scouts from the expedition. On his return trip Mitchell found that stockowners were already following the tracks of his bullocks along what came to be known as 'Mitchell's' or 'the Major's' line (Map 17) (Younger 1976:23).

7.2.2 Whaling and sealing settlements in Port Phillip

Bass Strait and the coast of Port Phillip provided NSW with an important economic resource in the form of whaling and sealing. Mutton birding was also carried out in Bass Strait well into the nineteenth century. In 1798, Captain Charles Bishop began sealing in the Bass Strait. He left fourteen men on Cape Barren Island for two months and returned to find that they had collected nine thousand skins. The sealing grounds in Bass Strait soon attracted trade from Sydney, America and Britain (Ryan 1981:66).

Sealers were left, often in pairs, on many of the Bass Strait islands to collect skins. They were visited annually and remained self-sufficient over that time with their own poultry, small gardens and supplies left by the ships. On Kangaroo Island there were as many as eighteen men who assembled annually at Nepean Bay to meet the returning ship and sell their skins. A number of escaped convicts from Van Diemen's Land lived apart from the other sealers on Thistle Island, near Port Lincoln and islands in Spencer's Gulf (Hart quoted in Bride 1983:52).

Aboriginal women from the mainland and Tasmania (then Van Diemen's Land) lived with the men on the island settlements and 'attended to wallaby snares, caught fish, and made up the boat's crew when on a sealing excursion to the neighbouring rocks' (Hart quoted in Bride 1983:52). In 1820 there were about fifty men living with one hundred Aboriginal women and their children on islands in the Bass Strait (Ryan 1981:69).

Bass Strait was a major centre for sealing from the 1700s to 1810 when the sealing grounds were almost worked out (Powling 1980:9). Sealers then looked westward along the southernmost coast of NSW for new grounds and considered the possibilities of whaling. Many of them also took to muttonbirding. Aboriginal women were employed in the industry adapting their traditional techniques to the large scale enterprises (Ryan 1981:70).

In 1836, John Griffiths, Alexander Campbell, John Mills and Charles Mills from Launceston set up a whaling establishment at Port Fairy on Griffiths Island. Hugh Donnelly one of the whalers with Mills later recalled 'that Port Fairy and its surroundings in their natural state of 1836 were beautiful, with the emu, kangaroo, wild turkey, swans, ducks, the green verdure, and the cooees of the blacks on the north side of the hummocks. The blacks could be seen fishing and hunting in the swamps; one could see hundreds of blacks and their little townships of mia-mias' (Donnelly quoted by Powling 1980:5).

In his history of Port Fairy, Powling (1980:11) wrote that 'Launceston was almost the mother-town of Port Fairy...the little ships which anchored in the bay...were all out of Launceston'. The area was eventually worked out of whales as well as seals and the sealers and whalers began to turn to grazing (Powling 1980:11). They employed local Aboriginal people in their farming ventures. For example, Campbell employed Aboriginal women to dig his potato crop (Powling 1980:19).

Between the late 1840s and 1853, Mrs Dunlop ran a mission to the local Aboriginal people on Griffiths Island. She had a whale boat manned by six Aboriginal men uniformed in red shirts and white trousers (Dowling 1980:22).

7.2.3 The Port Phillip Association and the beginning of Melbourne

In 1834, another attempt was made to settle the Port Phillip district in the vicinity of present day Melbourne. The Port Phillip Association was a group of Van Diemen's Land investors who wanted to force the government to release land for private settlement in the Port Phillip area. Through their agent, John Batman, they attempted to establish rights to settle in Port Phillip by purchasing land from the local Aboriginal people.

Batman arrived in St Leonards Bay, on 19 November 1834, with three male servants and seven Aboriginal people from Sydney. During early June Batman explored the area. On 6 June 1835, he claimed to have made a treaty with local Aboriginal people. Batman's treaty included the exchange of about six hundred thousand acres of land which belonged to the 'chiefs of the Dutigallar tribe' for blankets, knives, looking glasses, tomahawks, beads, scissors, flour and a yearly rent (Boys 1935:39). Batman and the Port Phillip Association led the local Aboriginal people to believe that they would gain materially from their association with the colonists. William Buckley who acted as interpreter in the transactions claimed that the people understood and fully approved of the agreement made between themselves and the Port Phillip Association and were looking forward to their payment (Gellibrand quoted in Bride 1983:16).

Batman and his party occupied the area and decided to build a township at Indenture Head (now Port Melbourne and South Melbourne). Settlement proper by the Port Phillip Association began in August 1835. The government did not accept that Batman's treaty and the settlement of the area by the Port Phillip Association was legal. However, the actions of the association encouraged the government to open up the area to settlement. In October 1835, Lord Glenelg, the Secretary of State, established a township on the site of Melbourne. Lots of land were offered for sale at Port Phillip. These were purchased by the the Port Phillip Association and other free settlers (Boys 1935:39).

In January 1836, the settlement of Melbourne consisted of only about a dozen turf huts. However, the colonists had already created an impact amongst the local Aboriginal people. Some Aboriginal people from Sydney were taken to the settlement to help the colonists in their dealings with local Aboriginal people and to act as guides (Gellibrand quoted in Bride 1983:15). The local people observed closely the movements of the settlers. They kept watch for ships and were often the first to

announce an arrival (Gellibrand quoted in Bride 1983:23). The material goods available from the settlers also appealed to the Aboriginal population and they became particularly fond of bread and potatoes (Gellibrand quoted in Bride 1983:31). Early settlers were often assisted by Aboriginal people. John Aitkin, one of the first settlers in Melbourne, observed that when he arrived, in March 1836, with his flocks from Van Diemen's Land the Aboriginal people at Arthur's Seat 'were most friendly, assisting me to land my sheep, &c. ...some accompanied me in my journey round the Bay to Melbourne' (Aitkin quoted in Bride 1983:49). At Mount Aitkin he was visited by people from the Mount Macedon area whom he presented with rice, sugar, flour and other goods (Aitkin quoted in Bride 1983:50).

Robert Jamieson recalled the Aboriginal people of Westernport. In 1839, he and his brother, William, took up Tobin Yallock on the the north-east shore of Westernport Bay.

> The tribe of aboriginal natives, known as the Western Port blacks, numbered, I should imagine, when I knew them first, upwards of 300...During the seven years of my residence in the bush I saw a great deal of the natives, and invariably found them quiet, inoffensive, and willing, in their way, to be useful. They never did me any harm intentionally, and on many occasions really helped me; although any attempt to induce one or more of them to settle to any steady work, however light, even for a single day, was utterly vain. I believe I may safely say that the settlers south of the Yarra were invariably kind to the natives, and there are, I believe, few if any instances of ingratitude in return on record. (Jamieson in Bride 1983:91)

However, he found the Aboriginal people of Gippsland were very aggressive and his station suffered when they arrived to attack the Western Port tribe (Jamieson in Bride 1983:91).

James Clow took up Tirhatuan near Dandenong in 1838. The family were 'very frequently visited by the aborigines belonging to the Yarra Yarra and Western Port tribes' (Clow in Bride 1983:107). They camped near his house and 'were uniformly treated with kindness' (Clow in Bride 1983:107). They were supplied with their

favourite items from the station which were melons and potatoes (Clow in Bride 1983:109).

Alexander Thomson who claimed to be the first man in the Geelong district wrote that he was surprised 'to find so few natives' (Thomson quoted in Bride 1983:131). In December 1836, he mustered all the Aboriginal people in the district and gave each a blanket. The total was two hundred and seventy nine people (Thomson quoted in Bride 1983:132). Thomson was well-known to the people and several youths lived with his family for years, attending church with them and learning to read with their tutors (Thomson quoted in Bride 1983:132). He lamented that 'since their connexion with the whites there has been little increase' and many deaths were caused by 'pulmonary complaints' and alcoholism (Thomson quoted in Bride 1983:132). By the early 1850s, Thomson counted only thirty four adults and two children on the station (Thomson quoted in Bride 1983:132).

7.2.4 'Overlanding'

In the wake of Mitchell's expedition, the practise of 'overlanding', or moving large numbers of stock overland to southern markets, began in the Port Phillip district. On their journies overlanders crossed country with grazing potential and were thereby responsible for opening up new tracts of land. Overlanding became a lucrative business and continued well into the century with drovers supplying both the Melbourne and Adelaide markets and moving stock to newly established stations. Many overlanders took up land in the Port Phillip district once they had made enough capital for the venture.

In 1836, John Hepburn, John Gardiner and Joseph Hawdon made the first overland drive of stock from the Murrumbidgee River to Port Phillip. At Gundagai they met part of Mitchell's expedition on its return from Portland Bay (Hepburn quoted in Bride 1983:60). At the Ovens River they met a group of Aboriginal people.

One of the men had encountered colonists previously and stayed with the party until they reached the Goulburn River (Hepburn quoted in Bride 1983:61). On the Goulburn River they saw 'a very large encampment about seventy mia-mias' but the Aboriginal people fled as they approached. In the camp they found 'some small fragments of bottle glass' which suggests that the local people had some previous contact with at least the products of colonial society (Hepburn quoted in Bride 1983:62).

In 1838, Hepburn again overlanded from Strathallen to West Coliban where he took up Smeaton Hill station. At the Goulburn River he and David Coghill encountered a large group of Aboriginal people who pointed their spears at them. They dismounted, took their 'guns in one hand and a bush in the other, and advanced slowly towards them' the men remained but the women and children retreated (Hepburn quoted in Bride 1983:67). They were not able to communicate with the people. Hepburn wrote that 'after a short parley, in which not a word was understood on either side, the natives began to lay down their spears, and approached us without fear, put their hands on us, and felt the horses' skins' (Hepburn quoted in Bride 1983:68). The Aboriginal people remained with Hepburn's party until they crossed the river. They were particularly fascinated by the party's guns after seeing Hepburn shoot two parrots (Hepburn quoted in Bride 1983:68).

In his reminiscences, Hepburn had little to say about the Aboriginal people of Port Phillip because he had 'little intercourse with them' (Hepburn quoted in Bride 1983:71-74). He did not allow the people to camp near his sheep which meant that he prohibited them from large parts of his station. His wife treated the local Aboriginal women with kindness and with Hepburn's approval they became frequent visitors to the homestead. However, he later discouraged their visits when he found his 'men making too free with them' (Hepburn quoted in Bride 1983:78). In 1843, Hepburn

wrote that he never learnt to communicate with Aboriginal people in their own languages and that eventually they left the district where his station was situated.

> So after all my residence amongst the natives I never learnt a word of their lingo. Nearly the whole of the tribe belonging to this district is dead. I only know of one in existence that was born on my station, and he is about fourteen years of age. I do not know of a woman that was on the station twelve years ago; if there be any at the protectorate, the fact is not known to me. I do not believe I have seen a native black or party of blacks for these last four years that stayed a night on my run...I have not cultivated their acquaintance much. (Hepburn quoted in Bride 1983:68)

Between 1836 and 1838, the first runs were taken up in Northern Port Phillip via the Goulburn River and along the Major's line. In 1836, Henry Howey took up Gisborne Station which was the first run to connect those of the overlanders with those taken up by the southern settlers from Van Diemen's Land (Hepburn quoted in Bride 1983:68). By the 1839, many more runs had been established and the area between the north and Melbourne became densely settled (Hepburn quoted in Bride 1983:69).

7.2.5 Settlement along the Murray River

The route south, established by Mitchell, became the main thoroughfare for the movement of stock and potential settlers. Many of the settlers had been well-established in the Argyle county and were looking to expand their interests (Younger 1976:34). Aboriginal hostility and poor country blocked settlement from Adelaide along the Murray (Younger 1976:41).

The first station on the Murray River was Mungabareena, established in 1835 and taken up by Charles Hotson Ebden. The grasslands higher up the Murray began to attract interest and, by 1838, a succession of runs occupied all the land as far as Towong. By 1838, occupation spread from the Murray crossing area to the Goulburn River and the uplands of the Murray tributaries. Graziers then took up all the land across the range as far west as Echuca and secured the southern tableland by 1839

(Younger 1976:35-36). Settlers first occupied the area now known as the Riverina in the late 1840s. In 1845, there were five hundred and eighty nine free men, forty bond men and one hundred and seventy eight free women in the Murray district (Andrews 1920:100).

By the 1850s, at least three thousand head of horses one hundred thousand head of cattle and half a million sheep grazed in the district. From the 1860s forward the Riverina was a major wool growing area (Younger 1976:44-45). Many of the people who came for the gold rushes of the 1850s and 1860s also remained in the area and attempted to take up land and establish themselves in the pastoral industry (Younger 1976:111).

The date and place of first contact between Aboriginal people of the Murray River and colonists is unknown. The first Murray River people mentioned by Hume and Hovell in their account were a group of about thirty women and children that they met, on 2 January 1825, at the Yackandandah Creek on their return journey. Hume and Hovell reported that the children were playing a game called *currum-currum* which involved throwing small reed spears at a circular piece of bark about a foot in diameter which was rolled along the ground. The women were spinning flax. The explorers heard an old woman alert the group with the cry 'white man, white man, minija, minija!'. *Minija* they believed meant 'make haste' because the people ran away immediately (Andrews 1920:30). The reported use of 'white man' suggests familiarity with the colonists if only by hearsay. On 6 January, Hume and Hovell met a group of Aboriginal men not far from Mt Battery. One could speak 'a little English' which was probably NSW Pidgin because he had spent time with the settlers at Lake George. Hume visited their camp with three of his men and described the people as kind and inoffensive (Andrews 1920:30).

Settlers reported that the Aboriginal peoples of the Murray River district were not numerous but were generally hostile towards settlement and made a number of attacks on people and stock. One of the most famous incidents was the so-called 'Faithful massacre' in April 1838. Seven of George Faithful's stockmen were killed by Aboriginal men while moving sheep from the Faithful property near Bungonia to new pasture at Euroa. The murders frightened people and made it hard for pastoralists to obtain staff (Andrews 1920:63).

However, there are also many accounts of Aboriginal people accepting colonists, living near them and working on their properties. For example, the Mitchell family in the Albury area employed Aboriginal women as domestics and their properties were never attacked. Rev Joseph Docker who employed Aboriginal people on his property, Bontherambo Plains wrote that the people were always around his homestead (Andrews 1920:32). Some pastoralists made private treaties with the local people. For example, in 1839, Rev David Mackenzie made a treaty with a man he designated to be the local Aboriginal 'chief' when he formed a station on the Billabong. The treaty was, reportedly, observed by both sides (Andrews 1920:33).

The Aboriginal people who made alliances with settlers were very good at making adjustments to their own lifestyles to accommodate the ways of the settlers. They were also very faithful to the people they worked for and a great help in guarding and managing stock (Andrews 1920:36). The Murray River population was severely reduced by introduced diseases and the unhealthy lifestyle that the settlers and missionaries taught the people to live. The people became generally more sedentary than in the past forming permanent rather than semi-permanent camps (Andrews 1920:35).

The Murray River formed the boundary between the Port Phillip district and NSW. In the process of taking up all the fertile land along the river and its branches

pastoralists established permanent contact with Aboriginal people. ES Parker, Assistant Protector of Aborigines on the Loddon River, noted...

> ...the very spots most valuable to the aborigines for their productiveness – the creeks, watercourses and rivers – are the first to be occupied...It is a common opinion among the settlers that the possession of a squatting licence entitles them to the exclusion of the aborigines from their runs...both parties mutually regarding each other as intruders (Parker quoted in Morrison 1971:30).

The effect on the Aboriginal population was devastating and many became permanently attached to and dependent on the colonists for food as their own resources were depleted. Parker observed that Aboriginal people 'acquired universally a taste for the white man's food...invariably they prefer it to their own wild productions' (Parker quoted in Morrison 1971:30).

7.2.6 Settlement of the Edward River district

In the nineteenth century, the Edward River district comprised the outlying crown lands of NSW bordering on the north of the Murray River and forming the boundary line between NSW and Port Phillip (Phillips 1893:preface).

In the 1840s, the price of wool collapsed and cattle prices slumped. However, expansion of settlement along the river continued. The vast area west of the main south road was still largely unexplored in the early 1840s. Ben Boyd, Director of the Royal Bank of Australia engaged Augustus Morris to explore the country for him. He travelled west of Urana following the Billabong Creek and then the Edward River and finally went as far north as the Murrumbidgee River. Morris chose Deniliquin as the site for a head station for vast holdings which Boyd eventually secured (Younger 1976:39).

The area in which Boyd took up land is known as the Wakool Country, an area which lies on either side of the Wakool River between the Edward and Murray Rivers. Wakool is on the border between NSW and Port Phillip. Pastoral settlement began in the Wakool between 1842 and 1852. The use of paddlesteamers on the Murray River,

from 1853 forward, encouraged closer settlement of the river. The towns of Moama, Mathoura, Euchuca and Deniliquin developed along the river to service the area (Grant 1970:16).

Ben Boyd's Deniliquin run of seven hundred thousand acres, taken up in 1842 on the Edward River, was the first lease on the edge of Wakool. Augustus Morris managed the run until 1855 (Grant 1970:21). Following Boyd's move to the area several other people also took up very large runs. In 1842 Lewis and Throsby took up the seventy thousand acre Moira run on the edge of Wakool (Grant 1970:22) and just south of their run Edward Curr took up forty square miles. In 1841 Curr had taken up the Tongala run on the Murray River west of the Goulburn River junction (Grant 1970:23). In 1843 James Maiden took up Perricoota on the Murray River downstream from Echuca and Peter Stuckey took up Mathoura estate north of the Moira (Grant 1970:24-25). In the same year three stations were settled in Wakool proper, Warbreccan, Barham and Werai. The district was gradually taken up completely (Grant 1970:25). Barham was the earliest lease at the western end of Wakool and was taken up by Edward Green, in 1843. The area was very isolated and he encountered a lot of hostility from the local Aboriginal people (Grant 1970:45). Until 1868 a stock route ran from Moulamein to Moama and Echuca via Deniliquin when a more direct route via Thule was gazetted (Grant 1970:43).

On many stations Aboriginal people were employed to help with mustering and shearing and as general hands (Grant 1970:49). In the 1880s rabbits were first considered a pest in the district and Aboriginal people were employed as rabbiters (Grant 1970:52). Some Aboriginal people who lived and worked on the stations became famous identities. For example, an Aboriginal man called Jack Galway lived on the properties of Cobran and Thule owned from the mid 1880s by Sir William Clarke. He had the job of opening the massive Cobran paddock gates during kangaroo drives. Jack, his wife and large family lived in a small cottage on the bank

of the Thule lakes three miles from the Thule homestead. His wife was known for the flowers she made from birds' feathers and her carved emu eggs (Grant 1970:36).

Ben Boyd attempted to solve his labour problems by bringing in a group Fijians to work on his properties. However, his experiment was not a success and the men left as soon as they could.

> ...introducing and transporting, at considerable expense, a gang of natives from the South Sea Islands, Fiji's, intending to utilise them as shepherds, &c.; but on their arrival at the head station the Sand Hills, under the guidance and protection of a chief of their own tribe, they refused to work or shepherd, being frightened by the hostility of the natives who, being jealous of "other one country black fellows" intruding on their country, killed them whenever an opportunity occurred of surprising them alone or unarmed: so that the Fiji chief and his people, numbering some fifty or sixty, had to be fed and domiciled in the large wool-shed, kept idle, refusing to work singly, or move out except *en masse*, and armed with their weapons (bows and arrows), in the use of which they were very expert, as also their war clubs. Occasionally, they would, in a body, and headed by their chief, make an excursion to our head station some four miles or so across the river, on a friendly visit, when we used to regale them with buttermilk and tobacco; on which occasions they would perform their native war dances. They seemed a nice and healthy lot of young men, well proportioned, lighter in colour than the native Australian, wearing their hair tied in a knot on the top of their heads. They were cleanly in their habits, and continually swimming and diving in the river. Ultimately, Boyd was forced by the Government to return them to their native islands in the south Seas. (Phillips 1893:95-97)

The labour shortage in the district was also addressed by the Home Government in England sending out time-expired criminals from the reformatories and prisons such as Pentonville[177] (Phillips 1893:97). The expirees were offered employment and wage guaranties as inducements. Some of the people brought to the district under the scheme 'became, ultimately, well-to-do and prosperous colonists' (Phillips 1893:97).

Internal hostilities between local Aboriginal people also accounted for some of the depopulation of the Aboriginal communities in the area. For example, in 1845, a large number of Aboriginal people on Thule were massacred by Aboriginal people known as the 'Moira tribe'. However, the survivors proved tenacious and settlers recorded that

---

[177]Phillips noted they were called in the colony *Pentonvillains* after this famous prison (Phillips 1893:97).

they still knew of corroborees being held at Thule on the banks of the lake in the late 1860s (Grant 1970:41).

Aboriginal people were tolerated on some properties where they continued to pursue their own lifestyle with little interference from the settlers. Thomas Wragge who settled on part of Beremegad station and named it Tulla, in 1870, commented that Aboriginal people still lived on and around the property hunting the abundant wildlife, cooking in the 'native ovens' along the river and holding corroborees (Grant 1970:47-48). In 1904 a group of about sixty Aboriginal people were living near Chowar homestead, built on Tulla, on the frontage to the Neimur River (Grant 1970:57). The Tulla station diary records an Aboriginal woman called 'Beremegad Mary' who was a 'well-known district identity'. She 'weighed about twenty stone and was reported to be a regular tippler and a nuisance, particularly at race time, when she was bundled into a cart and carried off to some remote spot to sleep off the effects of her indulgence' (Grant 1970:54).

On the Werai property (originally part of Ben Boyd's grant) owned by the Gwynne brothers from 1843 there was considerable hostility shown to the settlers by local Aboriginal people. Several attacks were made on the homestead which were all repelled (Grant 1970:63). Aboriginal hostility was also experienced at Calimo between Tumudgery Creek and the Wakool River, originally known as Tumudgery, which was taken up by Walter Ogilvie in 1847 (Grant 1970:66). Because of the hostility the properties were largely used for cattle grazing.

In the 1890s selectors developed many smaller properties in the river country between Calimo and Warbreccan south of the Edward River in areas serviced by the Tumudgerie, Coligan, Yallahool and Wakool streams (Grant 1970:70). The area was was well watered and rich in wildlife and became a haven for Aboriginal people attempting to avoid the settlers. Missionaries established Moonacullah Mission Station

in the area and it drew many of the local Aboriginal people. The mission was closed in 1961 and the people were moved to the outskirts of Deniliquin (Grant 1970:70).

7.2.7 Settlement of the Loddon River district

The Loddon River district is the central highlands of Victoria. Settlers in the area called the local Aboriginal people the 'Loddon River Tribe'. They were also known as the 'Jim Crow Blacks' after Mt Franklin which was known locally as Jim Crow. Mt Franklin was the site of the Loddon Aboriginal Protectorate Station, established in 1841. The name recorded by contemporary sources as being used by the people for themselves was 'Jajowurrong' (Morrison 1971:6).

Joseph Parker, a settler in the area, wrote about the people.

> The Jajowurrong people claim the territory extending from Ballan on the south to the junction of the Serpentine Creek and the Loddon on the north, and from eastern slopes of Mt. Macedon on the east to the Pyrenees on the west...With a few trifling exceptions the dialect of these tribes was the same...They are considered by all the Aborigines a formidable and important people, not merely because they possessed a large tract of fine country especially adapted for hunting and other purposes, but because within their own territory was found the only rock known from which their tomahawks were made. (Barker quoted in Morrison 1971:22)

The people controlled an important resource at Mount William in the form of an outcrop of fine-grained basalt suitable for making axes. The quarry and its produce was a centre for trade between local Aboriginal peoples and extended their networks to distant areas (Morrison 1971:22).

Settlement of the district by pastoralists from the late 1830s forward brought Aboriginal people of the Central Highlands into permanent and sustained contact with colonists. Parker who was the regional Aboriginal Protector wrote in 1840 that 'the rapid occupation of the entire country by settlers, and the consequent attempts made to deprive the aborigines of the natural products of the country and even to exclude them from their native soil' had a 'catastrophic' impact on the Aboriginal population (Parker quoted in Morrison 1971:29).

Parker established a reserve for Aboriginal people, in 1840, at Neereman which was removed, in 1841, to Lar-ne-barramul (now Franklinford). In 1849 the government abolished the protectorate system believing it to be a failure. However, some Aboriginal people continued to support themselves on small farms (Morrison 1971:69). One such man was Thomas Farmer, met by William Westgarth on his travels through the district in 1854. Westgarth wrote about Farmer, in 1855.

> ...we met...a man of the tribe [Loddon Tribe] who spoke English well. He informed us of many interesting particulars of his countrymen. He remembered when the first white man came to this part of the country about seventeen or eighteen years ago..."This white, he said, was Mr Mitchell, a squatter"; to whom, as we understood him, he afterwards engaged himself as a servant...Although the colonists had been for about two years previously in the southern parts of the country, yet as this man alleged, his tribe had never heard of their presence; a circumstance we may account for by the estranged and hostile feelings entertained by the different tribes toward each other and the jealousy with which they regard the trespass of any stranger upon the territory over which from time immemorial they have been accustomed to roam. He was, at the time, a young boy of about eight years of age; and his tribe numbered, according to his estimate, more than 500 of all ages; they were now, he said, reduced to about sixty...This man's long association with white people had produced civilising influences...This man confessed that, for a time, at first he did not like either Europeans or European customs...He was married to an Aboriginal wife, and had a hut or cottage of his own not far off, where he cultivated and sold produce." (Westgarth quoted in Morrison 1971:63)

In 1864, the Board of Control transferred the Aboriginal people remaining at Mount Franklin Protectorate to Corranderrk, a new settlement on Badger Creek near Healesville (Morrison 1971:91). The children were transferred to a home set up on the Yarra River. The Victorian government planned to collect all the Aboriginal children of Victoria at that home under the foster care of teachers who would 'educate' the children in English (Morrison 1971:91).

7.2.8 Protectors and missionaries

In an attempt to officially control relations between Aboriginal people and colonists the Colonial Office in London established a system of official 'Protectors' (Cannon and MacFarlane 1982:xvi). In 1837, George Augustus Robinson was appointed 'Chief

Protector of Aborigines' and was given charge of a number of Assistant Protectors. The protectors were chosen for their religious bent and experience as teachers (Cannon and MacFarlane 1982:4). The colonial administration believed that Robinson had a superior ability to negotiate with Aboriginal people. They were impressed with his role in the final removal of Aboriginal people from Tasmania. The protectors were told to acquire a knowledge of Aboriginal culture and languages so that they could mediate between Aboriginal people and colonists. They were also expected to encourage Aboriginal people to settle permanently. The protectors had an administrative role in keeping records of numbers of Aboriginal people in their area. They were responsible for providing the people with goods supplied to them by the government. They were also expected to provide an English education for Aboriginal children.

In addition to the protectors, Aboriginal people were patronised by Christian missionaries acting with government approval but on behalf of various Christian organisations. The first missionaries to establish themselves in Port Phillip were Wesleyans. They arrrived, in 1836, led by Rev Joseph Rennard Orton. In 1838, Rev Tuckfield identified a site on the Barwon River thirty miles from Geelong as suitable for a permanent mission. In 1839 on that site he set up Buntingdale Mission. 'Friendly natives' were employed in agricultural pursuits on the mission and Tuckfield attempted to learn a local language in order to preach to the people (Cannon and MacFarlane 1982:76). He had some success and was able to teach some of the local children to read English. However, falling attendance at the mission forced its closure, in 1848 (Cannon and MacFarlane 1982:77).

In 1836, Rev Orton commented on the Aboriginal population of Port Phillip.

> The aboriginal population of Australia is generally thin and scattered, but in the vicinity of Port Phillip it may be considered comparatively great. It is very difficult to ascertain the amount with any degree of precision but, from the most correct information that I could obtain, it may be computed at about one thousand within sixty miles in each direction from the settlement, and in the

> same proportion entirely along the coast. They associate in tribes and are in constant habit of wandering, having no houses of any description nor fixed place of abode, though in their wandering they generally confine themselves to certain limits, beyond which they seldom stray. (Orton in Cannon and MacFarlane 1982:82)

When Orton arrived in Melbourne he invited the Aboriginal people into the settlement to meet and converse with them. Communication was effected through Buckley (Orton 1836:84). Orton supplied an insight into the processes of early communication between Aboriginal people and colonists when he observed that after his stay amongst the people he had acquired some words from their languages and was using them in his communications. He said that the people were 'anxious to obtain information on all points which were suggested to their minds, and they are equally disposed to communicate. And though my stay with them was unavoidably short, yet before my departure, by the imperfect use of words which I had acquired, assisted by signs, I could communicate with them tolerably well. I made them clearly understand the object of my visit, and they frequently expressed themselves in terms of grateful approbation' (Orton in Cannon and MacFarlane 1982:85-6).

7.3 THE PORT PHILLIP SOURCES

7.3.1 Northern Port Phillip

7.3.1.1 John Francis Huon Mitchell

John Francis Huon Mitchell was born at Brisbane Meadow, Goulburn, NSW on 16 October 1831. He was the son of Captain William Mitchell born in England in 1786 and Elizabeth Mitchell (neé Huon) born at Parramatta, NSW in 1797. He was the author of a number of publications and unpublished manuscripts about Wiradhuri and NSW Pidgin which he called 'Wiradhuri Pidgin'. His newspaper articles were published under the pseudonym 'Chips'[178] and 'Zeckle'.

---

[178]Answer to my girl's question, "Why did you choose "Chips for a Nom-de-plume"? Why? because I have been to sea and learned some sailors terms!...Chips is a nautical term, you should know for a carpenter, "a-toff and-a-low"! (fr332)

Mitchell claimed that he was an authority on Wiradhuri and Wiradhuri Pidgin because as a child he acquired a native speaker's knowledge of the languages. He explained that on his family's Mungabareena run his playmates were *bouries* or Aboriginal boys and he 'was taught as their boys were taught' (pp71, 353[179]). Mitchell wrote that his family were known for their kindness to Aboriginal people and that his mother had them as domestic servants (p109). In his retirement he wrote a dictionary of Wiradhuri (Mitchell 1906) based on conversations he had with speakers 'as far back as 1842' (p71). His surviving manuscripts contain extensive information about Wiradhuri and NSW Pidgin.

Mitchell wrote his still unpublished reminiscences in the early twentieth century while living on his property, Ravenshoe, at Ravenswood in Victoria (Mitchell 1908-1923). The reminiscences dated from his earliest childhood memories of the 1840s. He wrote them at the prompting of family and friends[180]. Elsewhere, Mitchell noted that he was writing 'from Memory in his 85th year from *Ravenshoe*, Ravenswood, Victoria, 1916' and that he was looking back to his time at Mungabareena, Albury, NSW in 1842 (p151). His memoirs also contain lists of Aboriginal words 'names of places and how pronounced with meanings – (where known), also true, and probable derivation' (p151).

Mitchell commented that his material was different to that being recorded by other people writing in the early twentieth century about Aboriginal languages, for two reasons. Firstly, he wanted to represent the language of the people with whom he was familiar from the time of his childhood and throughout his adult life. He considered

---

[179]The page references and 'fr' or frame references refer to items in Mitchell's manuscript papers held in the Mitchell Library, Sydney and available on microfilm (ZA 1671).

[180]It was suggested to me by a friend, that I should place on record my experience, as a boy, among the Aborigines, aged and youthful; in accordance therewith, I am setting down these jottings, as they occur to my memory, after a lapse of 75 years, namely, since 1842. (p65-67) Cooee! A descendent of an early pioneer (1795) now in his 87th year (1918) takes a retrospective view of bygones, for his children to cogitate over. (p103) Jottings from memory; at the suggestion of friends, who think my experiences among the Aborigines, as a "bouri" (boy) as early as 1842, would be interesting, I am thankful that after the laps of 75 years, my memory is good and my readers can rely on the truthfulness of all I heard! (fr279)

that few contemporary writers had his level of knowledge about any Aboriginal language. Secondly, he believed that Aboriginal people were so affected by contact with non-Aboriginal people that by the early twentieth century there were very few speakers who knew all the vocabulary available to people in the past. He also claimed that those people would not admit that they were ignorant of the full repertoire of their language prior to colonisation (pp70-71, fr 279).

Mitchell wrote the following notes about the Wiradhuri people with whom he was raised.

> The "Woradgery" or Weri-ari tribe that roamed the country between the Hume or Murray River and the Murrumbidgee in thousands, were not a savage or treacherous race and yielded readily to kindly and tactful treatment, but were a source of considerable trouble to the early pioneers. They were forbidden to carry firearms when visiting any of the Stations but still the Mitchell's "Thurgoona Station" (now Hawkesview) the Dight's "Bungowannah", the Huon's "Wodonga", and the Ebden's "Bomegilla Park" and others had to be persistently watchful and firm in dealing with them. The fine fertile river flats were then covered in parts with a rank growth of rushes. Some of the best grazing land was cropped with rushes and reeds which grew to a height of 8 to 10ft. When the mood took them, the Blacks would, spear the stock from the cover of these rushes, and on account of the cover afforded them, very little could be done in the way of reprisal. The last of this tribe died on Mitchell Brothers' "Bringenbrong Station" on the Upper Murray where they had been treated with very great kindness...It may be noted as significant considering the popular notion nowadays of the utter worthlessness of the blacks, that the whole of our old pioneers, the men who had come into personal contact with them when the Country was almost still in its primeval state, spoke with more or less affection of the native race - more than one of the white boys of the early days learnt the language of this tribe and spent many days of their time hunting and fishing with them, and obtaining a knowledge of their tribal habits, etc. - they had great influence over the blacks and so suffered but little from their raids. (p237)

7.3.1.2 Arthur Andrews

Dr Arthur Andrews was the government medical officer in Albury, from 1876 until 1919. Through his long association with the district he developed an interest in its history. He wrote a book chronicling the early development of the pastoral industry in the Murrumbidgee district (Andrews 1920). His sources were Government and other published records and the oral, manuscript and published reminiscences of people familiar with the area. The small amount of information about Aboriginal languages

included in the book were credited to Mitchell (7.3.1.1) and Baylis of Wagga Wagga (Andrews 1920:3). The NSW Pidgin data in the book is contained in anecdotes dating from the late 1830s to late 1840s.

7.3.1.3 John Phillips

In 1840, John Phillips arrived in Melbourne from England. He worked for two years in the sheep industry before buying his own flock and heading north in search of land. He settled on Tullarool on the Goulburn River and later on Warbrecan in the Edward River district (Grant 1970:27).

A man named Walker, who was employed by Ben Boyd, guided Phillips to the Edward River. Phillips described Walker as a great success in the colonial frontier situation. He was able to communicate easily with Aboriginal people and understood their lifestyle. Men like Walker were sought out by people who wanted to succeed in the pastoral industry.

> Walker was no ordinary person; being a young man endowed with great gifts of language and locality, and especially of adapting himself to the habits and ways of those he found himself amongst. He had been brought up in the Austrian court as a page, had held a commission in the army, but now felt quite at home amongst the natives in the outlying district of New South Wales; and, from his intimacy with the different tribes of natives, their language, their traditions, songs, &c., and from being able to compete with them in the use of their weapons, throwing the spear and boomerang, swimming and diving, he had acquired a certain ascendancy over them, and, by that means, had ascertained that there were large available runs extending for some hundreds of miles to the west, following the courses of these rivers and creeks. For a small consideration he would show us, as well as others, good and suitable country, where we could locate ourselves... (Phillips 1893:59)

In 1893, Phillips published his memoirs which cover the period 1840-64 and include reminiscences of Aboriginal people he had encountered. He observed that the Aboriginal people local to his Edward River property in New South Wales differed 'in dialect...and in every way' from those of the south (Phillips 1893:78). As a grazier his policy was to allow Aboriginal people free accesses to the land in order to maintain good relations.

> By thus keeping on friendly terms I had acquired, to a certain extent, a knowledge of their language as well as their habits and peculiarities, and found them honest and reliable to a certain degree; very sensitive to ridicule, or indignity, retaliating in a minute, with spear or tomahawk, a blow or even an unjust imputation; but their anger was as quickly appeased as it was raised. (Phillips 1893:72-73)

By the 1850s, when most of the Edward River district was settled the Aboriginal people had begun to adapt to colonisation of their land and became a semi-regular rural labour force.

> The young men of the tribe showing a disposition to enter into the pursuits of the whites in stock-riding, and helping at musters of cattle, and sheep washing, and proving themselves in many instances very efficient hands, being quick and intelligent and fond of riding. (Phillips 1893:73)

7.3.1.4 Alfred Joyce

Alfred Joyce wrote and revised his memoirs between 1897 and 1898 when living in Maryborough, Queensland. Joyce used letters written between 1852 and 1858 as the basis for his narrative, so that the memoirs are a combination of memory and contemporary notes (James 1949:7). He settled in the Loddon district and remained there from the early 1840s to the mid 1860s.

Joyce commented that although he arrived in Melbourne only six years after settlement the numbers of Aboriginal people in evidence had already dwindled.

> I saw but little of the blacks upon my first arrival in the colony except in small groups occasionally in the streets of Melbourne, and during our sojourn at Mt Macedon we saw none at all. They had evidently retreated farther back, and it was not until our settlement in the Loddon district that we became at all intimate with them. (James 1949:84)

> The blacks did not show any signs of serious diminution till the breaking out of the diggings, but their demoralization had been going on all the time previously. Debauchery and drink was doing its work. When bush inns became numerous the blacks congregated about them and took all the drink that was offered them, and purchased it whenever they could get a coin or two by begging or otherwise. All this was bad enough when the white inhabitants were few and far between, but the outbreak of the diggings, with greater temptations and facilities, swept them off rapidly. Often in passing through the diggings township near us, I have seen them squatting about the streets or near the public house... (James 1949:92)

Joyce also made the interesting comment that the language was easier to understand than the pidgin language spoken by Chinese people who came to Port Phillip to work on the goldfields as labourers. His comment suggests that NSW Pidgin was very different to what is usually called Chinese Pidgin English and was imported to Australia by Chinese labourers and gold miners most of whom arrived from the mid nineteenth century forward when NSW Pidgin was already consolidated.

7.3.1.5 John Hinkins

John Hinkins published a book *Life among the native race...* (1884) which contained an account of his 'personal acquaintance with the Aborigines...through an experience of upwards of twenty years, living with one or other of their tribes'. The purpose of the book was 'to refute the statement so frequently brought forward, that they are incapable of receiving instruction' (Hinkins 1884:3). The main part of the book deals with Hinkins' experiences with Aboriginal people on the Lower Murray when he was overseer of Gunbower Station (near Euchuca). His account of life on Gunbower Station contains a substantial record of NSW Pidgin which he used to communicate with the local Aboriginal people. He described the local people as the 'Murray Tribe' and some as 'Loddon River people'.

Hinkins left England in 1825 and after stints in Tasmania and Gippsland, in the mid 1840s, he obtained a position in charge of *Gunbower Station* on the Lower Murray (Hinkins 1884:7, 10, 59). A widower, he had two children, a son he left at school in Melbourne and a daughter, Jenny, he took to the station.

> On reaching the station of "Gunbower," on the Lower Murray, we found a large number of the Aborigines had assembled to meet us, they having heard from the workmen employed on the station that a new "massa", with a white "pickaninny," was about to arrive. (Hinkins 1884:11)

Hinkins claimed that 'upwards of three hundred' Aboriginal people of the 'Murray Tribe' came to see him within a few days of his arrival at Gunbower (Hinkins 1884:12).

One of the Aboriginal men was a tall, impressive man called Najara and whom Hinkins called Cockie (Hinkins 1884:12). Hinkins made friends with the man because he was in an isolated situation and needed an ally and Najara appeared to be a man of influence if only through his powerful physique. Najara and Hinkins developed a good working relationship. Najara was often left in charge of the stores and Jenny when Hinkins was away (Hinkins 1884:14-15). The friendship between Najara and Hinkins surprised many people because Najara was known as a notorious enemy of settlers. One Commissioner of Crown Lands who visited the station claimed he had 'been more than once on the search for this unfortunate savage, to capture or shoot him' (Hinkins 1884:41). To the commissioner's great amazement, Hinkins had Najara join them for breakfast (Hinkins 1884:42).

Hinkins took in an Aboriginal girl from the camp as a companion for Jenny and through their friendship Hinkins' daughter learnt to speak a local Aboriginal language (Hinkins 1884:17). In turn the Aboriginal girl acquired some knowledge of English from Jenny.

> It was very amusing to see them teaching each other their respective languages. They would seat themselves on the ground, and pointing from their toes to their head, tell each other the words of each tongue. In this way my little daughter would go on with her playmate, pointing to everything around and chattering away, and thus she learnt their language so fast that she soon spoke with them quite fluently, and forgot so much of her mother-tongue as to oblige me to shut her away from them for a time, in order that I might teach her again her own language. (Hinkins 1884:17-18)

Hinkins observed his daughter ordering the Aboriginal people around 'she would stamp her little foot and rave at them quite loud in their own language' and to his amazement they cooperated with her demands (Hinkins 1884:18). His daughter and

the Aboriginal people became very close friends and she seemed to prefer their company even to her father's. One day he punished her naughtiness by stripping her of her clothes and telling her to go away and live with the Aboriginal people. He did not expect her elated reaction and had to run after her to prevent her from carrying out his orders (Hinkins 1884:24-5).

The Aboriginal mounted police occasionally camped at the station and one time Hinkins related that they invited the 'Murray Blacks to a corrabbaree' (Hinkins 1884:34). Hinkins and his daughter attended and encouraged the Murray people to give a return corroboree which they did. Hinkin's daughter would have liked to join the children dancing, of whom there were 'rather more than a hundred' (Hinkins 1884:36).

Hinkins developed a good relationship with the Aboriginal people around Gunbower and wrote highly of them.

> In speaking of the Lower Murray blacks generally, I must say, that though they had always borne a very bad name, so much so that it was hard to persuade men to engage as shepherds or stock-keepers in that district, I for my part cannot speak too highly of them during my sojourn among them for two years, but I think it entirely depends upon the way in which they are treated by the whites how they act. (Hinkins 1884:25)

He took the time to socialise with the people and to learn about their lifestyle.

> Of an evening after dark I often, with my little daughter, strolled down to the black's camp to pass an hour away by a chat with them, and at times learnt much of their manners and customs. They were very much pleased with my visits, as they seldom, if ever, ventured out of their mimias after dark, except in a body; and though my child had so much power over them in general, she could never induce them to come up to the hut after sundown. Generally after an excursion from their camp they would come to see me, and seat themselves on the grass in front of the hut in a circle, with my daughter in their midst, when they would tell her everything they had been doing, even to a murder. (Hinkins 1884:42-3)

When, in 1847, the Hinkinses left the station to return to Melbourne the local Aboriginal people were distraught.

> The day we left the Murray was a day of mourning with the Aborigines, and I can never forget the grief depicted on their countenances. They assembled in great numbers, and the wailing and howling of the lubras and pickaninnies, and the cutting and burning of themselves of the men, was grievous to hear and see. (Hinkins 1884:45)

He wrote that they left the Murray with 'feelings of sorrow and compassion for those poor aboriginals we left behind, and among whom we had spent many happy days' (Hinkins 1884:46). They were remembered long after they left because 'eight or nine years' later Hinkins' son visited the district and the people asked after Hinkins and Jenny (Hinkins 1884:46).

The Hinkinses travelled to Melbourne with a bullock dray carrying bales of wool. 'Two black boys from the tribe accompanied the drivers for the purpose of watching the bullocks and searching for them when they strayed' (Hinkins 1884:46). Jenny's affinity with the Aboriginal people was further demonstrated on the trip. When unknown Aboriginal people were encountered during the journey the two men from the Murray would run to Jenny for protection and she 'would shake her little fist and promise them she would beat the other blacks if they came near them, at which the boys seemed perfectly satisfied, feeling themselves quite safe when with her' (Hinkins 1884:46-7). The Aboriginal men 'returned to their tribe when the drays went back with stores for the station' (Hinkins 1884:48).

Hinkins intended to return to England with his two children to give them a good education. However, his former employer persuaded him to remain and put a station in order on the Hopkins River (Hinkins 1884:49).

> At this station I found plenty of aboriginals, but very different from those of the Murray tribe, as the white people had been among them for several years, and they were all addicted to drinking, and had a cunningness about them very difficult to deal with...I found these blacks more difficult to manage than those of the Murray tribe, and I had to keep a strict hand over them. They were very fond of "grog," which the Murray tribe would not touch in my time among them. (Hinkins 1884:49-50)

After a few months on the Hopkins, Hinkins returned to Melbourne again planning to return to England. However, in 1848 he married and in 1849 'was appointed first master of the Collingwood Church of England Schools, and so began life afresh as a teacher' (Hinkins 1884:53). In 1850 he was sent to Pentridge (now Coburg) 'to open the first public school in that district in connection with the Church of England' (Hinkins 1884:53).

In January 1851 the Hinkinses adopted two Aboriginal children Harry and Tommy, sons of the deceased Bungeelenee 'Chief of the Gippsland tribe'. They were the last remaining children in the Merri Creek Institution before it was disbanded[181]. Hinkins wrote that the boys spoke English and the evidence from Lucy Edgar, who knew them at Merri Creek, demonstrates that they spoke NSW Pidgin. The children may have used English when in an English speaking context and NSW Pidgin with Aboriginal people. The boys were to remain with the Hinkinses until they were old enough to be apprenticed at which time the government would resume their total care.

In late 1851 Hinkins moved to a school at Pascoevale which he left in November 1853 and went to Moonee Ponds (Hinkins 1884:57-58). In early 1855, he opened a Church of England school at Moonee Ponds on a government grant.

7.3.1.6 Richard Tester

Richard Tester was an emigrant from England who travelled to South Australia where he worked as a labourer and shingle splitter. In 1851 he travelled overland from Kerkaraboo in South Australia to Melbourne to join the gold rush in Victoria. During his journey he travelled along the Murray River and stopped with various settlers and stockkeepers. Either during the trip or shortly afterwards he wrote a narrative of the trip called *Wombat Valley* (Tester 1851) which contains NSW Pidgin data.

---

[181]He was the 'Hinkins' referred to by Lucy Edgar (7.3.2.1).

7.3.1.7 James Kirby

In 1895 James Kirby published his memoirs of settling in northern Victoria in the 1840s. He arrived in Australia in 1829, when his father who was a 'gentleman farmer' in Northamptonshire, England, emigrated with his family to Australia they settled initially in Melbourne. In about 1842 the family took up a run near Swan Hill on Major Mitchell's line (Kirby 1895:17). They were amongst the earliest settlers on the Murray river. Kirby observed that the first squatters were nearly all young 'gentlemen' bachelors. They were followed later by shepherds and rural labourers who had made some money, acquired stock and needed a run (Kirby 1895:156).

The Kirbys encountered Aboriginal people as soon as they arrived on their property. Kirby wrote '...we saw a number of blacks there, so we went to the bank of the river and spoke to them, but found they could not understand one word we said' (Kirby 1895:29). Both peoples persisted in attempting to communicate with each other. At first they relied on gesture and simple trade interactions such as fish offered by the Aboriginal people in exchange for damper offered by the Kirbys. The Aboriginal people did not know what damper was which suggests they had no previous contact with non-Aboriginal people. Damper was one of the first items offered in all contacts between Aboriginal people and colonists (Kirby 1895:30-31). The Aboriginal people waved green boughs and called out *cum-a-thunga* to the Kirbys which was taken to be a sign of welcome (Kirby 1895:32).

The Kirbys established a good relationship with the local people within a few weeks and with sustained contact communication became more effective. A mutual exchange of vocabulary took place which, coupled with non-verbal techniques, created a jargon used by the Aboriginal people and the Kirbys in their attempts to communicate.

> The blacks used to come to our hut every day now, and we were beginning to make ourselves better understood. We picked up a few words of their tongue, and they did the same with ours; and with these accomplishments, coupled with

> signs and gestures, we could to a certain extent understand each other. Very few of these blacks had ever seen a white man before; we found however that some of them had seen the white men belonging to Major Mitchell's exploring party, but the majority had not seen any whites until they saw us. (Kirby 1895:34-35)

The Aboriginal Protector arrived six months after the Kirbys had established their run and brought with him two police troopers as a body guard and an Aboriginal interpreter (Kirby 1895:48).

> He said something to the interpreter, who said something to the blacks, which, of course, they did not understand, nor was it at all likely that they would, as he ought to have known, for throughout the Colony the blacks have different dialects, even within a distance of ten or fifteen miles... (Kirby 1895:50)

The Protector ordered a bullock killed for the Aboriginal people and made a speech to them about peace between them and the settlers which even the interpreter did not understand. Afterwards, the local people expected that a bullock would be supplied to them on demand and were very angry when they discovered that the Kirbys would not comply with their wishes. The previously good relationship between the local Aboriginal population and the Kirbys was seriously damaged as a result of the Protector's misinformed actions (Kirby 1895:50-53). Aboriginal people from Lake Boga attacked and killed the Kirby's employee, Andrew Beveridge, even though his Aboriginal namesake, Mr Beveridge, attempted to save him (Kirby 1895:59). They began to spear stock and worry the Kirbys. At the time 'the boundary line was not run between...South Australia and Port Phillip' and when the Kirbys applied to Melbourne for protection they were referred to Adelaide which referred them back again. Ultimately they received no help and were forced to cope with the hostilities alone (Kirby 1895:82).

7.3.1.8 Edward Micklethwaite Curr

Edward Curr was born in Hobart and educated in England and France. In 1839 he moved to Melbourne when the pastoral expansion north was well underway. He first took up a run close to Melbourne just north of the range and later moved closer to the

Murray River. His station, Tongala, covered twenty eight thousand acres of the Goulburn River district. Curr was welcomed by the local Aboriginal people and by his own account established a good relationship with the people. Curr studied the people when he could, collecting artefacts and information about their cultures and languages. He made a great contribution to Australian anthropology and linguistics when he published the results of his research in a four-volume work (Curr 1886).

7.3.2 Southern Port Phillip

7.3.2.1 Lucy Anna Edgar

Lucy Edgar's publication *Among the black boys...* (1865) contains a large amount of NSW Pidgin data of the Melbourne district in the mid nineteenth century (20:1-114). In 1848, Lucy Edgar's father was appointed Superintendent of the Merri Creek Aboriginal Institution near Melbourne (Edgar 1865:1). The purpose of the institution was to Christianise Aboriginal children and provide them with an English education. By 1849 the children who were given daily lessons in a schoolroom were reported to 'all read tolerably' and 'write in large bold characters' (Edgar 1865:15). One of the boys, Gurrenboop, was from the Aboriginal people of Melbourne. Three other boys Charley, Jackey, and Little Jemmy were brought from Gippsland by bullock drivers. They had arrived first at the Dandenong Creek, where there was a native police station en route between Gippsland and Melbourne. Two others, Big Jemmy and Tommy were brought from Port Fairy also by bullock drivers.

The Edgar's took in the wife of an Aboriginal man called Bungaleenee who died while held prisoner in Dandenong Police Station (Edgar 1865:37). The woman had a small child of five or six and a baby. As soon as they arrived at Merri Creek Lucy's mother renamed the woman 'Kitty'. She also renamed the child and dressed them both in clothes. Kitty would not let her change the name of the baby (Edgar 1865:38-39). She then proceeded to teach Kitty to be a domestic help, to read, write and sew. Kitty was deemed to be 'docile' but 'dreadfully stupid'. She was probably regarded

as stupid because when she came to live with the Edgars they could not speak her language and she knew very little English. Kitty cooperated with the Edgars and 'scarcely ever sulked'. However, she was never enthusiastic about being a domestic and being dictated to by Mrs Edgar about the rearing of her children (Edgar 1865:40).

One of the Aboriginal youths, Charley, resented Kitty and her children because he regarded her as very Aboriginal and unaffected by colonial culture. He looked down on people who were Aboriginal and aspired to being fully incorporated into colonial society and wanted to divest himself of all aspects of his Aboriginality (Edgar 1865:40-42). As the domestic help, Kitty was given charge of the kitchen and had her bed in one corner. This was also resented by Charley and possibly by the other men who regarded the kitchen as their haven. Charley could not bear to be seen in public with Kitty and called her 'the ugly black lubra'. He was so resentful of her status in the Edgar household and the constant reminder she provided of his own Aboriginality that he persecuted her and her children at every chance. He in turn was punished by Mr Edgar for his actions.

Charley's resentment of Kitty demonstrates the prejudices which were created in the minds of Aboriginal people towards other Aboriginal people through their incorporation into colonial society. Aboriginal people who lived in colonial society were, to varying degrees, made to feel ashamed of their Aboriginality and in the process rejected other Aboriginal people whom they regarded as more Aboriginal than themselves. One of the means by which Aboriginal people who had embraced colonial culture identified themselves was through speaking English. For example, Charley aimed to speak English and dropped his use of NSW Pidgin whenever possible (20:15). However, 'the other boys rested satisfied with their own tongue, and never attempted to improve their broken English' (20:15).

Three Aboriginal men 'from the district of Warnambool' joined the Merri Creek institution in 1849 (Edgar 1865:48, 54).

> One was a tall fellow, the other two younger and smaller, but all three equal adepts in the art of "gammoning" and duplicity. They had been hanging about white men's huts, and picked up, with the English language, many low and disreputable ways...The tall lad bore a curious name, that of "Tar-Bucket," which he said some sailors had given him...The other two were called Peter and John... (Edgar 1865:48)

They only stayed three weeks before absconding with a bullock-driver to return to Tar-Bucket's own country' (Edgar 1865:51). Lucy commented that Aboriginal men and bullock-drivers 'were always on intimate terms'. Aboriginal men saw the bullockies as 'their best protection in travelling through the bush, and claimed their acquaintance accordingly; and the men themselves were nothing loath to beguile their tedious journies with the sprightly and comical conversation of a native lad' (Edgar 1865:51).

The Edgars observed considerable ongoing tension between Aboriginal people who were not colonialised and people such as those at the institution (Edgar 1865:88-89). The people who had not joined the settlements maintained pressure on people who had to return to their country. For example, when Kitty married Little Jemmy (who was by then Jemmy White) her people continually visited her and attempted to coax her into returning to the bush with them (Edgar 1865:85-88). Although she did not give in to their demands they made her very unsettled (Edgar 1865:88). An Aboriginal man called Wyredulong, from Melbourne, and described by Edgar as an 'arch traitor' (Edgar 1865:55) used to visit Merri Creek in order to obtain tobacco and encourage the men to return to the bush with him (Edgar 1865:55-56). Gurrenboop had been a companion of Wyredulong and was most disrupted by the man's visit. Lucy said he would sulk for days after Wyredulong left (Edgar 1865:56). Wyredulong succeeded in luring away Big Tommy whom he subsequently murdered (Edgar 1865:66-68).

Charley was eventually apprenticed to a tailor in Melbourne and pursued his dream of becoming a gentleman. In 1851 he and another youth, Jackey Warren, joined the

Native Police (Edgar 1865:110). In 1850 the other men, including Kitty's husband returned to their people (Edgar 1865:100-101). However, Kitty's children had grown up at Merri Creek and, according to Edgar, were afraid of Aboriginal people who were not colonialised (Edgar 1865:102). Therefore, when their mother left Merri Creek to rejoin her people the children, Harry and Tommy Bungaleenee, were left with the Edgars. Edgar claimed that the children did not miss their mother because they regarded her as a 'wild black fellar' and 'consequently was regarded with a feeling somewhat akin to fear' (Edgar 1865:104). The board of directors believed there was no justification for maintaining the Merri Creek Aboriginal Institution with only two small children benefiting, so the mission was dissolved and the Edgars returned to Hobart in 1851.

The Edgars planned to take Harry and Tommy to Hobart. However, a government ban on removing Aboriginal people from one colony to another forced the Edgars to leave the children in the care of the Hinkins family (see 7.3.1.5) who ran a school at Moonee Ponds (Edgar 1865:107-108, 115). Harry died in 1856. Tommy continually absconded from the Hinkenses. In 1858, at Hinkins' request, Tommy was placed by the Government, for a sobering experience, on the war sloop *Victoria*. After the government believed he was reformed, Tommy went to work for the Crown Lands Office where he learnt cartography and was described as skilled in writing and arithmetic. Tommy died in 1865 (Edgar 1865:111-115, Hinkins 1884:62-76).

7.3.2.2 George Henry Haydon

George Haydon's publications are set in and around Melbourne and at Westernport in the early mid nineteenth century. The first book *Five years experience in Australia Felix...* (1846) was a factual account of his life in Victoria, while the second book *The Australian emigrant...* (1854) was a combination of experience and imagination. Both works contain NSW Pidgin data.

In the first publication Haydon included his observations of the Aboriginal people he had encountered and demonstrated an interest in their language.

> It would be difficult to arrive at any safe conclusion with regard to their language, as to whether it approaches any known tongue, for the dialects are as numerous as the tribes themselves, the difference between many being so great as to warrant their being considered as separate and distinct. Every dialect abounds with vowels and liquids – the sound being soft and labial. (Haydon 1846:105)

On his expedition through Gippsland Haydon took guides from Melbourne and Westernport. He commented that they had a knowledge of English that 'allowed them to understand the greater part of what was said' to them in English (Haydon 1846:122).

7.3.2.3 John Pettit

John Pettit wrote a series of letters to his father in England between 1852 and 1868 and related his experiences in Victoria (Pettit 1852-68). During that time he itinerated through the colony and spent some time on the goldfields. In his travels he encountered a number of Aboriginal people and made some comment about them in his letters. He noted that around Melbourne in the early 1850s there were very few Aboriginal people.

With his letters, Pettit also sent a vocabulary compiled from Aboriginal languages with which he claims to have been familiar.

> Thinking it might prove interesting I have written down and enclosed a few native words and names which I have picked up at different times - generally speaking the language is soft and musical...The words do not all belong to the same tribe and there is of course as much difference amongst them as between Galbre and Soushron. (Pettit, Sale, late 1850s, fr264[182])

He recorded vocabularies from the languages of of the 'Omeo Tribe' (frs152-53), 'Worradyeree' which was Wiradhuri (fr 153) and the 'Gippsland Tribe' (fr 154-57). He made a list of place names (fr 157) and a human personal names (fr159) both

[182]'fr' refers to the frame number on the microfilm of the Pettit manuscript (Pettit 1852-68).

without translations, and an unnamed vocabulary (frs158-59) which contains the 'Worradyeree' list and therefore appears to be an expanded version of the earlier list.

Pettit made an important observation in connection with the list of words he attributed to Wiradhuri (fr153). He claimed the language was 'a corruption of languages understood by the tribes generally'. His claim indicates that, at least by the 1850s, Wiradhuri had become the language commonly regarded by the colonists as an Aboriginal lingua franca. His short vocabulary of Wiradhuri appears to be a NSW Pidgin wordlist because it contains items which were well-established as part of the lexicon of NSW Pidgin and includes items which do not belong to the lexicon of Wiradhuri.

Pettit made another very important comment that NSW Pidgin, which he called 'broken English', was commonly used between Aboriginal people and colonists.

> It is a very common error amongst us to take broken English to all who speak another tongue - That is the case with the Natives of this country, who not being over bright the result has been the most absurd mixture you can imagine. (Pettit, Sale, late 1850s, fr264)

7.3.2.4 McCrae family

The data from the McCrae family comes from the published section of the journal of Georgiana Huntly McCrae dating from 1838 to 1846 which also contains a fragment of a diary kept by George Gordon McCrae between 1846 and 1847. The publication was edited in 1934 by Georgiana's grandson Hugh McCrae (McCrae 1966) and some of his notes also contain NSW Pidgin data.

In 1841, Georgiana and her children emigrated from London to Melbourne following her husband who migrated in 1839 (McCrae 1966:xv). They arrived when Melbourne was being established and had a population of about five to six thousand (McCrae 1966:23). The McCraes lived at Mayfield in Melbourne until 1844 when

they moved to a property called Arthur's Seat on the Mornington Peninsula. In spite of the regular contact the McCraes had with Aboriginal people at both Mayfield and Arthur's Seat the book is not rich in references to Aboriginal people or NSW Pidgin.

7.4 LINGUISTIC EVIDENCE

7.4.1 Introduction

The contact language data from Port Phillip is very similar to that recorded elsewhere in NSW which suggests a continuity of development. However, there are several new lexical items which are peculiar to the Port Phillip district and suggest some regional variation (see 7.4.3.1).

7.4.2 Orthography

As discussed in previous chapters, English borrowings into NSW Pidgin underwent some changes. Two Port Phillip sources made direct comment on pronunciation. John Mitchell commented that 'there is no V or Z in the Aboriginal language' (17:55) and that 'all Aboriginal words are soft' (17:56). Henry Haydon wrote that 'the Australian natives having no sound of s in their language, find it almost impossible to overcome the pronunciation of it in another. If a Port Phillip black fellow is told to say "split sixpence," he emits a spluttering sound resembling tplit tickpent–e' (20:127). He gave another example of an Aboriginal person attempting to pronounce the name 'Slinger' and producing 'Tclinger – Mitter Tclinger...in a vain effort to pronounce the s, and producing a sound something between a sneeze and a cough' (20:126). One pronunciation of 'master' was recorded as *mar mar atta* (17:137) which also suggests the difficulty Aboriginal speakers had with sibilants.

Interestingly, some sources recorded that the interdental fricatives became sibilants[183], for example, 'without' became *wisout* (20:85) and 'thousand' became

[183] Aboriginal speakers were also observed to have acquired sibilants at Port Stephens (see Appendix 22 section 1).

sousan (17:23). This in spite of the kind of comments given above which indicate that sibilants were foreign to Aboriginal speakers.

Bilabial stops replaced labio-dental dental fricatives. For example, English 'fellow' borrowed into NSW Pidgin was often written with the initial 'f' replaced with 'p'—*p'fellar* (20:172, 20:177), *pella* (17:125, 16:9), *phellow* (17:89). This occurred again in 'father' which was written *pather* (17:125). 'F' was occasionally replaced with 'b' as in the borrowing of 'flour' which became *blour* (16:80). Initial or medially 'v' was replaced with 'b'—'devil devil' became *debil debil* (15:5), *debble-debble* (20:45, 16:107), *Dibble-dibble* (20:173), 'government' became *gubmint* (17:133), 'give' became *gib* (16:4), 'have' became *hab* (16:70) and 'overseer' became *oberchia* (17:130).

Interdental fricatives were usually replaced with dental stops. For example, 'th' was often written as 'd'— 'that' became *dat* (17:125, 16:33), 'the' became *de* (16:74) and 'this' became *dis* (16:33, 16:69).

John Mitchell observed that pharyngeal 'h' could become velar 'g', for example, in the change from 'hungry' to *gun-garry* (17:42).

Some sources observed the dropping of vowels and consonants—'asylum' became *'sylum* (20:59), 'every' became *ev'ey* (20:9, 20:27),'enough' became *eno'* (20:74), 'directly' became *d'reckly* (16:76), 'hear him' became *air-im* (17:124), 'sleep' became *'leep* (16:68), 'old' became *ole* (17:129, 17:126) and 'only' became *on'y* (16:86).

Aside from dropping, there is some evidence that Aboriginal speakers added consonants, often semivowels, to words borrowed from English which had initial vowels. For example, 'all' gained initial semivowel 'w' to become *wall* (14:5).

Tester wrote a couple of borrowings from English to NSW Pidgin with a terminal high front vowel 'i' which is reminiscent of Chinese Pidgin English. The items were *bullaky* 'beef' from bullock (16:4) and *kicky out* meaning 'to kick out' (16:1). No other source in Port Phillip recorded this phenomena. However, NSW Pidgin data from South Australia also contains terminal 'i'. For example, Christina Smith's book about her time as a missionary amongst the 'Booandik Tribe' in South Australia contains the item *bullocky* again meaning 'beef' (Smith 1880:53). It is very likely that Tester had acquired a regional feature of NSW Pidgin during his time in South Australia.

Edgar commented that the speech of Aboriginal people was different to any she had ever heard before coming to Australia (20:1). She was very conscious that Aboriginal speakers of NSW Pidgin used vowel lengthening as an intensifying strategy (20:1). For example, **plenti** was written either *planty*, *plaanty* or *plaaanty* (20:1) depending on the quantity. **Yes** could be just *yas* (20:52) or more emphatically *yaas* (20:83).

7.4.3 Grammar and lexicon

7.4.3.1 Lexicon[184]

Seven new words clearly identify NSW Pidgin of the Port Phillip district. The words replace items used elsewhere in NSW (Table 21).

[184]A possible source of lexical borrowings into NSW Pidgin from English was through the acquisition of English names by Aboriginal people. There is evidence that Aboriginal people in Port Phillip liked to acquire English names. This practice and the exchange of names between people was noted in previous chapters for other areas of NSW (see for example 2.2.6.3). For example, Kirby commented on Aboriginal people asking settlers to give them English names—'When we first came in contact with the blacks, and as soon as we could understand each other a little, their chief wish seemed to be for us to give them names, and for some time a mob of six to a dozen a day would come to our hut to be named...They got so numerous at last that all the names, such as Jacky, Bobby, Charley, Tommy, Dicky, &c. became exhausted, and we had to resort to some of a more aristocratic sound, such as Sir Robert Peel' (Kirby 1895:77).

TABLE 21: Port Phillip lexicon

LEXICON	REPLACES	MEANING
lubra	**gin**	woman or wife
maiamaia	**gunya**	temporary dwelling made by Aboriginal people, occasionally applied to dwellings made by colonists
borak	**bel**	a general negative
merijig	**budjari**	good
gudwan	**budjari**	good
bigwan	**kabon**	a general intensifier meaning 'great, big, extensive or excessive'
pulawei	**go, yanawei**	leave

These new lexical items are discussed separately below (7.4.3.1.1-7.4.3.1.6). Joyce also noted that in Port Phillip Aboriginal people did not use 'cooee!' as their call to each other but rather 'a sharp aspirate 'wah!'. He claimed that he 'never at any time heard them "coo-ee", that was a white fellow's call' (15:5).

Once again nominal phrases were used to create single lexical items. For example, **gotonwaitnaitkap** 'snow-covered', **bulokdraiva** 'bullock driver' and an old man was referred to by a euphemism meaning 'white haired' which was **kobera laikit flauabag** or 'head like a flour bag'. There is also some more evidence for the use of compounding to create new lexical items (see 7.4.3.3).

New lexical items are also created by improvisation. For example, some Aboriginal men near Melbourne, when first encountering a piano called it **jiuzap** from 'Jew's harp'. The Jew's harp was the only musical instrument of the colonists with which the people were familiar (20:3).

7.4.3.1.1 *lubra*

The etymology of **lubra** is not clear. It is definitely a borrowing from an Aboriginal language and is most likely to belong to a south-eastern Australian or Tasmanian language. It may have been both a Victorian and a Tasmanian word.

In the early 1840s, James Graham wrote that *lubra* was 'Kuntungera dialect for gin or woman' (8:51). He was referring to the language 'Gandangara' which was spoken in western Sydney along the Hawkesbury River to Camden and was also recorded at Goulburn and Berrima (Oates and Oates 1970:141). Graham may have been mistaken about the name of the language because at the time of his writing he was in contact with people he called 'the Snowy Mountains' blacks' who lived near the Mitta Mitta River (8:50). According to Mathews, who wrote a short description of the language in the late nineteenth century, the Gandangara word for woman is *bullan* (Mathews 1901:144). Hercus noted that *balan* is also the word for 'woman' in southern Ngarigu a language of the lower Murray including the Mitta Mitta River belonging to the Yuin group (Hercus 1986:291).

The *AND* states that **lubra** was borrowed into Australian English from a south-eastern Tasmanian Aboriginal word *lubara* meaning 'Aboriginal woman'. The *AND* etymology is based on the earliest use of the word in print which was by George Augustus Robinson, in 1829, when he recorded a sentence said to him by an Aboriginal man 'leuberer lowgerner unnee (his wife asleep by the fire)'. The citation is from Nigel Plomley's publication of Robinson's manuscripts (Plomley 1966, cited in *AND*). However, Plomley also compiled a word-list of the Tasmanian Aboriginal languages from all the known sources and did not find any evidence to warrant including 'the Australian aboriginal word lubra' in his list evidently discounting the Robinson citation (Plomley 1976:474). His list of words for 'woman' (Plomley 1974:470-475) does not contain any item similar to **lubra**. Plomley commented that 'as a result of contacts with Australian aborigines (some were sent to Tasmania from New South Wales as convicts) there are likely to have been adoptions of Australian words...use of the words lubra and picaninny is more likely to have come through Europeans than directly' (Plomley 1974:xiv).

A comment by Robert Brough Smyth in the late nineteenth century supports Plomley's claim.

> The lingua franca...as spoken at Flinders Island is a mixture of English words from the different tribes, and a number of words from the New Holland tribes, and even from other countries; these last have been introduced by the women, Aborigines of Van Diemen's Land, who have lived for many years with sealers, and been with them to the continent; even negro words have been introduced. (Smyth, vol 2, 1878:409)

Smyth also wrote that in the early 1860s he 'obtained from a number of gentlemen resident in Victoria short vocabularies of the language spoken in their several localities' (Smyth, vol 2, 1878:8). Lubra 'woman' was recorded at Gunbower near Mt Hope on the Murray River by George Hurston the Aboriginal Guardian at Gunbower Station (Smyth, vol 2, 1878:70). It was also recorded at Wickliffe in the Western District of Victoria by Charles Grey the Aboriginal Guardian at Nareeb Nareeb (Smyth, vol 2, 1878:12).

Mathews suggested that the Victorian and Tasmanian words for woman were the same (Mathews 1889:364). He gave the Tasmanian variants as *lowa*, *loa*, and the Victorian variants as *loalla* and *liou*, *laua* (Gippsland), *leeyor*, *leirock*, *layarook*, *loangko* (Lower Murray) (Mathews 1889:365).

> It might at first sight be doubted whether the common Victorian word 'layarook' or 'lyarook' and other variants is the same as the general Tasmanian word 'lowa,' both sets of words meaning woman or black woman, but fortunately the Victorian word has retained the form 'laua' in Gippsland which being phonetically identical with the Tasmanian word establishes beyond the possibility of a doubt, the fact that the words for woman (sometimes wife) in both languages are the same. (Mathews 1889:364)

In her recent survey of Victorian languages Hercus (1986) found a number of variants for 'woman' including *laiurg*, *leurg*, *lerg*, *laiur* and *layurg* (Hercus 1986:291).

7.4.3.1.2 *maiamaia*

Hercus found the word *mai-mai* 'camp' in the Ganai language of Gippsland and in southern Ngarigu where she suggested it was a borrowing (Hercus 1986:256). The

AND lists 'mia-mia, a temporary shelter of the Aborigines a word from the Wathawurung and Wuyuwurung languages miam miam'. Both are southern Victorian languages. John Mitchell also noted the word amongst his lists, 'Gunyah, miami - (Vic) means a camp' (17:46).

7.4.3.1.3 *borak*

The *AND* lists *borak* as a word borrowed from the Wathawurung language of the Geelong region in Victoria into 'Australian pidgin used, like *baal*, to express negation'. In Wathawurung the item is *burag* 'no, not'.

7.4.3.1.4 *merijig*

The *AND* lists *merryjig* 'very good' and claims it to be an item of 'Australian pidgin' borrowed from Wathawurung *mirijig*. Edgar commented on **kabon** as an unusual variant of **merijig** in the Melbourne area.

> This word carbon was a favourite of Jackey's, which we had almost forgotten until the repetition of this conversation brought it to our remembrance. It was a variation of the native word "merr-jig," but was somewhat more emphatic. It comprised the extremest heights of goodness. (20:114)

Hinkins also observed the use of **merijig**.

> I soon became very much attached to him, and he apparently to me, as he often repeated "Merri-jig John," by which he meant he liked me, they using the word "merri-jig" for everything that pleased them. (Hinkins 1884:13)

7.4.3.1.5 *gudwan* and *bigwan*

Gudwan 'good' and **bigwan** 'big, great, far, important' are items created with the productive processes of NSW Pidgin which in Port Phillip almost replaced **budjari** 'good' and **kabon** or **marri** 'big, great, far, important'. **Merijig** (see 7.4.3.1.4) was an alternative form for **gudwan** but there was no Aboriginal borrowing in the Port Phillip data which was a variant of **bigwan**.

boodgerie **budjari** 'good', *cooler* **kula** 'angry', *narrang* **narang** 'little', *cubbon* **kabon** 'large', *mundoe* **mandowi** 'feet', *waddie* **wadi** 'wooden', *budyal* **badjel** 'sick', *bingie* **bengi** 'belly'; (b) Port Phillip area:- *beeguong* **biguong** 'liar', *burra burn* **bara bari** 'be quick' **(JFH** Mitchell says Wiradhuri), *heelamun* **hilaman** 'shield', *xvonga xvonga* **wongawonga** 'blue pigeon', *muttong* **matong** 'strong', *kurango* **kurango** 'no', *bungexvork* **banjiwok** 'boot'.

7.4.3.2 Morphology

The morphology of the data from Port Phillip does not contain any new features. However, the suffix **-wan** which, in comparison with the other form **-fela,** was poorly attested in the data from elsewhere in NSW is well attested in the data from Port Phillip. Of the transitivising suffixes, **-it** and **-m,** the most frequently attested form is **-im.** There is also a slight suggestion of a new form for the transitiviser **-dat.**

There are some reduplicated items and, once again, reduplication indicates intensification, for example, **fafaawei** 'a very long distance away'. In the Port Phillip data reduplication is also used onomatopaeically, for example, **babilbabil** 'to boil' and **bangbang** 'the sound of a double barrelled gun being fired'.

7.4.3.3 Nouns

Nouns in the Port Phillip data are formed using the processes already established for NSW Pidgin. The nominalising suffixes **-fela** and **-wan** are equally well attested. They are again both unmarked for number or gender. Both the nominalisers convert:-

(a) English attributive adjectives into nouns , for example, **bigwan** 'big one', **olfela** 'old one', **pofela** 'pitiful one', **gudwan** 'good one'.

(b) English demonstrative adjectives 'that', 'this' and 'another/other' into demonstrative pronouns **datwan, datfela, diswan, disfela, nadawan, nadafela.** In this data **nadawan** also function as an attributive adjective (554).

(c) **-Wan** also suffixes to the interrogative 'which' to create interrogative determiner **witjwan** 'which'.

Once again, by conversion, compound nouns created with **-fela** and **-wan** also act as adjectives modifying a head noun to create new compounds, for example, **bigwan gabana** 'head governor' and **yangfelagan** 'handgun'. In this function **-wan** is the preferred form in the Port Phillip data because more items are produced using it as a productive suffix than are attested with **-fela**.

There are two instances in which both suffixes occur in the one item **waitwanfela** 'non-Aboriginal person' literally 'the white one' and **gudwanfela** 'the good one'. The use of both nominalisers possibly functioned to emphasise the quality of the head noun. Crowley noted that in modern Bislama there is an increasing tendency for speakers to suffix both *-fala* and *-wan* to a root 'to derive a noun with a referent that is especially characterised by the quality of the root' (Crowley 1990b:21). In Bislama *-fala* precedes *-wan* which is the reverse of this example from NSW Pidgin.

Edgar observed that the Aboriginal people she was familiar with near Melbourne habitually used 'fellow' as a general referent for people. The Edgars attempted to instil into the men that in English 'fellow' was generally not appropriate as a term of address and incorrect when used to refer to women as it carried the meaning 'male'. However, the men continued to use the form because it was a very salient and productive part of NSW Pidgin. Considerable misunderstanding occurred when English speaking people misunderstood the function of **-fela** in NSW Pidgin (see, for example, 20:14).

7.4.3.3.1 Determiners

The Port Phillip data contain a similar range of determiners to those previously attested. The data also contain further evidence for the interrogative determiner

witjwan 'which'. This form was first apparent in the data from Bathurst and the inland districts (5.5.3.3.1).

In the Port Phillip data there is evidence for three articles **a** 'a', **de** 'the' and **ol/olabaut** 'all' (Table 22). The articles are well attested in the Melbourne data and less well attested elsewhere in Port Phillip.

TABLE 22: Port Phillip articles

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
DEFINITE	**de** (460, 453)	
INDEFINITE	**a** (465)	
GENERIC		**ol** (473-77), **olabaut** (478, 479)

The definite article **de** 'the' is attested several times in the Melbourne data (460-63) but only occurs once elsewhere (464). The other attestation is from the northern Port Phillip area where it occurs in a sentence attributed to a colonist.

(460) *Me never go back to the bush.* (20:78)
mi neva go bak tu de bush
I will never return to the bush.

(461) *By gar, I believe that paring (trail) belongs to the devil.* (20:121)
baiga aibliv dat paring blongentu de devil
By God, I believe that is the trail of the devil.

(462) *Oh, gammon! white fellow – look at the bags...* (20:122)
o gamon waitfela luk at de bagz
Oh, nonsense! Non-Aboriginal person look at the bags.

(463) *The bush better than house, plenty of grub good as mutton.* (20:196)
de bush beta dan haus plenti of grab gud az maton
The bush is better than a house, (there is) plenty of food as good as mutton.

(464) *bimballaly de pipe* (16:74)
bimbalali de paip
steal the pipe

The indefinite article **a** 'a' (465-67) is also attested almost exclusively in the Melbourne data. There is only one example from northern Port Phillip (468).

(465) *Him think him bullock a horse!* (20:37)
him tinkim bulok a hos
He thinks the bullock is a horse.

(466) *A beeg one gentleman!* (20:25)
a bigwan jentilman
A great gentleman!

(467) *Buy him a Jew's harp.* (20:34)
baiim a jiuzap
Buy a Jew's harp.

(468) *Neber John tell a lie.* (16:82)
neba Jon tel a lai
John never tells a lie.

A 'a' also appears as part of the fixed collocation 'a bit' and 'a little bit' as it does in English which suggests it was borrowed as a whole (469-72).

(469) *have a little bit talk* (20:36)
hav a litlbit tok
have a little talk

(470) *You not wet a bit, Mees Lucy Anna.* (20:61)
yu not wet a bit mis Lusi Ana
You are not a bit wet Miss Lucy Anna.

(471) *you wait a lilly bit* (20:132)
yu wait a liltbit
you wait a little while

(472) *Not a bit bread...Have a bit, meesis?* (20:85)
not a bit bred have a bit misis
Not a bit of bread. Have a bit missis?

The collective article 'all' has two forms **ol** (473-77) and **olabaut** (478-79) both of which are distributed throughout Port Phillip. This form can also be analysed as a pluraliser or pronoun 'they' (see for example 475 where **ol** could be 'they').

(473) *all blackfellows round about* (20:171)
ol blakfela raundabaut
all Aboriginal people everywhere

(474) *all big one water* (20:201)
ol bigwan wota
all the huge mass of water

(475) *blackfellow all like o dat* (17:87)
blakfela ol laikit dat
all Aboriginal people are like that

(476) *all tumble down* (17:87)
ol tamboldaun
all will die

(477) *all that* (14:1)
ol dat
all that

(478) *shoot 'em all about blackfellows* (16:90)
shutim olabaut blakfela
shoot all the Aboriginal people

(479) *I believe that fellow directly shootum all about blackfellow!* (17:122)
aibliv datfela dairekli shutim olabaut blakfela
I think that one will soon shoot all the Aboriginal people!

The set of demonstrative determiners in the Port Phillip data is quite expanded (Table 23) with four forms fulfilling the functions of singular and plural near and far—**dat** 'that' (477, 480-82) and **dis** 'this' (483, 484), and plural **diz** 'these' (485) which is only attested once. All the forms, excepting **diz**, are well distributed in the Port Phillip.

TABLE 23: Port Phillip demonstrative determiners

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
NEAR	**dis**	**diz**
FAR	**dat**	

(480) *that poor fellow* (17:11)
dat pofela
that poor one

(481) *no good that* (15:16)
nogud dat
that is bad

(482) *you like that* (16:9)
yu laik dat
you like that

(483) *all this mine* (20:154)
ol dis main
all this is mine

(484) *plenty timber this road* (17:137)
plenti timba dis rod
there is plenty of timber on this road

(485) *no more little boys only these* (20:66)
nomo litl boi onli diz
no little boys except these

There are three possessive determiners (Table 24). The first person singular 'my' is attested in two forms **mai** (486-89) and **main** (490-93). **Mai** is the only well-attested item. **Main** 'my' is attested almost exclusively in the data of John Mitchell. **Main** also occurs in the Melbourne data as a demonstrative of possession 'mine' (483). The second person singular or plural 'your' is also attested in two forms **yo** (494, 495) and **yu** (496). **Yo** is only attested in the Melbourne data and **yu** is only attested once in the whole set in the data from the lower Murray River area.

TABLE 24: Port Phillip possessive determiners

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	**mai, main**	
2		**yo, yu**
3		

(486) *my Master* (14:1)
mai masa
my master

(487) *my brother* (16:48)
mai brada
my brother

(488) *my own people* (15:15)
mai oun pipel
my own people

(489) *my pipe* (20:18)
mai paip
my pipe

(490) *mine udthui, marmun-un* (17:87)
main udthu marmunun
my me countryman
my own countryman

(491) *mine-mar-mungun* (17:92)
main marmangan
my countryman

(492) *mine nurmungs* (17:105)
main nermang
my warriors

(493) *your baccy* (20:18)
yo baki
your tobacco

(494) *your mamma* (20:55)
yo mama
your mother

(495) *What you name white pella?* (16:9)
wot yu nem waitfela
What is your name non-Aboriginal person?

Interrogative determiner **witjwan** 'which' occurs only once in the Port Phillip data (496). It also only occurred once in the data from Bathurst and the inland districts.

(496) *Which one you mannum 'bacco or sugar?* (16:80)
witjwan yu manim baka o suga
Which will you take tobacco or sugar?

7.4.3.3.2 Privative

There is only one sentence in the Melbourne data which contains the privative form **gotno** (497). The same form was also found in the data from Port Stephens (4.3.2.4) and the Monaro (6.4.3.3.2).

(497) *Me got none, me gammon.* (20:42)
mi gotno mi gamon
I have none, I lied.

7.4.3.3.3 Number

Edgar commented that, in the 1840s, when her family took over the education of a group of young Aboriginal men near Melbourne they had little knowledge of figures. However, the Edgars taught them the English system of numerification (20:13).

Quantity is indicated in the Port Phillip data with numerals and general quantifiers. Although numbers are infrequently used there is evidence for two cardinal numbers, the variants **wan** (498) and **wanfela** (597) meaning 'one' and **tufela** 'two' (499). This is the first time in the NSW Pidgin data that **-fela** is found suffixed to numerals.

(498) *one cleanskin* (17:129)
wan klinskin
one unbranded beast

(499) *two pella white cow* (17:129)
tufela waitkau
two white cows

There are four general quantifiers. Once again, **plenti** 'many, a lot' (484, 502) is the most commonly occurring item. However, there are also **bigwan** 'a lot' (501) which is only attested once, **litlbit** 'a little' (503, 504) and **tausan** 'a very large number' borrowed from English 'thousand' (500). There is also weak evidence for a fifth general quantifier **greitnamba** 'many' which only occurs once in the Melbourne data (541).

(500) *towsan policemen* (17:122)
tausan polisman
a very large number of policemen

(501) *big one blour* (16:80)
bigwan flaua
a lot of flour

(502) *plenty good one grass* (16:61)
plenti gudwan gras
a lot of good grass

(503) *little bit baccy* (20:12, 69)
litlbit baki
a little tobacco

(504) *Me only got little bit.* (20:18)
mi onli got litlbit
I only have a little.

Plural marking with English '-s' on nominals is once again attested, but not as a productive suffix (505).

(505) *Me tell other little boys.* (20:66)
mi tel ada litlboiz
I told the other little boys.

7.4.3.4 Pronouns

The Port Phillip data contain subject (Table 25), object (Table 26) and reflexive personal pronouns, possessive pronouns, an indefinite pronoun and demonstrative pronouns.

The first person subject personal pronoun **main** 'I', which was apparent in the Bathurst data (5.5.3.4) but not attested elsewhere, is well-attested in the Port Phillip data. However, in the Port Phillip data **main** is only attested as the subject pronoun. The form **mi** is attested as both the subject pronoun 'I' and the object pronoun 'me' and is the most salient form in the data. **Ai** 'I' is a rare form in the data except in the output of Aboriginal people who were approximating more closely to English. As for example, Charley who is discussed above (see 7.3.2.1) and was taught English at the Merri Creek Institution.

Within the corpus of Port Phillip data there is evidence for the borrowing of first and second person pronoun forms from Wiradhuri into NSW Pidgin. However, the data is limited to one source, John Mitchell. As discussed above (7.3.1.1), Mitchell considered himself to be a fluent speaker of Wiradhuri. Therefore, his use of Wiradhuri pronoun forms rather than the more usual NSW Pidgin forms may have been idiosyncratic. However, there is also evidence for the use of Wiradhuri pronouns in the data from the inland district of NSW (5.5.3.4) which suggests that the forms may have become part of NSW Pidgin.

The pronoun forms used by Mitchell can be traced to Wiradhuri free form pronouns as recorded by Günther (1892:67-69) in the 1830s and 1840s. They are also similar to those recorded by Donaldson (1980) in her recent study of Ngiyambaa which is a related language from western NSW. Mitchell generally omitted the initial consonant *ng* in the pronouns. The first person pronoun forms in Mitchell's data are:-

(a) *Udthu* (506) and *udtha* (507), translated by Mitchell as 'myself' (17:91) and 'I' (17:36). The forms are similar to Wiradhuri *gaddu* 'nominative agent "I"' (Günther 1892:67) and Ngiyambaa *ngadhu* 'first singular nominative' (Donaldson 1980:122).

(b) *Udthui* (508) which is similar to Wiradhuri *gaddi* 'first person genetive' (Günther 1892:67) and Ngiyambaa *ngadi* 'first singular oblique' and *ngadhi:-dji* 'first singular oblique plus circumstantive' (Donaldson 1980:122).

(c) *Udthrum* (509) for which no correlates could be found in either Wiradhuri or Ngiyambaa.

(d) *Naal* (506) which is similar to Wiradhuri *ngalli* 'nominative dual pronoun "thou and I"' (Günther 1892:68) and Ngiyambaa *ngali:* 'first dual nominative' (Donaldson 1980:122).

(506) *Baal naal udthu yamble yarra mudgegon.* (17:68)
bel nal adthu yambilyara madjigon
not I I red lie devil
'No said I, I do not tell a lie devil sit down or is present.'[187]

(507) *mittong udtha* (17:36)
mitong adthu
strong I
'Strong I am.'

(508) *Mine udthui, marmun-un.* (17:87)
main adthu marmangan
my my countryman
'Seriously, my countryman.'

(509) *Bael udthrum Yamble.* (17:51)
bel adthu yambil
not I lie
'I do not lie.'

Although it is possible that Mitchell assigned a separate meaning to each of the above variants of the first person pronoun his data is not adequate for a complex analysis. Therefore, in this thesis, the variation is represented with the reference forms **adthu** and **nal** both meaning 'I'.

[187]Mitchell's free translations are in quotation marks.

The second person pronoun forms in Mitchell's data are:-

(a) *Inthu* (510) which is similar to Wiradhuri *gindu* 'nominative agent "thou"' (Günther 1892:67) and Ngiyambaa *ngindu* 'second singular nominative' (Donaldson 1980:122).

(b) *Innu* (511) which is similar to Wiradhuri *ginnu* 'second person genetive' (Günther 1892:67) and Ngiyambaa *nginu:* 'second singular oblique'.

(c) *Inthui* (512) translated by Mitchell as 'yourself' (17:91). Günther offered no similar Wiradhuri item, but Ngiyambaa has *nginu:-dhi* 'second singular oblique plus circumstantive' (Donaldson 1980:122).

(510) *inthu murrumbung goin* (17:87)
inthu marambang goin
you good man
'you are a good man'

(511) *Innu bindigary innu jelar?* (17:68)
inthu bindigari inthu jela
you see you tell
'What did you see describe it, tell me?'

(512) *Inthui bindigary?* (17:92)
inthu bindigari
'You see?'

As with the first person pronouns the data do not permit a complex analysis of the variants. Therefore, in this thesis, the variation is represented with the reference form **inthu** 'you'.

TABLE 25: Port Phillip subject personal pronouns

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1INC	**ai** (513-15), **main** (516-18), **mi** (519-23), **nal** (506), **adthu** (506-9)	**ol** (524)
1EXC		**mi** (525), **wi** (526), **us** (527)
2	**inthu** (510-12), **yu** (528-32)	**yu** (533, 534)
3	**him** (535-537), **hi** (538), **shi** (539)	**him** (540), **dei** (541)

<u>1SG</u>
(513) *I killed him.* (20:22)
ai kilim
I killed him

(514) *I eat 'im boss.* (13:16)
ai itim bos
I ate it, boss.

(515) *I want it Sunday boot.* (17:109)
ai wantit Sandei but
I want the Sunday boots [best boots].

(516) *baal more mine man him* (13:12)
bel mo main manim
no more will I take him

(517) *mine bimballaly handkerchief, chain, and dog* (16:76)
main bimbalali hanketjif tjen an dog
I stole the handkerchief, chain and dog

(518) *mine been put on wrong fellow Bungywalk* (17:108)
main bin puton rongfela banjiwok
I put on the wrong boot

(519) *Me tell other little boys.* (20:66)
mi tel ada litlboi
I told the other little boys.

(520) *Me see him.* (19:1)
mi siim
I see him.

(521) *Poor Blackfellow me now.* (14:6)
poblakfela mi nau
I am a poor/pitiful Aboriginal person now.

(522) *me want – bacca - gib me bacca* (16:4)
mi want baka gib mi baka
I want tobacco give me tobacco.

(523) *Me mittong white-man.* (17:90)
mi mitong waitman
I am a strong non-Aboriginal person.

<u>1PL.INC</u>
(524) *Mr. Edgar go, and all.* (20:73)
Mista Edga go an ol
Mister Edgar and all of us will go.

<u>1PL.EXC</u>
(525) *Me not know.* (20:66)
mi not no
We don't know.

(526) *we beat him flood* (20:75)
wi bitim flad
we beat the flood

(527) *she not take us to bush.* (20:108)
shi not teik as tu bush
she will not take us to live in the bush.

2SG

(528) *You make alight.* (15:5)
yu meikalait
You will see.

(529) *you give it damper.* (16:58)
yu gibit dampa
you give damper

(530) *you bad fellar* (20:61)
yu badfela
you are a bad one

(531) *You fight Malley?* (17:90)
yu fait Mali
Will you fight Malley?

(532) *Massa! You see?* (17:122)
masa yu si
Master! Do you see?

2PL

(533) *What for you laugh?* (20:128)
wotfo yu laf
Why do you laugh?

(534) *Top-a-bit you mikalite.* (17:124)
topabit yu meikalait
Wait, you will see.

3SG

(535) *Him wild black fellar again.* (20:66)
him waildblakfela agen
He is an uncivilised Aboriginal person again.

(536) *Him picaninni girl!* (20:4)
him pikanini gerl
She is a girl child.

(537) *Him strike him match.* (19:1)
him straikim matj
He strikes a match.

(538) *he yabber* (17:68)
hi yaba
he said [brayed]

(539) *she say, meesis very good* (20:108)
shi sei misis verigud
she said that Missus is very good

3PL

(540) *him all gone* (M66)
him olgon
they are all gone

(541) *they became a great number.* (20:201)
dei bekam greitnamba
they increased a lot.

TABLE 26: Port Phillip object personal pronouns

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1INC	**mi** (542-44)	**us** (546)
1EXC		
2	**yu** (545)	
3	**it** (547), **him** (547)	**dem** (556), **ol** (548)

1SG
(542) *gib me hook* (16:9)
gib mi huk
give me a hook

(543) *What for you yabber me cram jumbuck?* (20:170)
wotfo yu yaba mi kram jambak
Why do you ask me about stealing sheep?

(544) *Baal yabber longer me like it that.* (17:110)
bel yaba longa mi laikit dat
Not speak to me like that.

2SG
(545) *That fellar wants you.* (20:14)
datfela want yu
He wants you.

1PL.INC
(546) *she not take us to bush* (20:108)
shi not teik as tu bush
she won't take us to the bush

3PL
(547) *When master tell me 'bout it, me beeg one sulky with him.* (20:105)

wen	**masa**	**tel**	**mi**	**baut**	**it**	**mi**	**bigwan**	**salki**	**with**	**him**
when	master	tell	me	about	it	I	very	angry	with	him

When master told me about it I was very angry with him.

(548) *Babouk (father) b'longing to me, shoot 'em all about blackfellows and send 'em all way, long way – that is, that if any of them attempted again to spear any of the white lubras, her father would shoot them, and send the rest a long way from the station.* (16:90)

babuk	**blongentu**	**mi**	**shutim**	**olabaut**	**blakfela**	**and**
father	POSS	me	shoot	all	Aboriginal people	and

sendim	**ol**	**awei**	**longwei**
send	them	away	very far

There is one reflexive personal pronoun attested in the data, **himself** 'themselves' (549).

(549) *Him talk beeg one by himself.* (20:66)
him tok bigwan bai himself
They talked a lot amongst themselves.

There are two indefinite pronouns attested in the data. 'Everything' which takes two forms **evising** (550) and **ol** (551-53) 'everything' and **somsing** 'something' (554).

(550) *ev'ey sing good there* (20:27)
evising gud dea
everything is good there

(551) *all you got it* (17:110)
ol yu gotit
everything you have

(552) *all in the storeroom* (20:74)
ol in de storum
everything in the storeroom

(553) *white-fellow gib it all* (16:76)
waitfela gibit ol
the non-Aboriginal person gave everything

(554) *Me like to buy somesing.* (20:34)
mi laik tu bai samsing
I like to buy something

There is some evidence for a third person demonstrative pronoun **him** 'that' (555).

(555) *Him belong to him.* (20:2)
him blongtu him
That goes with that.

There is also some evidence for a demonstrative third person plural pronoun **dem** 'them' (556). One sentence provides a clear pronominal use of **dem** as a third person pronoun 'them'. However, the evidence is usually ambiguous because the third person demonstrative pronoun plural or singular form is usually given after a transitive verb. Therefore, the form could be analysed either as a pronoun or transitiviser **-im, -it** (557, 558). In this thesis the analysis assumes the form is the transitiviser in cases of ambiguity. It is clear that the forms of the NSW Pidgin transitiviser evolved from the English third person demonstrative pronominal forms 'him' and 'them'.

(556) *white fella – no see - stupid white fella – there – them* (16:33)
waitfela no si stupid waitfela dea dem
the non-Aboriginal person does not see, the non-Aboriginal person is stupid, there, them

(557) *me found em* (16:33)
mi faindim
I find them

(558) *White boys not wear them so.* (20:31)
waitboiz not werim so
Non-Aboriginal boys do not wear them like that.

As discussed above, the demonstrative pronouns **datfela** and **datwan** both meaning 'that one' were created by adding the nominalising suffixes **-fela** and **-wan** to demonstrative determiner **dat** 'that'. **Datfela** is the more salient form in the Port Phillip data. There is also one attestation of demonstrative pronoun **diswan** 'this one' (559) although there is no attestation for demonstrative determiner **dis** 'this'.

(559) *Cobra belonging to mindai, along o' this one station, tail like it along o' Mr. McCallum!* (15:18)

kobera	**blongentu**	**mindai**	**alonga**	**diswan**	**steishon**
head	POSS	mindai	at/on	this	station

teil	**laikit**	**alonga**	**Mista Makalum**
tail	POSS	at/on	Mister Makalum

The head of the *mindai* is on this station and its tail is at Mr McCallum's!

7.4.3.5 Verbs

The verbs attested in the Port Phillip data can take tense and aspect markers but are not marked for modality. Verbs are usually suffixed for transitivity with **-im** which is the preferred form, or **-it**. As noted above, **-im** is the most frequently attested form. Verbs borrowed from Aboriginal languages can again be suffixed for transitivity (510). As in data previously discused there is some instability in that some transitive verbs are not marked with a transitiviser (517). Edgar gave an insight into the reaction of English speaking people to the use of the transitiviser in NSW Pidgin (560).

(560) *Put him on a veil then!*" said Charley, who was apt to forget his grammar when excited. (20:56)

Tense is usually unmarked with only the context indicating time. However, where tense is marked it is with free morphemes in the form of temporal adverbs placed before the verb. Past is the most highly marked tense and is marked with the temporal adverb form **bin** (518). The present tense is occasionally marked with the temporal adverb **nau** (521). The future tense is also occasionally marked with the temporal adverbs **baimbai** (561-63) 'in the future, soon, later' and **dairekli** 'soon' (479).

(561) *Plenty work blackfellow bye and bye.* (13:15)
plenti werk blakfela baimbai
A lot of work for Aboriginal people soon.

(562) *Bime bye come barley' was for 'bye and bye come back again'.* (15:5)
baimbai kambarli
Soon return.

(563) *By and bye Tommy, him Come back.* (16:108)
baimbai Tomi him kambak
Soon he, Tommy, will return.

There are three kinds of aspect attested in the data. Cessative is marked with **nomo** (564-66, 569) and **neva** (567-69) both of which mean 'never'. Habitual is marked with **olweiz** (570, 571) and incompletive with **yet** (586).

(564) *...he would no more hunt the kangaroo or emu, and would have no more corroberriees...* (13:5)

(565) *Me no more shepherd, me pull away long-a-way," meaning that he was going away a good many miles from there.* (16:59)
mi nomo sheped mi pulawei longawei

(566) *Tourt no more come back.* (20:200)
Tourt nomo kambak
Tourt will not return.

(567) *Black fellar never eat so much, black fellar never beeg one fat.* (20:22)
blakfela neva it so matj blakfela neva bigwan fat

(568) *Masser never go turn back to blackfellow" no turns yours to me "him put spear in there", pointing to his back.* (17:93)
masa neva go tern bak tu blakfela him put spia in dea
Master, never turn your back to an Aboriginal person, he will put a spear in there.

(569) *Him never call me 'Sambo,' no more.* (20:36)
him neva kol mi Sambo nomo
He will never call me 'Sambo' again.

(570) *Me work for white fellar always.* (20:114)
mi werk fo waitfela olweiz
I will always work for non-Aboriginal people.

(571) *Always like o'dat blackfellow long o' lubra," meaning that that was the way all the blackfellows acted towards their women...* (16:73)

olweiz	**laikodat**	**blakfela**	**longa**	**lubra**
always	like that	Aboriginal men	about	women

Aboriginal men always treat women like that.

7.4.3.6 Adjectives

Adjectives in the Port Phillip data are unmarked for number and gender. As noted above, the very salient NSW Pidgin adjectives **marri** and **budjari** are replaced in the Port Phillip data with **kabon** and **merijig** respectively. Once again, adjectives can be nominalised with the productive suffixes -**wan** or -**fela** and occur singly or in adjective phrases. Adjective phrases consist of an adjective modified with an adverb as they do in all the data for NSW Pidgin.

The nominalising suffixes **-wan** and **-fela** convert attributive adjectives to nominals, for example, **-wan** or **-fela** suffix to the adjective **nada** 'other, another' to make **nadawan** (572, 573) or **nadafela** (574) 'other, another'.

(572) *other one country black fellows* (13:10)
nadawan kantri blafela
another country's Aboriginal people

(573) another one black fellow (15:4)
nadawan blakfela

(574) 'nother pella ole cow (17:129)
nadafela olkau

7.4.3.7 Adverbs

Port Phillip adverbs also provide no surprises in terms of the data presented in earlier chapters. Adverbs again occur in adjective or verb phrases where they are dependent on the head verb or adjective. In verb phrases adverbs can occur before and after the head verb. However in adjective phrases they must occur before the head adjective.

The number of manner adverbs are limited in the Port Phillip data to the completive form **ol** (575-78) 'all, completely' and its variants **olgon** (579-84) and **olteiken** (585) 'completely gone/finished'.

(575) *Me all ready to go back to my country, meesis.* (20:79)
mi ol redi tu gobak tu mai kantri misis
I am completely ready to return to my country, misses.

(576) *send 'em all way*(16:90)
sendim ol awei
send them completely away

(577) *Blackfellow all face.* (17:131)
blakfela ol feis
Aboriginal people are all face.

(578) *Me like him grog all day – and murry drunk all night.* (20:160)
mi laikim grog ol dei and marri drank ol nait
I like to drink all day and be very drunk all night.

(579) *John gone too; him all gone.* (20:66)
Jon gon tu him ol gon
John is gone too, he is completely gone.

(580) *Bridge all gone!* (20:75)
bridj ol gon
The bridge is completely gone.

(581) *D'recly all gone budgel.* (16:80)
dairekli olgon budjel
Soon the sickness is completely gone.

(582) *Bye and bye, Port Phillip black fellows – Waworong blackfellows – "quomby" dead – all gone.* (20:153)
baimbai Potfilip blakfela Waworong blakfela kwambi ded olgon
Soon Port Phillip Aboriginal people, the Waworong people, will be 'asleep' dead and completely gone.

(583) *All gone pickaninny* (16:75)
olgon pikanini
The children are completely gone.

(584) *all gone flour*(15:16)
olgon flaua
the flour is completely gone

(585) *Our bimble all taken.* (17:89)
awa bimbel olteiken
Our country is all taken.

There are three well-attested time adverbs in the Port Phillip data—**dairekli** and **sun** 'soon', **baimbai** 'in the future' and **nau** 'now' (see above 7.4.3.5). Three other items

are present but poorly attested, **dismoning** 'this morning' (586), **tunait** 'tonight' (586) and **yesdei** 'yesterday' (586).

(586) *Oh! bullock-driver not ready yet. Him say yes'day, him go this morning; him say now, him go to-night. Not quite ready.* (20:80)
o bulokdraiva not redi yet him sei yesdei him go
Oh, the bullock driver is not ready yet. He said yesterday he will go
dismoning him say nau him go tunait not kwait redi
this morning. He now says he will go tonight. He is not quite ready.

There are five place adverbs in the data—**hia** 'here' (589), **dea** 'there' (605), **olabaut** 'around, everywhere' (588, 589) and a variation **raundabaut** (473, 607), **diswei** 'here, in this direction' (587) and **datwei** 'there, in that direction' (587).

(587) *No goot dis way white fella – me tink yarraman gone dat way.* (16:33)
nogud diswei waitfela mi tink yaraman gon datwei
It is no good going this way, whitefellow, I think the horses have gone that way.

(588) *He said I gave them flour and panniken [and] told blackfellow all about I was very good.* (17:135)
blakfela olabaut
Aboriginal people everywhere

(589) *The blacks say that all this took place "very far, far away" to the N.W. [north west], not where "now blackfellows all about here sit down," alluding to their belief that man and woman were first created in other countries.* (20:199)
nau blakfela olabaut hia sitdaun
now Aboriginal people live around here

The negative forms **borak** (590) and **bail** are also used adverbially (591).

(590) *Borak" (never) "you yabber 'long o John," (you tell John) "mine bimballaly" (I stole) "handkerchief, chain, and dog, only you gib it," (give it).* (16:76)

borak	**yu**	**yaba**	**longa**	**Jon**	**main**	**bimbalali**
not	you	speak	to	John	I	steal

handkertjif	**tjen**	**and**	**dog**	**onli**	**yu**	**gibit**
handkerchief	chain	and	dog	only	you	give

(591) *Baal yabber longer me like it that.* (17:110)
bail yaba longa mi laikit dat
Do not speak to me like that.

7.4.3.8 Prepositions

Prepositions in the Port Phillip demonstrate considerable stability. **Longa** is the most frequently attested and multipurpose preposition. The variants **long** and **alonga** are in

evidence but are not as well attested as **longa**. There is an example where **alonga** acts as an associative form (592).

(592) *pot 'long o cutters (water)* (16:87)
pot longa katas
pot of water

In another example **longa** is a preposition of manner meaning 'about, concerning' (571). In the Port Phillip data **blongentu** (548, 559) has taken over the function of preposition of possession almost completely. The preposition of manner is still **laikit** (475, 544, 591).

Longa is a preposition of location 'at/on' (559) and 'in' (594, 595), direction 'to' (590, 591, 593, 594), accompaniment 'with' (597-99, 596).

(593) *Come along o camp mine make a light (I will go and see) blackfellow.* (16:87)
kam alonga kamp main meikalait blakfela
Come to my camp and see the Aboriginal people.

(594) *Big one you stoopid borak ball quambi long o waddy, meaning that I should not find the ball in the tree.* (16:96)
bigwan yu stupid borak bol kwambi longa wadi
You are very stupid, the ball is not in the tree.

(595) *one fella moon two fella moon longa big Canoe, then England* (16:108)
wanfela mun tufela mun longa big kanu den Ingland
one month or two months in the ship then arrive in England

(596) *drink em tea a long a big one massa (take his tea with the head master* (16:101)
drinkim ti alonga bigwan masa
drink tea with the head master

(597) *Me come to quambi here, long a little boys.* (20:103)
mi kam tu kwambi hia longa litlboiz
I have come to sleep here, with the little boys.

(598) Me go too, *long a Mamma*! (20:109)
mi go tu longa mama
I will go too with Mama!

(599) *Alonga Kotoopka (baby* (17:124)
alonga kotupka
with baby

Long also occurs with **go** to make **go long** meaning 'to become' (600).

(600) *Pick meesis flowers; go 'long, bad fellar! no good you.* (20:60)
pik misis flauaz go long badfela nogud yu
If you pick missers flowers, you become a bad person! You will be bad.

A preposition of location **bai** 'by' is attested in the Melbourne data in the speech of Aboriginal people who learnt English at the Merri Creek institution (601-3).

(601) ...a piece of land up by jail... (20:101)

(602) ...sit by him fire... (20:73)

(603) ...I don't want to sit by that fellar! (20:56)

7.4.3.9 Sentence structure

In the Port Phillip data the sentence structure is predictably always SVO. Interrogative sentences are again either indicated with an orthographic question mark or marked with a sentence initial interrogative word—most commonly **wotfo** (533, 543). As noted above, the interrogative **witjwan** (496) is once again attested having only appeared once before in the data from Bathurst and the inland districts. A new interrogative word is apparent in the Port Phillip data—**nem** meaning 'what is that, what name, who' (604).

(604) Pallian was in a creek...the water got thick like mud, so that he could scarcely move; he plucked off a small bough from a tree that hung over the creek, and looked through the bough at the water, and said, "name you." (20:199)

Negative sentences are indicated with **borak** (590, 594) which is a new form and **bail** (591, 605, 606) and **not** (525) used in various positions throughout a sentence. The first are most usually sentence initial.

(605) *Bel, any fellow rain, like it little-fellow Moon up there.* (13:17)
bail enifela rein laikit litlfela mun ap dea
There will not be any rain, because the little moon is up there.

(606) S'posem inthu baal gerybung, cobera, ther-eely mine yan-a-garry an piem bollong ner jing y-ley yabbering Germans. ...Supposing I were not grey-headed, I would go directly and knock on the head some of those blood-imbrued, tall-talking yabbering Germans. (17:92)

posim	**indu**	**bail**	**jeribung**	**kobera**	**dairekli**	**main**	**yanagari**
if	I	not	grey	head [old]	soon	I	go

an	**paiim**	**bolong**	**ner**	**jingly**	**yaba**	**Jermanz**
and	hit	head	of	bloody	talk	Germans

7.4.3.10 Interjections

The Port Phillip data contains a new interjection **tasol** 'that is all' (607) which is used to terminate a statement. There is also a new greeting **olgud** 'best wishes!' (610), an exclamation of approbation **merijig dat** 'that is very good!' (611) and a exclamation of determination **maioth** 'my oath' (612). The popular interjection **olgamon** 'nonsense' is again in evidence (608, 609).

(607) *All blackfellows round about agree to this, that is all.* (20:171)
ol blakfela raundabaut agri tu dis tasol
All the Aboriginal people around here agree to this, that is all

(608) Oh, its all gammon! (16:47)

(609) all gammon - nonsense (18:6)

(610) Blackfellows send all good to him. (20:171)

(611) ...they all jumped about, crying out, "merri-jig dat" (very good that.)... (16:98)

(612) My oath: ud-thu cuborn cooler... (20:92)
maioth adthu kabon kula
My oath, I am very angry...

7.5 CONCLUSION

The data from Port Phillip contains some evidence for regional variation. The most obvious variation occurs in the lexicon where seven new items replace established NSW Pidgin items. The lexical differences are mainly attributed to borrowings from local Aboriginal languages. The grammatical patterns evident in the data are generally predictable for NSW Pidgin in terms of what was revealed in chapters and they appear to be quite stable. However, there is some variation in that the nominaliser **-wan** is for the first time equally well attested as **-fela**. There is also an innovation in the use of

both nominalisers in creating a new nominal possibly to emphasise the quality of the head noun. The Port Phillip data are further evidence for the stability of NSW Pidgin by the early mid nineteenth century.

The division of the Port Phillip data into smaller areal sets was not particularly revealing. The data from Melbourne does contain evidence for greater influence from English in the speech of Aboriginal people. However, the main source for that area was Edgar whose contact with Aboriginal people was at an institution where Aboriginal people were being taught English by her family. Therefore, the data from Melbourne is more likely to contain overt influences from English than would other data.

NSW Pidgin was the usual medium for communication between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people throughout Port Phillip. The evidence suggests that some Aboriginal people also spoke English which they were taught formally on mission and protectorate stations. Other people acquired a knowledge of English through regular exposure to the language in Melbourne and other big settlements. Both Edgar (7.3.2.1) and Hinkins (7.3.1.5) wrote about the good relationship between bullock drivers and Aboriginal men. The men often accompanied drivers on their travels either for employment or to get to a particular destination safely. Through their interactions with bullock drivers Aboriginal people had access to NSW Pidgin and possibly also English. The movement of Aboriginal people with bullockies is likely to have dispersed NSW Pidgin into a wider area.

Colonists in Port Phillip regarded NSW Pidgin as belonging to the linguistic repertoire of Aboriginal people. They did not see the language as a lingua franca belonging to both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people. Teachers aimed to replace the language with English. There is evidence that NSW Pidgin was devalued in the eyes of its Aboriginal speakers and those who aimed to be fully integrated into colonial

society worked at acquiring English. This is not to say that they were necessarily clear about the differences between NSW Pidgin and English. However, some people made concerted efforts to speak standard English. For example, the young Aboriginal man, Charley, who lived on the Edgar's establishment in attempting to become part of colonial society worked to acquire what he understood was standard English. Charley believed that speaking English was one of the keys to joining colonial society. He was encouraged in that belief by the Edgar family. Lucy Edgar wrote that 'Charley improved by our instructions as to his language and manners; he soon dropped the *him's* and *me's* that characterised their speech, and adopted English altogether, evidently scorning the native tongue as beneath the use of a civilised person' (20:15)

By the middle of the nineteenth century, Port Phillip commentators usually remarked that all the Aboriginal people they came into contact with could speak NSW Pidgin (20:148). For example, Kirby in the Swan Hill district noted that most of the Aboriginal people he knew 'could make themselves understood in broken English' (16:57). Joyce wrote that within the first six years of colonisation of Port Phillip the Aboriginal people were speaking 'an admixture of their own and our expressions' which, from the examples he gave, was clearly NSW Pidgin (15:5).

8

CONCLUSION

8.1 INTRODUCTION

In this thesis I have described the characteristics of the leukolect of NSW Pidgin within the constraints of the available data. A large collection of reference documentary material for NSW Pidgin is collected in Appendices 1 to 20 and a lexicon for the language is given in Appendix 21.

In this chapter I (i) give an overview of the findings presented in the previous chapters, (ii) provide a summary of the general diagnostic features of NSW Pidgin, (iii) make some small comparisons between NSW Pidgin and Kriol, and (iv) comment on the contribution of this thesis to the debate about pidgin and creole genesis in the south-west Pacific region.

8.2 OVERVIEW OF FINDINGS

This thesis investigated the history of social and linguistic contact in what used to be the early colony of NSW and the system of communication that developed between colonisers and the Aboriginal peoples. Over time a system developed that had many of the characteristics of pidgin languages and is called here NSW Pidgin. This appears to have begun as a jargon and developed with extended contact between those in contact. There are two sorts of evidence which were presented:- (i) written statements and (ii) linguistic data recorded by Europeans. Although the evidence only presents the non-Aboriginal point of view it is a window onto the system.

The evidence presented in Chapters 2 and 3 of this thesis demonstrate that NSW Pidgin had its genesis in the Sydney district. It was at least two years from the

arrival of the colonists, in January 1788, before the local and invading populations established regular communication. However, once the populations began to interact regularly, for a wide variety of purposes both social and economic, a pre-pidgin jargon developed. This was described by one First Fleet commentator, David Collins, as 'a mutilated and incorrect language' (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:174). Unfortunately, the paucity of eighteenth century language data makes a detailed description of this early jargon impossible. However, some evidence suggests that by the end of the eighteenth century the jargon was beginning to regularise (Chapter 3).

Many pidgin/creolists claim that a pidgin language is only created when more than two languages are involved in a contact situation (Romaine 1988:24). Their model for pidgin genesis has a target language spoken by a socially dominant group of people and two or more languages (called the substrates) spoken by socially dominated people. In this model, the target language is sufficiently inaccessible to the substrate speakers to deter them from improving their performance thereby allowing a defective version of language to continue as functionally adequate (Whinnom 1971, quoted in Romaine 1988:24).

In Sydney there were only two languages involved in sustained contact between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people. There was English which was spoken by the majority of colonists and the Sydney Language spoken by the Aboriginal people local to Sydney Cove (Troy 1994). Todd claims that contact between two languages can produce a 'restricted pidgin' very reliant on gesture and of limited communication value. 'Such pidgins tend to be unstable and short-lived and they are characteristic of superficial contact...if the contact is discontinued, the pidgin dies;

if the contact ceases to be superficial, one or both groups will learn the other's language' (Todd 1984:3). In early colonial Sydney, the contact ceased to be superficial for a few Aboriginal people who subsequently acquired a knowledge of English while for most it continued to be superficial and was served adequately by jargon.

However, language contact did not remain confined to the immediate Sydney area. Colonial settlement spread to areas occupied by speakers of other Aboriginal languages which then provided the right mix for a pidgin to develop in full. In Chapters 3 and 4 it was demonstrated that colonial settlement spread across the Cumberland Plain and then beyond that district and in the process created the right conditions for NSW Pidgin to develop and flourish. The activities of the colonists brought them and the Aboriginal people they interacted with into unprecedented language contact. NSW Pidgin developed in this environment as a lingua franca of necessity. Chapters 5 to 7 demonstrated how the further movement of colonial settlement across NSW and into what is now Victoria gave the speakers of NSW Pidgin the impetus to expand and develop the language. Evidence presented in Chapters 2 to 7 of this thesis indicate a number of features diagnostic for NSW Pidgin. Most of these features were generally in evidence by the second decade of the nineteenth century. They include:-

(1) Features of pronunciation

Chapters 2 to 7 each contain comment on the way in which NSW Pidgin was most probably pronounced (2.2.15, 3.3.2.7, 4.4.2, 5.5.2, 6.4.2, 7.4.2). The comments are based on orthographic information available in the sources for NSW Pidgin.

Borrowings from Aboriginal languages into NSW Pidgin were generally represented using a phonetic orthography idiosyncratic to the author. They indicate some of the difficulties English speakers had in hearing Aboriginal languages and

the ways in which they attempted to reproduce the sounds. English borrowings into the language were represented with some degree of orthographic regularity across sources. The orthographic representations of many English borrowings suggests that they were pronounced in a way that was influenced by the sound systems of Aboriginal languages. There are several very salient features of English borrowings into NSW Pidgin:-

(1) Interdental fricatives become palatal, alveolar or dental stops. Voiced 'th' usually becomes 'd' , for example 'this' is written as *dis*. Unvoiced 'th' usually becomes 't', for example, 'thousand' is written as *tousand.*

(2) Voiced labiodental fricatives are usually written as a voiced bilabial stop, for example, 'very' is written as *bery*.

(3) Voiceless labiodental fricatives are written as a voiceless bilabial stop, for example, 'fellow' is written as *pellow*.

(4) Sibilants are usually omitted or written as 't', for example, 'sit down' is written as *tit down.*

(5) Words that in English begin with an initial vowel are often written with an initial consonant, particularly a semivowel, for example, 'old' is written as *wool.*

(2) Lexicon

Developments in the lexicon of NSW Pidgin are discussed in Chapters 2 to 7 (2.3.4.1, 3.3, 4.3.2, 4.5, 5.5.3.1, 6.4.3.1, 7.4.3.1). As an adjunct to the insights contained in those discussions I compiled a NSW Pidgin wordlist containing approximately one thousand two hundred and fifty items (Appendix 21). The list contains all the lexicon used by the sources as part of any NSW Pidgin utterance. The data from which the items were collected are all contained in Appendices 1 to 20. Some items are suspicious because they are only attested once or twice, which suggests that they were idiosyncratic and not common to all speakers of NSW Pidgin. However, there is a core set of items which are well attested in all the sources and transcended time and space. There are approximately two hundred and

seventy five of these items and they are marked in the lexicon with an asterisk. That is, about one quarter of the recorded vocabulary for NSW Pidgin is core vocabulary. Borrowings from Aboriginal languages account for about one tenth of the lexicon. Most of the Aboriginal borrowings are from the Sydney Language or Wiradhuri and a few are from various Victorian languages. There are also regionalisms in the lexicon which are discussed separately in each chapter.

(3) Morphological features

Most morphemes in the data are free. However, there are bound nominalising suffixes and bound transitivising suffixes. Reduplication is also a productive process well used by NSW Pidgin speakers as a means of intensifying the meaning of a particular item.

The earliest form of nominaliser was **-fela.** This is a borrowing from English 'fellow' which first appeared in early data from Sydney and is very salient in the data from the 1820s forward. From the 1830s forward a new nominaliser **-wan**, a borrowing from English 'one', appears in the data. It is most salient in the Port Phillip data. The nominalisers are both unmarked for number or gender and convert attributive adjectives to nouns (for example, **wait** 'white' to **waitfela** 'white one' that is a 'non-Aboriginal person', **budjari** 'good' to **budjariwan** 'good one'), demonstrative adjectives to demonstrative pronouns (for example, **dat** 'that' to **datwan** 'that one', **dis** to **disfela** 'this one'). By conversion, compound nouns created with the nominalisers also act as adjectives modifying a head noun, for example, **blakfela paia** 'Aboriginal fire'.

(4) Word classes

(4.1) Nouns

NSW Pidgin nouns are invariant for number and gender and can be modified with determiners, numbers and adjectives. They are either borrowed from English or

Aboriginal languages or created using the productive processes of the pidgin. Some items are compounds of borrowings from English and Aboriginal languages. They can be single items or phrases. The noun phrase usually follows the formula:-

(DET) + (NUM) + (ADJ) + NOM

de	**tufela**	**budjari**	**gin**
DET	NUM	ADJ	NOM
the	two	good	women

The category of determiner is not very stable. However, there are a number of salient items. **Ol** 'all' is a multifunctioanl form, attested as a collective article, a pluraliser and a pronoun 'they'. **De** 'the' is less well attested but is very apparent in the more English influenced data from, for example, Melbourne. The demonstrative determiners are usually **dis** 'this', **dat** 'that' or **nada** 'another, other' each of which can take a nominalising suffix. The most frequently attested possessive determiner is **mai** 'my'. An interrogative determiner **witjwan** 'which' is also attested although not very frequently.

Plenti 'many' is the most general quantifier followed by **tausand** 'very many'. There is some evidence for the use of numerals which are also occasionally modified with the nominaliser **-fela**.

(4.2) Pronouns

There are subject and object personal pronouns as well as indefinite, demonstrative and interrogative pronouns. The pronoun forms are generally invariant for subject and object. Of the personal pronouns the most commonly attested forms are—**mi** 'I, me', **yu** 'you' singular and plural form, **ol** 'they' and **hi**, **shi**, **it** 'he, she, it'. The indefinite pronoun is usually **ol** 'all' or a variation of that form such as **olabaut** 'all'. The item **dat** is a well attested generic pronoun form which can fulfil all the second and third person pronoun functions. **Dat** can also function as an interrogative pronoun 'who'.

(4.3) Verbs

Verbs, like nouns, are invariant for number or person. They are usually borrowings from English or Aboriginal languages rather than items created with the productive processes of NSW Pidgin. Verbs can also be formed by compounding and can be modified with adverbs. Verbs can take aspect and tense markers (see below) and are suffixed for transitivity with either of two forms **-it** and **-im** (both the transitivisers are equally well attested).

Various kinds of aspect are marked, but the most commonly marked are cessative with **nomo** 'never again' and habitual with **olweiz** 'always'. Aspect markers most commonly follow the verb. However, they can also appear before the verb. There is only one clear tense marker and this is the form **bin** which marks the past tense. The form is always found immediately before the verb which suggests that it has made the transition from an adverb to a true tense marker. Otherwise, verbs are marked for tense with temporal adverbs—present with **nau** 'now' and future with **dairekli** 'soon, directly', **sun** 'soon' or **baimbai** 'eventually'. Verb phrases generally have the following structure:- (TENSE) + VERB + (ASPECT).

ai	**bin**	**si-it**	**bulok**	**olweiz**
I	PAST	see-TrM	cattle	ASPECT

I always saw the cattle.'

yu	**nomo**	**sitdaun**	**hia**
you	ASPECT	stay	here

You will never again live here.

dat	**marri**	**sun**	**go**
you	ADV	ADV	go

You will go very soon.

(4.4) Adjectives

Adjectives are unmarked for number and gender. All adjectives can occur singly or in an adjective phrases modified with an adverb. The most common adverbs which modify adjectives are **marri** or **kabon** both of which are intensifiers meaning 'very, great' and **plenti** or **tumatj** which indicate quantity meaning 'many, a lot'. One of the

most characteristic features of the lexicon of NSW Pidgin is the adjective **budjari** 'good' which was a borrowing from the Sydney Language. In the Port Phillip data the form **merijig** replaces **budjari**. Only Aboriginal borrowings undergo replacement.

(4.5) Adverbs

NSW Pidgin adverbs occur in adjective, verb or adverbial phrases where they are dependent on the head adjective, verb or adverb. In verb phrases adverbs can occur both before and after the head verb. In adjective phrases they must occur before the head adjective. **Plenti** 'many, a lot', **tumatj** 'many, a lot', **marri** 'very, great', **kabon** 'very, great' and **litlbit** 'a little' are the most common adverbs of manner. The most frequently occurring adverbs of time are—**nau** 'now', **bin** 'been, in the past', **dairekli** 'soon, directly', **sun** 'soon' or **baimbai** 'eventually. The most well attested place adverbs are **olabaut** 'everywhere' and **klosap** 'near' which can also act as an adverb of time meaning 'soon'. **Hia** 'here' and **dea** 'there' also occur frequently in the data.

(4.6) Prepositions

In NSW Pidgin the prepositions **long** 'at, with, to, along, in, about' and its variant **longa** 'at, in, to, from, with, for', **along** 'for, along, to, in' and its variant **alonga** 'to, at, in, on, about, with, by means of, near' are the most salient forms. They are used to indicate location, accompaniment, reason and direction. The most frequently occurring preposition of possession is **blongentu** 'belonging to, of' and the preposition of manner is usually **laikit** 'like' or a variant **olteseimlaikit** ' like, the same as'.

ai	**bin**	**go**	**long**	**haus**	**blongentu**	**yu**
I	PAST	go	to	house	POSS	you

I went to your house.

datwan	**laikit**	**diswan**
that	like	this

That is like this.

(5) Sentence structure

The word order of NSW Pidgin is generally SVO for all kinds of sentences. However, sentences can be both verbal and nonverbal. In non-verbal sentences there is no verb 'to be', its function fulfilled by juxtaposition. The data for NSW Pidgin also contains a number of sentences borrowed in full from English. Often these sentences are oaths such as 'you damn rascal!.

Interrogative sentences are either simply indicated orthographically with a question mark or they could also include a sentence initial interrogative. The most common interrogative is **wotfo** 'why, what'.

wotfo	**yu**	**laikit**	**diswan**	**yaraman**
why	you	like	this	horse

Why do you like this horse?

Negative sentences are usually indicated with **no** 'no', **not** 'not' or the sentence inital negative form **bail** 'no, not' or in the Port Phillip data **borak** 'no, not'.

bail/borak	**mi**	**bin**	**si-im**	**tri**
not	I	PAST	see-TrM	tree

I did not see the tree.

NSW Pidgin has two main conjunctions, the subordinate form **pos** 'if' and the coordinate form **and** 'and'.

ai	**bin**	**lukautim**	**nuwi**	**and**	**yu**	**bin**	**lukautim**	**spia**
I	PAST	seek-TrM	boat	and	you	PAST	seek-TrM	spear

I was looking for a boat and you were looking for a spear.

dat	**ranawei**	**pos**	**yu**	**sitdaun**	**hia**
he	leave	if	you	stay	here

He will leave if you stay here.

8.3 COMPARISON BETWEEN NSW PIDGIN AND KRIOL

A comparison between NSW Pidgin and other pidgins or creoles shows that they have a number of features in common. The identification of such common features

means that either (i) they were historically connected or (ii) developed the same features independently.

There is not the space in this thesis to make detailed comparisons between the creole languages of Australia and NSW Pidgin. However, I am not the first to observe the similarities between NSW Pidgin and Kriol of the Northern Territory. Harris commented on this in his work on the history of Kriol (Harris 1986:286-94). NSW Pidgin is most probably an ancestor of all modern Australian creoles. This claim is made without denying that those languages exhibit differences from each other and from NSW Pidgin that should be attributed to independent regional development and diversification from the common ancestor. Nevertheless the brief comparision below reveals many shared features between the languages.

Another purpose for my comparison between NSW Pidgin and Kriol is to make some claims about the nature of the melanolect of NSW Pidgin. The data for Kriol were collected from Aboriginal people who are first language speakers of it—the melanolect speakers of the language. It is posited here that where a feature is shared between the data from melanolect speakers of living Australian creoles and NSW Pidgin that the item was likely to have been part of the repertoire of melanolect speakers of NSW Pidgin.

The following are some features shared between NSW Pidgin and Kriol evident from a brief comparison of the two languages:-

(1) The NSW Pidgin nominalisers **-fela** and **-wan** are apparent in Kriol as *-bala* and *-wan* (Sandefur 1979:100).

(2) Kriol nouns have the same characteristics as NSW Pidgin nouns—they are invariant for number and gender and can be modified with determiners, numbers and adjectives (Sandefur 1979:104).

(3) Kriol pronouns are much expanded in comparison with those which were available to NSW Pidgin speakers. However, all the NSW Pidgin pronouns are also attested in Kriol (see summary of Kriol pronouns in Sandefur 1979:82-106).

(4) Kriol verbs share the characteristics of NSW Pidgin verbs, but have a more complex morphology (Sandefur 1979:111-139).

(5) The transitivisers **-it** and **-im** are common to both NSW Pidgin and Kriol (Sandefur 1979:116).

(6) The markers of cessative aspect **nomo** 'never again' and habitual aspect **olweiz** 'always' are common to both NSW Pidgin and Kriol (Sandefur 1979:126).

(7) Both NSW Pidgin and Kriol have only one tense marker **bin** and use adverbial forms to indicate non-past time (Sandefur 1979:126-128).

(8) In the set of 'four main simple prepositions' in Kriol are the forms *langa* 'indicating location or direction to' and *blanga* 'indicating a genitive or benefactive relation' (Sandefur 1979:144). These forms are mirrored in NSW Pidgin by **along/alonga**, **long/longa** and **blongentu** respectively.

(9) Both Kriol and NSW Pidgin are strictly SVO.

(10) Both Kriol and NSW Pidgin have both verbal and nonverbal sentences with the function of the verb 'to be' fulfilled by juxtaposition (Sandefur 1979:163-185).

(11) The most common NSW Pidgin interrogative is **wotfo** 'why, what' and the same item is also common in Kriol (Summer Institute of Linguistics Aborigines and Islander Branch 1986:362).

(12) The NSW Pidgin subordinate conjunction **pos** 'if' appears in Kriol as *buji* 'if' (Summer Institute of Linguistics Aborigines and Islander Branch 1986:60).

8.4 NSW PIDGIN AND THE ORIGIN OF PACIFIC PIDGIN ENGLISH

The NSW Pidgin materials bear on the debate about the genesis of Pacific pidgins. That debate began in 1979 with Clark's article 'In search of beach-la-mar, towards a history of Pacific Pidgin English' in which he attempted to uncover historical relations between pidgin languages in the Pacific, including Australia. Clark's

method was to apply the comparative method to thirty lexical and grammatical features of seven living pidgin and creole languages of the South Pacific region plus China Coast pidgin. He chose the features for comparison according to their status as 'innovations relative to standard English' (Clark 1979:8). Building on the suggestions of earlier scholars which he acknowledges (such as Reinecke, Baker, Crowley and Rigsby) Clark demonstrated that Australian and Melanesian pidgins were very closely related (Clark 1979:21-22, 42-45). He suggested that a detailed study of the genesis of pidgins in Australia would be very profitable in uncovering the history of Pacific Pidgins. This thesis and my earlier researches (Troy 1985, 1990) are responses to Clark's suggestions and those in Dutton's subsequent study of Queensland Pidgin English.

In 1983, Dutton investigated the early history of 'Queensland Pidgin English' and suggested that data from the earlier period of the inception of Australian pidgins in NSW should be investigated. Baker recently took up the work of Clark (1979), Dutton (1983) and Troy (1985, 199) to contend that 'Melanesian Pidgin English derives primarily from...the pidginized English of Aborigines and Pacific Islanders in Queensland' (Baker 1993:11). Baker reiterates Dutton's earlier speculation (Dutton 1983) that Queensland pidgin is a continuation of 'NSW Pidgin English' (Baker 1993:12, 62).

In the 1980s the origins of Pacific Pidgins were the subject of a lively debate between Keesing and Mühlhäusler. In 1988, Keesing published *Melanesian Pidgin and the Oceanic Substrate* . In that work he argued that, in the nineteenth century, there was considerable substratum influence on a developing Melanesian Pidgin from Eastern Oceanic Austronesian languages, specifically south Solomons and Vanuatu languages.

Keesing also attempted to demonstrate that a historical Melanesian Pidgin was the ancestor of modern pidgin/creole languages spoken in the south-west Pacific. While seeing the history of the whole as a continuum he divided it into historical periods and outlined the characteristics common to a pidgin spoken in all the areas he was considering. Keesing first listed features of a Pacific pidgin from 'the sandalwood period' which lasted from 1841 to the 1860s. He had no illusions about the fragmentary nature of the data or the unlikelihood of their representing a complete picture of a pidgin (Keesing 1988:32). However, Keesing was optimistic about the data providing 'crucially important glimpses of a developing pidgin' (Keesing 1988:32). He outlined the evidence he saw in the data for lexical and grammatical items current 'in all modern dialects of Melanesian Pidgin' (Keesing 1988:32). Keesing argued that the presence of these items in the data indicated a developing pidgin. He cited 'lexical items such as "gammon", "walkabout," "plenty," and "all same"' and listed seven points of grammar (Keesing 1988:32-33).

Each of these items and at least three of the seven points of grammar cited by Keesing are present in the NSW Pidgin of the early nineteenth century. Those three common points of grammar are:-

(1) the use of *bulong*, in NSW Pidgin **blongentu**, to mark possession;

(2) the use of adverbial *baebae*, in NSW **baimbai**, to indicate future time; and

(3) interrogatives derived from English 'wh' phrases, for example, **wotfo**.

Keesing concluded that he failed to see 'why we cannot call this lingua franca so widely spoken on ship and shore in the Pacific by 1860 a pidgin rather than a "jargon" ([Keesing citing]Clark 1979); it is considerably more developed, by this early stage, than the "true pidgins " described by Bickerton (1981)' (Keesing 1988:33).

According to Keesing, the next major period in the development of the Melanesian Pidgin was during 'the labour trade' beginning in the 1860s and established in response to the development of plantations in Australia and the Pacific. He explained that 'the linguistic community that was established on and spread by the early trading ships was not confined to southern Melanesia. By the earliest phase of the Labour Trade, it had left scattered speakers of a developing pidgin in the southeastern Solomons...the sophisticated islanders from the Loyalties, Fiji, the Gilberts, Rotuma, and other areas of the Pacific who served on ships' crews and acted as middlemen, recruiters, foremen, and traders were already fluent speakers of a developing Pacific pidgin' (Keesing 1988:35).

Keesing claimed that 'most of the essential syntactic and semantic/lexical patterns of Melanesian Pidgin are represented in the texts from the 1870s and 1880s...and the earlier texts...despite the thick filter of European preconceptions and misconceptions' (Keesing 1988:48). He listed a set of sixteen points that the data of this period shares with contemporary Melanesian pidgins and which he believed indicated that Melanesian Pidgin had expanded since the earlier period (Keesing 1988:48-50).

Finally, Keesing compared the 'three daughter dialects of late 1880s south-western Pacific pidgin'—Tok Pisin, Solomons Pidgin and Bislama. He concluded that they share a substantial core of lexical items and syntactic patterns and outlined ten syntactic patterns common to all three dialects (Keesing 1988:112). Keesing posited that the first pidgin in the Pacific was a pan-Melanesian language developed on board ships that plyed their trade through the Pacific from the 1820s forward (Keesing 1988:13-25). Contact between Pacific Islanders and the crews of European and American vessels produced a common pidgin language. The language was used on shore to a more limited degree by colonies of ships deserters and other land-based Europeans and islanders who were involved in trade with the vessels. In many

places pidgin speaking interlocutors assisted in trade between non-pidgin-speaking islanders and traders.

Keesing proposed that by the late 1850s, when the plantation trade began, Melanesian Pidgin was consolidated and considerably stabilised. He explained that his position on pidgin genesis in the Pacific was quite different to that of Mühlhäusler who proposed separate pidgins with differing though loosely connected origins. Mühlhäusler placed more emphasis on plantations as the scenarios for the stabilisation of pidgins in the Pacific. Keesing's explanation for the differences in the contemporary Melanesian pidgins of the Pacific is that they were relexified and syntactically altered during and after the plantation period within the countries in which they were located. Keesing writes that 'Tok Pisin as recorded in New Guinea represents a very special case of the transplantation of an extensively elaborated pidgin to alien linguistic soil. It seems that so transplanted, New Guinea Pidgin underwent considerable withering of its syntactic resources; part of what Mühlhäusler has documented is the progressive reconstitution and reelaboration of an already elaborated pidgin, as well as its partial relexification from a new source substrate language...and to a lesser degree, a new superstrate language' (Keesing 1988:115).

According to Keesing, the input to Melanesian Pidgin was a combination of Oceanic languages and nautical jargon with input from Atlantic creoles via ships' crews. Using comparative evidence from subgroupings of the Oceanic languages involved Keesing demonstrated that the languages shared basic syntactic structures or at least had the potential to reconstruct them when in contact with each other (Keesing 1988:62-88). For the mechanisms which produced the pidgin Keesing looked to the contribution of all the major elements identified by pidgin creole theory—substrate, superstrate and universals. Keesing used Silverstein's (1972) account of the genesis of Chinook Jargon to develop an elaborate case for the genesis

of Melanesian Pidgin (91-92). He explained that the 'common Oceanic grammatical structure produces surface strings that in many ways parallel those of English. Furthermore, in some striking ways the structures of Oceanic languages parallel those of Atlantic (and Indian Ocean) creoles, which through the medium of a nautical pidgin would seem to have provided much of the linguistic input to Islander-European interaction in the early decades' (Keesing 1988:91). Keesing claimed that the 'surface parallels' between these languages facilitated 'interlingual convergence' to an even greater degree than did the parallels between the languages involved in the genesis of Chinook Jargon.

Mühlhäusler reviewed Keesing's work and criticised his confidence in substrativist arguments for the genesis of contemporary Melanesian creoles (Mühlhäusler 1989). He proposes that 'the principal features of Melanesian pidgins are attributable to language universal forces, with little substrate influence' (Tryon 1991:1).

Tryon criticises both of these authors for being precipitate and ignoring the value of the contributions that the detailed study of evidence from all the relevant areas can make and particularly data from Vanuatu Bislama 'both current and historical'. Tryon and Charpentier are making a 'fine-grained' study of the history of Bislama which is expected to inform the debate considerably, especially as it 'predates by some time both Solomons Pijin and Tok Pisin' (Tryon 1991:1). Tryon explains that regional variations in Bislama 'can...inform the debate on the genesis of the other Melanesian pidgins, Tok Pisin and Solomons Pijin, since many of the non-standard usages observed in Vanuatu Bislama today are diagnostic items in both of those languages, for example *ken* instead of standard Bislama *save*, 'abilitative' and *laek* instead of *wantem*, 'desiderative' (both characteristic of Tok Pisin); *hao nao* instead of *olsem wanem*, 'how?', characteristic of Solomons Pijin' (Tryon 1991:11). Tryon concludes that 'the concordance of the archival materials of the last century and the morpho-

syntactic and lexical regionalisms of Vanuatu Bislama today suggests that the other Melanesian pidgins, Tok Pisin and Solomons Pijin, indeed shared a lengthy period of common development with Bislama. The evidence further suggests that they separated only after a considerable degree of stability had been achieved, differentiation and individual stabilisation being achieved after separation late in the nineteenth century' (Tryon 1991:11).

NSW Pidgin is an excellent test case for the universalist versus substrativist theories in the south-west Pacific. It provides the oldest set of data for a pidgin created from English and indigenous languages in the Pacific. The inception of pidgin in the south-west Pacific actually pre-dates Keesing's claim of the 1820s. NSW Pidgin was the first pidgin in that region. A comparison of NSW Pidgin with Melanesian pidgins will help clarify whether or not a feature is unique to Melanesian pidgins or is shared by the earliest pidgin in the Pacific. If a feature is shared it would need to be attributed either to (i) independent genesis, (ii) influence from Australia or (iii) universals of pidginisation. Certainly, any features shared between NSW Pidgin and Melanesians pidgins would weaken Keesing's attribution of the genesis of those features in the pidgin to purely Melanesian substratal influence.

The historical connection between NSW and the south-west Pacific is well known. It would have been easy for speakers of NSW Pidgin to influence the development of any contact language in the south-west Pacific[188]. Sydney was the first centre for the south Pacific whaling industry and crews would have taken into the Pacific knowledge of any incipient pidgin developing in the settlement. It was also the first large sea port established in the south-west Pacific and was used by all ships trading in the region. English was the language of the colonial administration in NSW. However, eighteenth century Sydney was a linguistic melting pot of Aboriginal

[188]Recent research by Tryon and Charpentier into the history of Bislama has demonstrated that by the 1820s there was established maritime contact between Ponape and Sydney (Tryon pc). They will be developing this point in future publications.

languages, English dialects, sea-faring and military jargons, creoles from American plantations and British colonies where slave labour was used (particularly Jamaica)[189] and jargons and languages from British colonies (particularly Ireland and India). The administration regularly complained of not being able to understand the jargons spoken by convicts and the Irish language used by the majority of Irish convicts (Troy 1991, 1992a). Early reporters also commented on the 'mixed language' spoken between Aboriginal people and colonists (see Chapter 3).

The data presented here provides evidence that features Keesing attributed to substratum input from Oceanic languages were also present in NSW Pidgin well before the mid nineteenth century even in the first two decades of the nineteenth century. Of the sixteen features Keesing listed as shared between nineteenth century Melanesian Pidgin and contemporary Melanesian pidgins (Keesing 1988:48-50) NSW Pidgin also shares all but two. Not shared are his predicate marker *i* feature (Point 13) and the use of *se* as a complementiser (Point 15). More importantly, given that NSW Pidgin contained most of these features before the middle of the nineteenth century it is likely that NSW Pidgin was the ancestor of or at least provided the main grammatical model for Melanesian Pidgin of the 1860s to 1880s. On the other hand it is unlikely that NSW Pidgin acquired those features through borrowing from Melanesian Pidgin because NSW Pidgin predates any pidgin language that developed in the south-west Pacific through contact between indigenous people and English speaking people. Keesing claimed that Melanesian Pidgin had its genesis in the 1820s and did not stabilise until the second half of the nineteenth century. These questions and those raised above about the similarities between NSW Pidgin and contemporary Australian creoles are for future researchers to tackle. The data provided here is a platform for further debate.

---

[189]Some of the convicts were former African slaves who had become sailors and were convicted in England and transported to Australia. One of these men John or 'Black' 'Caesar was a famous early identity in the colony who attempted to live with the Aboriginal population but was repeatedly repulsed. He is mentioned in most of the early narratives of the colony.

REFERENCES

ABBIE, A.A., n.d., *The original Australians*. Wellington: A.H. and A.W. Reed.

ABBOTT, J.H.M., n.d., *Out of the past*. Sydney: The Currawong Publishing Company.

ADAMS, Francis, 1893, *The Australians: a social sketch*. London: T. Fisher Unwin.

ADAMS, John, 1790, *Modern voyages: containing a variety of useful and entertaining facts, respecting the expeditions and the principal discoveries of Cavendish and others. Comprehending the most interesting particulars...also the latest authentic accounts from Botany Bay: For the amusement and instruction of youth of both sexes*. 2 vols. London: G.Kearsley.

ADAMS, Michael, 1793, *The new royal geographical magazine; or a modern completer authentic and copious system of Universal Geography. Containing a complete, full, particular and accurate history and description of all the several parts of the whole word. Together with all the recent discoveries made in the Pelew Islands, New Holland, New South Wales, Botany Bay, Port Jackson, Norfolk Island. Carefully written and compiled from the late journals of the voyages and travels of Captain Phillip, King, Ball, Hunter, White. The whole forming a complete, authentic, copious and real New Geographical Library*. London: Alexander Hogg.

ALLEN, Jim and Peter CORRIS, 1977, Introduction. In Sweatman 1977:xiii-xxxiii.

ALLOTT, Kenneth, 1956, *Prose of the Romantic period 1780-1830*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.

ALPHER, Barry, 1991, *Yir-Yoront lexicon: sketch and dictionary of an Australian language*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

ALPIN, Graeme, ed., 1988, *Sydney before Macquarie: a difficult infant*. Sydney: NSWUP.

AMMON, Ulrich, ed., 1989, *Status and function of languages and language varieties*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

ANDREWS, Arthur, 1920, *The first settlement of the Upper Murray 1835 to 1845 with a short account of over two hundred runs 1835 to 1880*. Sydney: The author.

ANDREWS, Kerrie E. and Chris LINDSAY, 1984, *Dispossessed Australians*. Sydney: Bay Books.

ANON, (B.E.),1699, *A new dictionary of the terms ancient and modern of the canting crew in its several tribes of gypsies, beggars, thieves, cheats, &c .: with an addition of some proverbs, phrases, figuative speeches, &c . useful for all sorts of people, (especially foreigners) to secure their money and preserve their lives, besides very diverting and entertaining being wholly new*. London: W. Hawes and W. Davis. Original in Huntington Library, NLA: MFM 791 reel 938, STC 11, Unit 30, wing—Early English Books, D2722-G169.

1787, *The history of New Holland from its first discovery in 1616, to the present time. With a particular account of its produce and inhabitants; and a description*

of Botany Bay: also a list of the naval, marine, military, and civil establishment. To which is prefixed an introductory discourse on banishment, by the Rt. Hon. William Eden. London: John Stockdale.

(**An Officer**), 1789, *An Authentic and interesting narrative of the late expedition to Botany Bay, as performed by Commodore Phillips, and the fleet of the seven transport ships under his command: containing a circumstantial account of their perilous voyage dissentions on board and safe arrival on the coast of New Holland. With particular descriptions of Jackson's Bay and Lord Howe's Island, the reception they met with from the natives, their customs and manners; progress of the settlement, and laws and government established for their further improvement. Written by an officer just returned in the Prince of Wales transport, who visited that spot with Captain Cook, and Dr. Solander, in their celebrated Voyages round the world.* London: W. Bailey, H. Lemoine & J. Parsons.1790, *A new moral system of geography, containing an account of the different nations ancient and modern: their situation and climate, their rise and fall, their customs and manners; including a description of each country, and their respective productions by which commerce has been established and society cemented for the good of mankind. Adorned with the dresses of each country.* Bath: G. Riley.

1790-1, Vocabulary of the language of N.S.Wales, in the neighbourhood of Sydney. (Native and English, but not alphabetical). MS. School of Oriental and African Studies, London, Marsden Collection 41645c.

1792, Botany Bay, letter from a convict to his mother printed in *Ayre's Sunday Gazette*, 15 July 1792. Reprinted in Ingleton, ed., 1952, 10.

n.d.(c.1796), *Great and new news from Botany Bay, brought over to England by the Hercules, of Bristol, Captain Parker, from Port Jackson.* London (no publisher). ML: C707.

1806, *An account of the English colony at Botany Bay, and other settlements in New South Wales, from their first establishment to the present time; with remarks on the manners, customs, dispositions, &c . of the natives, interspersed with annecdotes of the convicts and free settlers, and their treatment, conduct, &c. with some particulars of the exiled delegates. By a gentleman just returned from the settlement, who held an official situation there.* London: J. Bailey.

1830, *Alfred Dudley; or, the Australian settlers.* Second edn. London:Harvery and Darton.

1832-1841, Australian Aborigines: reports etc. on employment and civilisation, July 1832-July 1841. MS. ML: A 611, 1-252.

1848, The anniversary. *The Bathurst Advocate*, 5.2.1848, vol. 1 no. 1, p 3.

(**The Bookhunter**) 1894, The convict historian. *The Bookworm*, no. 79, June 1894, 207-211.

(**J. Mcfarlane or Elisabeth Boyd-Bayley?**) n.d[c1910], *The black troopers and other stories.* London: The religious Tract Society.

1956, Letter from the donor to the Mitchell Library, Sydney, of the Harriett Barlow MS (c.1870s) to Phyllis Mander Jones, Librarian to the Mitchell Library. MS. ML: ML Corres. 667/1956.

D., A.G., 1967. *The Spanish at Port Jackson: the visit of the corvettes Descubierta and Atrevida 1793*. Sydney: Australian Documentary Facsimile Society.

1970, People and events of Wagga Wagga and district. *Journal of the Wagga Wagga and District Historical Society*, no. 3, 1970.

1980, Churches of Wagga Wagga and District. *Journal of the Wagga Wagga and District Historical Society*, no. 4, 1980.

1988, *Aboriginal memorial*. Darwin: Ramingining Arts.

1984[1972], *Robinson's road atlas of Australia*. Sydney: Lansdown Press.

APSLEY (Lord and Lady Apsley), n.d., *The amateur settlers*. London: Hodder and Stoughton.

ARDEN, George, 1977[1840], *Latest information with regard to Australia Felix, the finest province of the great territory of New South Wales; including the history, geography, natural resources, government, commerce, and finances of Port Phillip; sketches of the Aboriginal population, and advice to immigrants*. Carlton: Queensberry Hill Press.

ARNOLD, Joseph, 1810-1815, Journals 27 August 1810 to 17 December 1815. MS. ML: C720.

1810, Letter to his brother, 25 February 1810. MS. ML: A18492.

ATKINSON, Alan and Marian AVELING, 1988, eds, *Australians: 1838*. Sydney: Fairfax, Syme and Weldon Associates.

ATTWOOD, Bain, 1986, Off the mission stations: Aborigines in Gippsland 1860-1890. *Aboriginal history*, vol. 10, part 2, 117-151.

AUSTIN, Peter, R.M.W. DIXON, Tom DUTTON and Isobel WHITE, eds, Language and history: essays in honour of Luise A. Hercus. *PL*, C-116.

AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT, 1988, *Style manual for authors, editors and printers*. Canberra: AGPS Press.

AVELING, Marian, 1978, On slicing the historical tide. *The push from the bush; a bulletin of social history: devoted to the year of grace, 1838*, 9.7.1978, 13-19.

BACH, John, 1976, *A maritime history of Australia*. Sydney: Book Club Associates.

BADGER, Geoffrey, 1988, *The explorers of the Pacific*. Sydney: Kangaroo Press.

BAILEY, Richard and Manfred GÖRLACH, eds, 1982, *English as a world language*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.

BAKER, Philip and Chris CORNE, 1982, *Isle de France Creole*. Ann Arbor, Michigan: Karoma Press.

BAKER, Philip, 1987, The historical developments in Chinese Pidgin English and the nature of the relationships between the various pidgin Englishes of the Pacific region. *JPCL* 2:2, 163-207.

1993, Australian influence on Melanesian Pidgin English. *Te Reo* 36, 3-67.

BAKER, Sidney J., 1978[1945, 1966], *The Australian language: the meanings, origins and usage; from convict days to the present*. Sydney: Currawong Press.

BANKS, Joseph, 1785, Evidence to the Committee of Enquiry into Transportation by Joseph Banks, 10 May 1785. In King, 1985, 51-67.

BANKES, Thomas, Edward Warren BLAKE, Alexander COOK and Thomas LLOYD, 1790, *A new and authentic system of universal geography, ancient and modern; including all the important discoveries made by the English, and other celebrated navigators of various nations, in the different hemishpheres, from the celebrated Columbus, the first discoverer of America, to the death of our no less celebrated countryman Captain Cook, etc...and the latest accounts of the English colony of Botany Bay: with a particular description of Port Jackson, Norfolk Island, &c . where the convicts are now settled. The whole forming a complete collection of voyages and travels*. London: C. Cooke.

BARKER, Jimmie, 1977, *The two worlds of Jimmie Barker: the life of an Australian Aboriginal 1900-1972, as told to Janet Mathews*. Canberra: AIAS.

BARLEE, Charles M., *Humorous tales and sketches of colonial life*. Sydney: W.M. Maclardy.

BARLOW, Harriott, c.1870, The Warkon tribal dialects - L.R. Schwennesen. MS. ML: B 1498.

1872, Vocabulary of Aboriginal dialects of Queensland. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. 2, 1872, 166-175.

BARLOW, Jane, 1984[1893], *Irish idylls*. London: Sphere Books.

BARNARD, Majorie, 1961[1947], *Macquarie's world*. Melbourne: Melbourne UP.

BARR, Donald, 1946, *Warrigal Joe: a tale of the Never Never*. London: Cassell and Co.

BARRATT, Glynn, 1981, *The Russians at Port Jackson, 1814-1822*. Canberra: AIAS.

BARRERE, Albert and Charles G. LELAND, eds, 1967[1889], *A dictionary of slang, jargon and cant. Embracing English, American, and Anglo-Indian slang, pidgin English, Tinker's jargon and other irregular phraseology*. 2 vols. Detroit: Gale Research Company. New York: The Ballantyne Press.

BARRETT, Charles, 1948, *White blackfellows: the strange adventures of Europeans who lived among the savages*. Melbourne: Hallcraft Publishing Co.

BARRINGTON, George, 1795a, *A voyage to Botany Bay with a description of the country, and manners customs, religion &c . of the natives by the celebrated George Barrington to which is added his life and trial*. London: C. Lowndes.

1795b, *A voyage to New South Wales; with a descritpion of the country; the manners, customs, religion, &c . of the natives, in the vicinity of Botany Bay*. London: H.D. Symonds.

1802, *The history of New South Wales including Botany Bay, Port Jackson,*

Parramatta, Sydney, and all its dependancies, from the original discovery of the island: with the customs and manners of the natives; and an account of the English colony, from its foundation to the present time. London: M. Jones.

1804, *A sequel to Barrinton's voyage to New South Wales, comprising an interesting narrative of the transactions and behaviour of the convicts; the progress of the colony; an official register of the crimes, trials, sentences, and executions that have taken place: a topographical, physical, and moral account of the country, manners, customs, &c . of the natives, – as likewise authentic anecdotes of the most distinguished characters, and notorious convicts that have been transported to the settlement at New South Wales.* London: H.D. Symonds.

1985, *A voyage to New South Wales by George Barrington Superintendant of the Convicts to which is prefixed a detail of his life, trials, speeches, etc. enriched with beautiful coloured prints.* Sydney: View Productions.

BARTON, G.B., 1889, *History of New South Wales from the records. Volume 1: Governor Phillip 1783-1789.* Sydney: Government Printer.

BARWICK, Diane E., 1984, Mapping the past: an atlas of Victorian clans 1835-1904. *Aboriginal history*, vol. 8, part 2, 100-131.

BARWICK, R. E. and Diane E. BARWICK, 1984, *A memorial for Thomas Bungeleen 1847-1865.* Aboriginal history, vol. 8, part 1, 9-11.

BASEDOW, Herbert, 1935, *Knights of the boomerang: episodes from a life spent among the native tribes of Australia.* Sydney: The Endeavour Press.

BATESON, Charles, 1959, *The convict ships 1787-1868.* Glasgow: Brown, Son and Ferguson.

BAUDIN EXPEDITION, 1820s, Papers on the Baudin expedition assembled by Brian Baldwin, Archives Copying Project, 1963.

BAUDIN, Nicolas, 1974, *The journal of Post Captain Nicolas Baudin Commander-in-Chief of the corvettes Géographe and Naturaliste.* Translated from the French by Christine Cornell. Adelaide: Libraries Board of South Australia.

BAYLEY, William A, 1965, *Down the Lachlan years ago. History of Condobolin New South Wales.* Condobolin: Condobolin Municipal Council.

BAYNTON, Barbara, 1980, *Barbara Baynton.* Edited by Sally Krimmer and Alan Lawson. St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press.

BEALE, Edgar, 1983, *Kennedy the Barcoo and beyond 1847: the journals of Edmund Besley Court Kennedy and Alfred Allatson Turner with new information on Kennedy's life.* Hobart: Blubber Head Press.

BEATTY, Bill, 1956, *Beyond Australia's cities.* London: Cassell and Co.

BECKE, Louis, 1987[1897], *Pacific tales.* London: KPI.

BECKETT, Jeremy R., ed., 1988, *Past and present. The construction of Aboriginality.* Canberra: AIATSIS.

1989[1987], *Torres Strait Islanders: custom and colonialism.* Cambridge: Cambridge UP.

BECKETT, Richard (Crooked Mick of the Speewa), 1986, *The dinkum Aussie dictionary*. Frenchs Forest: Child and Associates.

BELL, Alan and Janet HOLMES, 1990, *New Zealand ways of speaking English*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

BENNELONG (Bannolong), 1796, Copy of a letter from a native of Botany Bay to Mr.Phillips Lord Sydney's Steward / being returned to his own country after he had resided a short time in England, Sidney Cove, August 29, 1796. MS. NLA: Rex de Charembac Nan Kivell Collection MS 4005 (NK4048).

BENNETT, George, 1834, *Wanderings in New South Wales, Batavia, Pedir Coast, Singapore, and China; being the journal of a naturalist in those countries during 1832, 1833, and 1834*. 2 vols. London: Richard Bentley.

BERGIN, Tom, 1981, *In the steps of Burke and Wills*. Sydney: Australian Broadcasting Commission.

BERNDT, Ronald M. and Catherine H. BERNDT, eds, 1965, *Aboriginal man in Australia: essays in honour of Emeritus Professor A. Elkin*. Sydney: Angus and Robertson.

BERNDT, Ronald M. and R. TONKINSON, 1988, *Social anthropology and Australian Aborginal Studies: a contemporary overview*. Canberra: AIAS.

BERTIE, Charles H., 1924, Captain Cook and Botany Bay. *JRAHS* 10: 5, 234-278.

BERZINS, Baiba, 1988, *The coming of the strangers: life in Australia 1788-1822*. Sydney: Collins Australian and The State Library of NSW.

BICKERTON, Derek, 1975, *Dynamics of a creole system*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.

1981, *The roots of language*. Ann Arbor, Michigan: Karoma Press.

1992, The sociohistorical matrix of creolization. *JPCL* 7:2, 307-318.

BICKNELL, Arthur C., 1895, *Travel and adventure in northern Queensland*. London: Longmans, Green and Co.

BLADEN, F.M., 1893, *Historical records of New South Wales. Volume 1, part 1: Cook 1762-1780*. Sydney: Government Printer.

BLAINEY, Geoffrey, 1984, *Our side of the country: the story of Victoria*. Sydney: Methuen Haynes.

BLAIR, David, 1879, *The history of Australia*. Glasgow: McGready, Thomson and Niven.

BLAKE, Barry, 1977, *Case marking in Australian languages*. Canberra: AIAS.

1979, Australian case systems: some typological and historical observations. In Wurm 1979, ed., 323-394.

1987, *Australian Aboriginal grammar*. London: Croom Helm.

1991, Woiwurrung, the Melbourne language. In Dixon and Blake, eds, 1991:30-122.

BLAXLAND, Gregory, 1929, *A journal of a tour of discovery across the Blue Mountains, New South Wales, in the year 1813*. Sydney: S.T. Leigh and Co.

BLISS, Alan, 1979, *Spoken English in Ireland 1600-1740. Twenty-seven representative texts assembled and analysed by Alan Bliss*. Dublin: The Dolmen Press.

BLOMMAERT, Jan, ed., 1991, *Swahili studies: essays in honour of Marcel Van Spaandonck*. Ghent: Academia Press.

BLOMMAERT, Jan and Jef VERSCHUEREN, eds, 1991, *The pragmatics of intercultural communication: selected papers of the International Pragmatics Conference, Antwerp, Ausgust 17-22, 1987 (Volume 3), and the Ghent Symposium on Intercultural Communication.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

BLOOMFIELDS, 1841, Letter from the Bloomfields, Wollongong, NSW to Rea Robinson, Fintona, Ireland, 3.10.1841. MS. NLA: MS 1334.

BLUST, Robert, 1991, Currents in Pacific linguistics: Papers on Austronesian languages and ethnolinguistics in honour of George W. Grace. *PL*, C 117.

BODMER, Frederick, 1985[1944], *The loom of language: an approach to the mastery of many languages*. New York: W W Norton and Company.

BOLTON, Geoffrey, 1989, The spread of colonization. In Hardy and Frost, eds, 1989, 183-193.

BOND, George. *A brief account of the colony of Port Jackson in New South Wales; its native inhabitants, production, &c. with an interesting account of the the murder of Mr. Clode, late of that settlement, as communicated by the Reverend Richard Johnstone, late chaplain of the colony, to Joseph Hardcastle, Esq., Treasurer of the Missionary Society*. Southhampton: T. Baker and Son.

BONNEMAINS, Jacqueline, Elliott FORSYTH and Bernard SMITH, eds, 1988, *Baudin in Australian waters: the artwork of the French voyage of discovery to the southern lands 1800-1804*. Melbourne: Gaston Renard.

BONYHADY, Tim, 1987, *The colonial image: Australian painting 1800-1880*. Chippendale: Ellsyd Press and the Australian National Gallery.

1988, *The Skottowe manuscript. Volume 2, a commentary*. Sydney: David Ell Press.

BORETZKY, Norbert, Werner ENNINGER and Thomas STOLZ, 1987, *Beiträge zum 3. Essener Kolloquium über Sprachwandel und seine bestimmenden Faktoren vom 30.9.-2.10.1987 an der Universität Essen.* Bochum: Studienverlag Dr. N. Brockmeyer.

BORROW, George, 1955[1862], *Wild Wales: its people, language and scenery*. London: Collins.

BOSI, Pino, 1989, *On God's command: Italian missionaries in Australia*. Sydney: Vaccari Village and Kuranda.

BOSWELL, Annabella, 1965, *Annabella Boswell's journal*. Edited by Morton Herman. Sydney: Angus and Robertson.

BOWDLER, Sandra, ed., 1982, *Coastal archaeology in eastern Australia.* Canberra: Department of Prehistory, Research School of Pacific Studies.

BOWES SMYTH, Arthur, 1979, *The journal of Arthur Bowes Smyth: surgeon, Lady Penrhyn 1787-1789.* Paul G. Fidlon and R.J. Ryan, eds, Sydney: Australian Documents Library.Bowral: Barcom Press.

BOYS, Robert Douglass, 1935, *First years at Port Phillip, preceded by a summary of historical events from 1768.* Melbourne: Robertson and Mullens.

BRADDON, Russell, 1986, *Thomas Baines and the North Australian Expedition.* Sydney: Collins.

BRADY, Edric Hubert, 1939, William Lee, of Larras Lake. *JRAHS* 25: 2, 162.

BRANDL, M.M. and M. WALSH, 1982, Speakers of many tongues: toward understanding multilingualism among Aboriginal Australians. *International Journal of Society and Language*, no. 36, 1982, 71-81.

BRAYSHAW, Helen, 1986, *Aborigines of the Hunter Valley: a study of colonial records.* Scone: Scone and Upper Hunter Historical Society.

BREEN, Gavan, 1981, *The Mayi languages of the Queensland gulf country.* Canberra: AIAS.

BRETON, William Henry, 1834[2nd edn], *Excursions in New South Wales, Western Australia and Van Diemen's Land during the years 1830, 1831, 1832, and 1833.* London: Richard Bentley.

BRIDE, Thomas Francis, 1898, *Letters from Victorian Pioneers: a series of papers addressed by Victorian pioneers to his excellency Charles Joseph La Trobe, Esq. Lieutenant-Governor of the Colony of Victroia.* Melbourne: The Trustees of the Public Library, Museums, and National Gallery of Victoria.

BRIDGES, Barry J., 1968, Aboriginal education in eastern Australia (N.S.W.) 1788-1855.*The Australian journal of education* 12:3.

1978, *The church of England and the Aborigines of New South Wales 1788-1855.* PhD thesis, University of New South Wales.

BRITTON, Alexander, 1894, *History of New South Wales from the records, volume 2: Phillip and Grose 1789-1794.* Edited by M.F. Bladen. Sydney: Government Printer .

BRODRIBB, W.A., 1883, *Recollections of an Australian Squatter or leaves from my journal since 1835.* Sydney: John Woods & Co.

BRODSKY, Isadore, 1973, *Bennelong profile: dreamtime reveries of a native of Sydney Cove.* Sydney: University Co-operative Bookshop.

BROOK, Jack, 1988, The widow and the child. *Aboriginal history* 12:1, 63-78.

BROOME, Richard, 1984, *The Victorians arriving.* McMahons Point: Fairfax, Syme and Weldon Associates.

BUFFETT, Alice and Don LAYCOCK, 1988, *Speak Norfolk today.* Norfolk Island: Himii Publishing Company.

BULEY, E.C., 1905, *Australian life in town and country*. New York: G. Putnam's Sons, The Knickerbocker Press.

BULL, John Wrathall, 1884, *Early experiences of life in South Australia, and an extended colonial history*. Adelaide: E.S. Wigg and Son.

BUNCE, DANIEL, 1859, *Language of the Aborigines of the colony of Victoria and other Australian districts; with parallel translations and familiar specimens in dialogue, as a guide to Aboriginal Protectors, and others engaged in ameliorating their condition.* Geelong: Thomas Brown.

BUSHMAN, Jim, nd, *In the Musgrave Ranges*. London: Blackie and Son.

BUTLIN, N.G., 1983, *Our original aggression: Aboriginal populations of southeastern Australia 1788-1850.* Sydney: George Allen and Unwin.

BUZO, Alex, 1987, *Glancing blows: life and language in Australia.* Melbourne: Penguin Books.

BYRNE, Denis, 1984, *The mountains call me back: a history of the Aborigines and the forests of the far south coast*. Sydney: NSW Ministry of Aboriginal Affairs and the NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service.

CALDER, J.E., 1972[1875], *Some account of the wars, extirpation, habits, &c ., of the native tribes of Tasmania.* Facs. Hobart: Fullers Bookshop.

CALVERT, Albert F., 1892, *The Aborigines of Western Australia*. London: W. Milligan and Co.

CAMERON, Ian, 1987, *Lost paradise: the exploration of the Pacific*. Topsfield: Salem House.

CAMERON-SMITH, Barbara, 1987, *Starting from scratch—Australia's first farm.* Sydney: Royal Botanic Gardens Sydney.

CAMP, James, X.J. KENNEDY and Keith WALDROP, eds, 1971, *Pegasus descending: a book of the best bad verse*. New York: Collier Books.

CAMPBELL, James, 1791, Letter from Captain James Campbell to Dr. Farr, Physician to the Royal Hospital, Plymouth, from Sydney Cove, 24.3.1791. MS. ML: 1109 ML DOC.

CAMPION, Edmund, 1982, *Rockchoppers*. Ringwood: Penguin Books.

CANNON, Michael and Ian MACFARLANE, eds, 1982, *Historical records of Victoria, volume 2A: the Aborigines of Port Phillip 1835-1839*. Melbourne: Victorian Government Printing Office.

eds, 1983, *Historical records of Victoria, volume 2B: Aborigines and protectors 1838-1839*. Melbourne: Victorian Government Printing Office.

eds, 1991, *Historical records of Victoria. Foundation series. Volume six. The Crown, the land and the squatter 1835-1840.* Melbourne: Melbourne UP.

CANNON, Michael , 1991, *Old Melbourne Town before the gold rush*. Arthur's Seat Road, Main Ridge: Loch Haven Books.

CAPELL, Arthur, 1966, A new approach to Australian linguistics [handbook of Australian languages, part 1]. *Oceania linguistic monographs*, no 1.

1970, Aboriginal languages in the south central coast, New South Wales: fresh discoveries. *Oceania*, no. 41, 1970-71: 20-27.

1979a, Classification of verbs in Australian languages. In Wurm, ed., 1979, 229-322.

1979b, The history of Australian languages: a first approach. In Wurm, ed., 1979, 419-619.

CARR, Oliver, n.d., *Join in and sing: a book of select Irish ballads*. Tallaght, Dublin: Oliver Carr.

CARRINGTON, Don, 1986, Jesus' dreaming; stories as a way of doing theology with Aboriginal people: a report on an experiment in intercultural hermeneutics from Nungalingya College Darwin. *St. Mark's review*, December 1986, 3-18.

CARRINGTON, Lawrence D., 1992, Images of creole space. *JPCL* 7:1, 93-99.

CARTER, Tom, 1987, *No Sundays in the bush: an English Jackeroo in Western Australia 1887-1889*. Melbourne: Lothian.

CATO, Nancy, 1976, *Mister Maloga: Daniel Matthews and his Mission, Murray River, 1863-1902*. St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press.

CAVANILLES, Antonio Joseph, 1800, Observations on the soil, natives and plants of Port Jackson and Botany Bay. Translated in King 1990, 151-68.

CENTRAL MAPPING AUTHORITY, 1987, *(1) Aboriginal New South Wales. A pictorial study guide. (2) Supplement to the map/study guide.* Bathurst: Central Mapping Authority, NSW Department of Lands

CHAMBERS, Blagden, 1988, Black and white. Richmond, Victoria: Methuen.

CHAMPION, Ben W., 1939, Lancelot Edward Threlkeld: his life and work, 1788-1859. 2 parts. *JRAHS* 25:4-5, 279-329, 341-411.

CHAPMAN, Don, 1981, *1788: the people of the First Fleet*. Sydney: Cassell Australia.

CHARPENTIER, Jean-Michel, 1979, Le Pidgin bislama(n) et le multilinguisme aux Nouvelles-Hébrides. *Langues et Civilisations à Tradition Orale* 35, Société d'Études Linguistiques et Anthropologiques de France, Paris.

CHISOLM, Alec, 1955[1941], *Strange new world: the adventures of John Gilbert and Ludwig Leichardt.* Sydney: Angus and Robertson.

1963, ed, *The Australian encyclopedia*. 10 vols. Sydney: Grolier Society.

CHOI, C.Y., 1975, *Chinese migration and settlement in Australia*. Sydney: Sydney

CHRISTIE, M.F., 1979, Aborigines in colonial Victoria. Sydney: Sydney UP.

CILENTO, Raphael, 1986, *Captain Walker's marathon*. Toowong: Boolarong Publications.

CLANCY, Patrick, Sheelagh DRUDY, Kathleen LYNCH and Liam O'DOWD, 1986, *Ireland: a sociological profile*. Dublin: Institute of Public Administration.

CLAPHAM, Alice Augusta, n.d.[1888?], "Poor Mary Ann" or the old log hut. MS. Bathurst Historical Society Archives reg no D, Bathurst, NSW.

CLARK, Manning, Ian CLARKE, Jan CRITCHETT, Beth GOTT, Ben GUNN and John Riddoch POYNTER, 1987, *Australia Felix, the Chap Wurrung and Major Mitchell*. Dunkeld: Dunkeld and District Historical Museum.

CLARK, Charles Manning H., 1979a[1962], *A history of Australia. Volume 1: from the earliest times to the age of Macquarie*. Melbourne: Melbourne UP.

1979b[1968], *A history of Australia. Volume 2: New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land 1822-1838*. Melbourne: Melbourne UP.

1979[1973], *A history of Australia. Volume 3: the beginning of an Australian civilization*. Melbourne: Melbourne UP.

1979[1978], *A history of Australia. Volume 4: the earth abideth for ever*. Melbourne: Melbourne UP.

A history of Australia. Volume 5: the people make laws 1888-1915. Melbourne: Melbourne UP.

1987, *A history of Australia. Volume 6: 'the old dead tree and the young green tree'*. Melbourne: Melbourne UP.

CLARK, Ian D. and Peter MÜLHÄUSLER, n.d. (c.1992), Language contacts and pidgin English in Victoria. MS.

CLARK, Ian D., 1988, *The Port Phillip Journals of George Augustus Robinson: 8 March-7 April 1842 and 18 March - 29 April 1843*. Melbourne: Department of Geography and Environmental Science, Monash University.

1990, *Aboriginal languages and clans: an historical atlas of western and central Victoria, 1800-1900*. Melbourne: Department of Geography and Environmental Science, Monash University.

CLARK, Ralph, 1981, *The journal and letters of Lt. Ralph Clark 1787-1792*. Sydney: Australian Documents Library in Association with The Library of Australian History.

CLARK, Ross, 1979, In search of Beach-la-mar: towards a history of Pacific pidgin English.*Te Reo*, vol. 22, 1979, 3-64.

1987, Substratum and the phonology of early Melanesian Pidgin. In Boretzky, Enninger and Stolz, eds, 1987, 77-97.

1990, Pidgin English and Pidgin Maori in New Zealand. In Bell and Holmes, eds, 1990, 97-128.

CLEARY, P.S., 1933, *Australia's debt to Irish nation-builders*. Sydney: Angus and Robertson.

CLEMENTS, J. Clancy, 1992, Foreigner talk and the origins of Pidgin Portuguese. *JPCL* 7:1, 75-92.

CLIFFORD, James, 1988, *The predicament of culture: twentieth century ethnography, literature, and art*. Cambridge, Massachusettes: Harvard UP.

CLOUGH, Arthur Hugh, 1976[1848], *The Bothie*. Patrick Scott, ed., St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press.

CLOUTEN, Keith H., 1967, *Reid's Mistake: the story of Lake Macquarie from its discovery until 1890*. Lake Macquarie: Lake Macquarie Shire Council.

CLYNE, Michael, 1972, *Perspectives on language contact based on a study of German in Australia*. Melbourne: The Hawthorn Press.

COBLEY, John, 1963, *Sydney Cove 1789-1790*. Sydney: Angus and Robertson.

1965, *Sydney Cove 1791-1792*. Sydney: Angus and Robertson.

1987[1962], *Sydney Cove 1788*. Sydney: Angus and Robertson.

COHEN, Bill, 1987, *To my delight: the autobiography of Bill Cohen a grandson of the Gumbangarri*. Canberra: AIAS.

COLE, G.D.H. and POSTGATE, Raymond, 1964[1938], *The common people 1746-1946*. London: Methuen and Co.

COLE, Keith, 1982, *The Aborigines of Victoria*. Bendigo: Keith Cole Publications.

COLLINS, David, 1975[1798], *An account of the English colony in New South Wales*. 2 vols.Sydney: A.H. and A.W. Reed.

COLLINS, Peter and David BLAIR, eds, 1989, *Australian English: the language of a new society*. St Lucia: University of Queensland Press.

COLWELL, Max, 1964, *Peter the Whaler in southern seas*. Melbourne: Macmillan.

COMMITTEE OF THE SOUTH GIPPSLAND PIONEERS' ASSOCIATION, 1966[1920], *The land of the lyre bird: a story of early settlment in the great forest of south Gippsland*. Melbourne: Shire of Korumburra. Commonwealth Parliament.

CONRAD, Robert Edgar, 1983, *Children of God's fire: a documentary history of black slavery in Brazil*. Princeton: Princeton UP.

COPPER, Bob, 1971, *A song for every season: a hundred years of a Sussex farming family*. Newton Abbot: Country Book Club.

CORFIELD, P.J., 1982, *The impact of English towns*. Oxford: Oxford UP.

CORNELL, Christine, 1965, *Questions relating to Nicolas Baudin's Australian expedition, 1800-1804*. Adelaide: Libraries Board of South Australia.

CORONES, Anthony, Graham PONT and Barbara SANTICH, 1990, *Food in festivity. Proceedings of the fouth symposium of Australian gastronomy, Sydney 16-18 October 1988*. Sydney: Australian Gastronomy Symposium.

COWAN, James, 1983, *The river people*. Frenchs Forest, NSW: A.H. and A.W. Reed.

CRAWFORD, Thomas, ed., 1976, *Love, labour and liberty: the eigteenth-century Scottish lyric*. Cheadle: Carcanet Press.

CRITCHETT, Jan, 1984, A closer look at cultural contact: some evidence from 'Yambuck' western district, Victoria. *Aboriginal history* 8:1, 12-20.

CRITTENDEN, Victor, 1982, *A bibliography of the First Fleet*. Canberra: ANUP

CROWLEY, Frank, 1974, *A new history of Australia*. Melbourne: William Heinemann.

CROWLEY, Terry, 1990a, The South Seas Jargon lexicon revisited. MS. University of Waikato, New Zealand.

1990b, *An illustrated Bislama-English and English-Bislama dictionary*. Vila: University of the South Pacific.

1990c, *Beach-la-mar to Bislama: the emergence of a national language in Vanuatu*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

1991, Varieties of Melanesian Pidgin: Separate identities vs. European stereotypes. *Language and linguistics in Melanesia*, vol 22, 1991, 51-65.

1992, Derivational morphology and structural complexity in nineteenth century Melanesian Pidgin. *Te Reo*, 35, 1992, 3-18.

1993, Tasmanian Aboriginal language: old and new identities. In Walsh and Yallop, eds, 1993, 51-71.

CRYSTAL, David, 1980, *A first dictionary of linguistics and phonetics*. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press.

CUMPSTON, J.H.L., 1954, *Thomas Mitchell Surveyor General and explorer*. Melbourne: Oxford UP.

CUNNINGHAM, Peter Miller, [1966]1827, *Two years in New South Wales; a series of letters, comprising sketches of the actual state of society in that colony; of its peculiar advantages to emigrants; of its topography, natural history, &c. &c*. 2 vols. Facs. Adelaide: Libraries Board of South Australia.

CURR, Edward Micklethwaite, 1883, *Recollections of squatting in Victoria, then called the Port Phillip district, from 1841 to 1851*. Melbourne: George Robertson.

1886, *The Australian race; its origin, languages and customs*. 4 vols. Melbourne: Government Printer.

CURRER-JONES, A., 1930, *William Dawes, R.M. 1762-1836: a sketch of his life, work, and explorations (1787) in the first expedition to New South Wales: [also as Governor of Sierra Leone, and in Antigua, West Indies*. Torquay: W.H. Smith and Sons.

D'COSTA, Jean and Barbara LALLA, 1989, *Voices in exile. Jamaican texts of the 18th and 19th centuries*. Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press.

1990, *Language in exile: three hundred years of Jamaican Creole*. Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press.

D'URVILLE, Dumont, 1987, *An account in two volumes of the two voyages to the south seas by Captain (later Rear-Admiral) Jules S-C Dumont D'Urville of the French Navy to Australia, New Zealand, Oceania 1826-1829 in the corvette Astrolabe and Té Lée.* Translated from the French and edited by Helen Rosenman. Melbourne: Melbourne UP.

DALTON, B J., 1986, The nature of the 'Gin': a note on 'Whirlwinds in the plain'. *Aboriginal history*, vol. 10, part 2, 152-156.

DALY, Mary and David DICKSON, eds, 1990, *The origins of popular literacy in Ireland: language change and educational development 1700-1920.* Dublin: Department of Modern History, Trinity College.

DAMPIER, William, 1686-87, Extract from Sloan MS. 3236, entitled 'The adventures of William Dampier, with others [1686-87], who left Captain Sherpe in the South Seas, and travaled back over land through the country of Darien', 445-450.

1697, Account of the observations of Captain William Dampier on the coast of New Holland, in 1687-88, being an extract from his "New Voyage round the world," published in London, 1697, 8vo., 461. In Major, ed., 1963, 74-80.1729, Account of the observations of Captain William Dampier on the coast of New Holland, in 1699,being an extract from "A voyage to New Holland etc., in the year 1699." vol. 111, 3rd ed., 1729, 75-107. In Major, ed., 1963, 101-123.

1981, *A voyage to New Holland: the English voyage of discovery to the south seas in 1699.* Edited and introduction by James Spencer. Gloucester: Alan Sutton.

DARLING, Ralph, 1828, Letter from Governor Darling to Right Hon. W.Huskisson. *HRA*, vol. 14, 54-55.

DAVIDSON, Jeremy H.C.S., ed., 1990, *Pacific Island languages: essays in honour of G.B. Milner.* Honolulu: School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London and University of Hawaii Press.

DAVIES, W. Watkin , n.d., *How to read history.* London and Toronto: Hodder and Stoughton.

DAVIS, Arthur Hoey (Steele Rudd), 1984, *The complete Steele Rudd.* 4 vols. St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press.

DAVIS, M. Lawrence, 1983, *English dialectology: an introduction.* The University of Alabama Press.

DAVIS, Taffy, 1977, *Australian nicknames.* Melbourne: Rigby.

DAWES, William, 1790, Grammatical forms of the language of N.S. Wales, in the neighbourhood of Sydney, by --- Dawes, in the year 1790. London:School of Oriental and African Studies. MS. Marsden Collection 41645a.

1790-91, Vocabulary of the language of N.S. Wales, in the neighbourhood of Sydney. (Native and English), by Dawes. MS. School of Oriental and African Studies, London, Marsden Collection 41645b.

DAWSON, Robert, 1826a, Letter to John Smith MP. MS. ML: Q991/D.

1826b, Letter to Mrs Robert Dawson. ML: Q991/D.

1826c, Report to the Directors, Australian Agricultural Company, London, 4 February 1826. MS. In the Macarthur Papers, Australian Agricultural Company Correspondence and Papers, September 1826 to April 1828, 3-13, ML: A 4321.

1828a, R. Dawson's report to the Colonial Committee c/- Mr Js. Macarthur, 31 January 1828. MS. In the Macarthur Papers, 1827-1830, documents concerning Robert Dawson and the Australian Agricultural Company, p 72, ML: A 4318.

1828b, Notice, 1 February 1828. MS. In the Macarthur Papers, Australian Agricultural Company Correspondence and Papers, September 1826 to April 1828, p 30, ML: A 4321.

1831[2nd edn], *The present state of Australia; a description of the country, its advantages and prospects, with reference to emigration: and a particular account of the manners, customs, and condition of its Aboriginal inhabitants.* London: Smith Elder and Co.

DAY, Mrs Henry, n.d., Mrs Drummond of Quondong. In Patchett Martin, ed., 1891, 33-112.

De BHALDRAITHE, Tomás, ed., 1959, *English-Irish Dictionary*. Dublin: Hely's.

De BOOS, Charles, 1867, *Fifty years ago: an Australian tale*. Sydney: Gordon and Gotch.

De SERVILLE, Paul, 1980, *Port Phillip gentlemen*. Melbourne: Oxford UP.

1982, *Tubbo 'the Great Peter's run'*. Melbourne: Oxford UP.

De VLAMINGH, Cornelis, 1701, Extract from the journal of a voyage made to the unexplored South Land, by order fo the Dutch East India Company, in the years 1696 and 1697, by the hooker De Nyptang, the ship De Geelvink, and the Galiot De Wesel, and the return to Batavia, printed at Amsterdam, 1701. In Major, ed., 1963, 90-100.

De VLAMINGH, Willem, 1696, Some particulars relating to the voyage of Willem de Vlamingh to New Holland in 1696, extracted from MS doucments at the Hague. In Major, ed., 1963, 84-89.

DELANO, Amasa, 1817, *A narrative of voyages and travels in the northern and southern hemispheres: comprising three voyages round the world; together with a voyage of survey and discovery in the Pacific Ocean and Oriental Islands.* Boston:

DELBRIDGE, Arthur, 1991, English words with an Aboriginal accent: review of 'Australian Aboriginal words in English: their origin and meaning' by R.M. Dixon, W.S.Ramson and Mandy Thomas. *The weekend Australian*, January 5-6, 1991, 6.

Den HARTOG, Dirk, 1987, Going blank: the authorial self in (male) Australian literature. *Australian cultural history*, vol. 6, 33-48.

DENHOLM, David, 1981, The Myall Creek massacre. *The push from the bush; a bulletin of social history: devoted to the year of grace, 1838*, vol. 9, July, 72-86.despatches to and from England. 26 vols. Sydney: Library Committee of the State Library of NSW.

DEVENISH, Dorothy, 1948, *A Wiltshire home: a study of Little Durnford.* London: B.T. Batsford

DILLON, Myles and Donnacha Ó CRÓINÍN, 1986/1961,*Teach yourself Irish.* New York: Hodder and Stoughton.

DINEEN, Patrick S., ed., 1970[1927], *An Irish-English dictionary, being a thesaurus of the words, phrases and idioms of the modern Irish language.* Dublin: The Irish Texts Society and The Educational Company of Ireland.

DINNERSTEIN, Leonard, Roger L. NICHOLS and David M. RIVERS, 1979, *Ethnic groups and the building of America: natives and strangers.* New York: Oxford UP.

DIXON, Joan M. and Linda HUXLEY, eds, 1985, *Donald Thomson's mammals and fishes of northern Australia.* Melbourne: Thomas Nelson.

DIXON, Robert, 1986, *The course of empire: neo-classical culture in New South Wales 1788-1860.* Melbourne: Oxford UP.

DIXON, R.M.W. and Barry J. BLAKE, 1981, *Handbook of Australian languages, volume 2: Wargamay, The Mpakwithi dialect of Anguthimri, Watjarri, Margany and Gunay, Tasmanian.* Canberra: ANUP.

1983, *Handbook of Australian languages, volume 3: Dajapu, a Yolngu dialect, Yukulta, Uradhi, Nyawaygi.* Canberra: ANUP.

1991, *Handbook of Australian languages, volume 4: The Aboriginal language of Melbourne and other grammatical sketches.* Oxford: Oxford UP.

DIXON, R.M.W., W.S. RAMSON and Mandy THOMAS, 1990, *Australian Aboriginal words in English: their origin and meaning.* Melbourne: Oxford UP.

DIXON, R.M.W., 1972, *The Dyirbal language of north Queensland.* Cambridge: Cambridge UP.

1976, ed., *Grammatical categories in Australian languages.* Canberra: AIAS.

1977, *A grammar of Yidiny.* Cambridge: Cambridge UP.

1980, *The languages of Australia.* Cambridge: Cambridge UP.

DIXSON, Miriam, 1984[1976], *The real Matilda: woman and identity in Australia 1788 to the present.* Melbourne: Penguin Books.

DONALDSON, Tamsin and Ian DONALDSON, eds, *Seeing the first Australians.* Sydney: George Allen and Unwin

DONALDSON, Tamsin, 1980, Ngiyambaa: the language of the Wangaaybuwan. Cambridge UP.

1984, What's in a name? An etymological view of land, language and social identification from central western New South Wales. *Aboriginal history*, vol. 8, part 1, 21-44.

1985, From speaking Ngiyampaa to speaking English. *Aboriginal history*, vol. 9, part 1, 126 - 147.

DOW, Gwyneth M., 1974, *Samuel Terry: the Botany Bay Rothschild.* Sydney: Sydney UP.

DUCHARME, LEON (LEANDRE), 1976[1944], *Journal of a political exile.* Translated by George Mackaness. Dubbo: Review Publications.

DUNCAN-KEMP, A.M., 1933, *Our sandhill country. Nature and man in south-western Queensland.* Sydney: Angus and Robertson.

DUNDERDALE, George, 1870, *The book of the bush, containing many truthful sketches of the early colonial life of squatters, whalers, convicts, diggers, and others who left their native land and never returned.* London: Ward Lock.

DUNLOP, Eliza Hamilton, 1814-1866, The vase, comprising songs for music and poems by Eliza Hamilton Dunlop, 1814-1866. MS. ML: B 1541, CY Reel 1238.

DUNMORE, John, 1965-69, *French explorers in the Pacific.* 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

1967, *Aventures dans le Pacifique, from the accounts of French voyagers to the Pacific, Australia, and New Zealand.* Sydney: A.H. and A.W. Reed.

DUNN, S.S. and C.M. TATZ, 1969, *Aborigines and education.* Melbourne: Sun Books.

DURACK, Mary, 1963, *To ride a fine horse.* Melbourne: Macmillan and Co.

DUTTON, Geoffrey, 1985, *The squatters.* South Yarra, Victoria: Currey O'Neil.

DUTTON, Tom, Malcolm ROSS and Darrell TRYON, eds, 1992, The language game: papers in memory of Donald C. Laycock. *PL* C110.

DUTTON, Tom with Dicks THOMAS, 1985, A new course in Tok Pisin (New Guinea Pidgin). *PL* D67.

DUTTON, Tom, 1980, Queensland Canefields English of the late nineteenth Century (a record of interview with two of the last surviving Kanakas in north Queensland, 1964). *PL* D29.

1983, The origin and spread of Aboriginal pidgin English in Queensland: a preliminary account. *Aboriginal history* 7:1, 90-122.

1985, *Police Motu: iena sivari (its story).* Port Moresby: University of Papua New Guinea Press.

1987, "Successful intercourse was had with the natives": aspects of European contact methods in the Pacific. In Laycock and Winter, eds, 1987, 153-171.

ed., 1992, Culture change, language change: case studies from Melanesia. *PL*, C 120.

DYSTER, Barrie, 1979, Old father Thames. *The push from the bush; a bulletin of social history: devoted to the year of grace, 1838*, vol 3, May 1979, 1-4.

EADES, Diana Kelloway, 1976, *The Dharawal and Dhurga languages of the New South Wales south coast.* Canberra: AIAS.

EARNSHAW, Beverly, 1981, The colonial children. *The push from the bush; a bulletin of social history: devoted to the year of grace, 1838*, vol. 9, July 1981, 28-43.

EARP, G.B., 1853, *What we did in Australia: being the practical experience of three clerks, in the stock-yard and at the gold fields*. London: George Routledge and Co.

EBSWORTH, J. Edward, 1829, Letter from J. Edward Ebsworth of Port Stephens to J. Shettell Buckwood Esqu., 17 September 1829. MS. In the Macarthur Papers, Australian Agricultural Company correspondence and papers, August 1829 to April 1832, 60-62, ML: A 4318.

ECKMAN, Fred R., Edith A. MORAVICSIK and Jessica R. WIRTH, 1986, *Markedness*. New York: Plenum Press.

EDGAR, Donald, 1980, *Introduction to Australian society: a sociological perspective*. Melbourne: Prentice-Hall.

EDGAR, Lucy Anna, 1865, *Among the black boys; being the history of an attempt at civilising some young Aborigines of Australia*. London: Emily Faithfull.

EDWARDS, A., 1915, Note on the Moira Lake or Yorta Yorta Tribe. MS. In Milne n.d., collection of the National Museum of Australia.

EDWARDS, Don, 1944, *High hill at midnight*. Sydney: Australasian Publishing Co.

EDWARDS, John, 1985, *Language, society and identity*. New York: Basil Blackwell and André Deutsch.

EDWARDS, Ron, ed., 1988, *Proceedings of the 3rd National Folklore Conference, held in the National Library, Canberra, November 26-27 1988*. Canberra: Australian Folk Trust.

EDWARDS, Phyllis I., ed., 1981, The journal of Peter Good. *Bulletin of the British Museum (Natural History)*..

EGAN, Ted, ed, 1984, *The overlanders songbook*. Richmond, Vic: Greenhouse Publications.

1984, *The shearers songbook*. Richmond, Vic: Greenhouse Publications.

ELDER, Bruce, 1988, *Blood on the Wattle: massacres and maltreatment of Australian Aborigines since 1788*. Frenchs Forest: Child and Associates.

ELKIN, A. P., 1943, *The Australian Aborigines and how to understand them* Sydney: Angus and Robertson.

ELLIS, Catherine J., 1985, *Aboriginal music: education for living*. St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press.

ELLIS, Vivienne Rae-Ellis, 1988, *Black Robinson, Protector of Aborigines*. Melbourne: Melbourne UP.

EVANS, Nicholas and Steve JOHNSON, eds, 1988, *Aboriginal linguistics, number 1*. Armidale: Department of Linguistics, University of New England.

EVANS, William, ed., 1975, repr.*Diary of a Welsh swagman 1869-1894.* Melbourne: Sun Books.

FABIAN, Johannes, 1986a, *Language and colonial power. The appropriation of Swahili in the former Belgian Congo 1880-1938.* Cambridge: Cambridge UP.

1986b, Simplicity on command:on pidginization of Swahili in Shaba (Zaire). In Fishman et al, eds, 1986, 377-85.

1990, *History from below: the 'vocabulary' of Elisabethville by André Yav: text, ranslations and interpretive essay.* Edited, translated and commentary by Johannes Fabian. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

1991a, Accident and method in the study of intercultrual communication: colonial description of Swahili in the former Belgian Congo. In Blommaert and Verschueren, eds, 1991, 33-50.

1991b, Potopot: problems of documenting the history of spoken Swahili in Shaba. In Blommaert, ed., 1991, 17-44.

FALBE, Jane de, 1988, *My dear Miss Macarthur.* Kenthurst: Kangaroo Press.

FALKINER, Suzanne, 1981, *Haddon Rig. The first hundred years.* Valadon Publishing.

FARWELL, George, 1973, *Squatter's castle. The story of a pastoral dynasty. Life and times of Edward David Stewart Olgivie 1814-96.* Melbourne: Lansdowne Press.

FASOLD, Ralph, 1984, *The sociolinguistics of society.* Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

FAVENC, Ernest, 1888, *The history of Australian exploration from 1788 to 1888: compiled from state documents, private papers, and the most authentic sources of information issued unter the auspices of the governments of the Australian colonies.* Sydney: Turner and Henderson.

1894, *The secret of the Australian desert.* London: Blackie and Son.

n.d.[c.1920], *Marooned on Australia: being the narration by Diedrich Buys of hisdiscoveries and exploits in Terra Australis Incognita about the year 1630.* London: Blackie and Son.

FELS, Marie H., 1986, A quasi-policing Aboriginal expedition in Port Phillip in 1838. *Aboriginal history*, vol. 10, part 2, 117 - 129.

FELTON, Mathew, 1829-1831, Letters 11.8.1829-4.11.1831, written to his cousin and future wife Sarah Mathew, from various ships and various places in New South Wales. MS. ML: MSS 1673.

FENN, George Manville, n.d. (c.1890), *The dingo boys: or the squatters of Wallaby Range.* London: W. and R. Chambers.

FERGUSON, J.A., 1930, Studies in Australian bibliography. IV: a bibliography of literature ascribed to, or relating to, George Barrington. *JRAHS*, vol. 16, 51-86.

FERRES, Arthur, n.d.[c1896], *His first kangaroo.* London: Blackie and Son.

FIELD, Barron, ed., 1825, *Geographical memoirs on New South Wales; by various hands: containing an account of the Surveyor General's late expedition to two new ports; the discovery of Moreton Bay River, with the adventures for seven months there of two shipwrecked men; a route from Bathurst to Liverpool Plains; together with other papers on the Aborigines, the geology, the botany, the timber, the astronomy, the metereology of New South Wales and Van Diemens Land.* London: John Murray.

FINLAY, Eileen, 1948, *Crying in the wilderness.* Sydney: Publishers Distributing Co.

FISHER, Robin and Hugh JOHNSTON, 1979, *Captain James Cook and his times.* Canberra: ANUP.

FISHMAN, Joshua A. et al, eds, 1986, *The Fergusonian impact; volume 1: from phonology to society.* Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

FISON, Lorimer and A.W. HOWITT, 1880, *Kamiliaroi and Kurnai: group marriage and relationship, and marriage by elopement drawn chiefly from the usage of the Australian Aborigines, also the Kurnai tribe, their customs in peace and war.* Melbourne: George Robertson.

FITZGERALD, Ross, 1988, NSW academic's cat among the bicentennial pigeons: ruffians or gentlemen? *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 3.12.1988.

FITZGERALD, Shirley, 1987, *Rising damp: Sydney 1870-90.* Melbourne: Oxford UP.

FITZHARDINGE, L F., 1979a, Additional note. In Tench, 1979, vi.

1979b[1959], Editor's introduction. In Tench, 1979, xv-xxv.

1983[1975], *Old Canberra and the search for a capital.* Canberra: Canberra and District Historical Society.

FITZPATRICK, Kathleen, 1958, *Australian explorers: a selection from their writings with an introduction.* London: Oxford UP.

FLANAGAN, Roderick J., 1883, *The Aborigines of Australia.* Sydney: F. Flanagan and George Robertson and Co.

FLEMING, William, 1927, *The hunted picaninnies.* London: J.M. Dent and Sons.

FLETCHER, Brian H., 1984, *Ralph Darling: a governor maligned.* Melbourne: Oxford UP.

FLINDERS, Mathew, 1814, *A voyage to Terra Australis; undertaken for the purpose of completing the discovery of that vast country, and prosecuted in the years 1801, 1802, and 1803, in His Majesty's ship the Investigator, and subsequently in the armed vessel Porpoise and Cumberland schooner, with an account of the wreck of the Porpoise, arrival of the Cumberland at Mauritius, and imprisonment of the Commander during six years and a half in that island.* 2 vols plus atlas. London: W. Bulmer and Co.

1986, *Mathew Flinders private journal, 1803-1814; the Mitchell Library manuscript.* Surrey: Genesis Publications.

FORSTER, Honoure, 1985, *The south sea whaler. An annotated bibliography of publications and historical, literary and art material relating to whaling in the Pacific Ocean in the nineteenth century*. Fairhaven: The Kendall Whaling Museum and Edward J. Lefkowicz.

FOSTER, S.G., 1981, 'The purposes, duties and arts of life': Judge Burton's plan for black villages. *The push from the bush; a bulletin of social history: devoted to the year of grace, 1838*, vol. 9, July, 44-55.

FOWELL, Newton, 1988, *The Sirius letters: the complete letters of Newton Fowell,1786-1790, midshipman and Lieutenant aboard the Sirius flagship of the First Fleet on its Voyage to New South Wales*. Sydney: The Fairfax Library.

FRANCK, Harry A., n.d.*Roaming through the West Indies.* London: Blue Ribbon Books.

FRANKLIN, Jane and John FRANKLIN, 1977, *Some private correspondence of Sir John and Lady Jane Franklin (Tasmania, 1837-1845)*. Dubbo: Review Publications.

FRASER, John, ed., 1892, *An Australian language as spoken by the Awabakal the people of Awaba or Lake Macquarie (near Newcastle, New South Wales); being an account of their language, traditions, and customs: by L.E. Threlkeld.* Sydney: Government Printer .

FREAME, William, 1918, *Old memories of the Hawkesbury, Nepean and Hunter River districts.* Paramatta: the author.

FREEMAN, Donald C., ed., 1981, *Essays in modern stylistics*. London: Methuen.

FROST, Alan, 1987, *Arthur Phillip 1738 - 1814: his voyaging*. Melbourne: Oxford UP.

FRY, Edith M., ed., 1939, *Tales by Australians*. London: British Authors' Press.

FULTON, Henry, n.d. (1800-1805), Sydney language wordlist. Ms. ML: D362, St Phillip's Church Register 1799-1805.

1896, Wordlist obtained by Rev. H. Fullow in 1801, A.D. from Aboriginals in Norfolk Island. *The Australian Anthropological Journal*, no. 2, September 12, 1896, 13.

GALE, G. Fay and Alison BROOKMAN, 1975, *Race relations in Australia: the Aborigines*. Sydney: McGraw-Hill Book Company.

GALE, G. Fay, 1986[1978], *Woman's role in Aboriginal society*. Canberra: AIAS.

GARDENER, P.D., 1990/1987, *Our founding murdering father. Angus McMillan and the Kurnai tribe of Gippsland 1839-1865*. Ensay: Ngarak Press.

GARTRELL, Majorie, 1957, *Dear primitive: a nurse among the Aborigines.* Sydney: Angus and Robertson.

GASC, Ferdinand E. A., 1873, *Dictionary of the French and English languages, with more than fifteen thousand new words, senses, and c.* London: Bell and Daldy.

GAUGHWIN, Denise and Hilary SULLIVAN, 1984, Aboriginal boundaries and movements in Western Port, Victoria. *Aboriginal history* 8:1, 80 - 98.

GAY, John D., 1971, *The geography of religion in England.* London: Gerald Duckworth.

GEORGE R., 1787, Instructions for our trusty and well-beloved Arthur Phillip, Esq., our Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief in and over our territory of New South Wales and its dependencies, or to the Lieutenant-Governor or Commander-in-chief of the said territory for the time being; given at our court at St. James's the 23rd day of April, 1787, in the twenty-seventh year of our reign. In Barton 1889, 481-487.

GIBNEY, H.J. and Ann G. SMITH, eds, 1987, *A biographical register 1788-1839: notes from the name index of the Australian Dictionary of Biography*. 2 vols. Canberra: Australian Dictionary of Biography, ANU.

GIFFARD, Ann, 1981, *Towards Quebec: two mid-19th century emigrant's journals.* London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office.

GIGLIO, Pier Paolo, 1985[1972], *Language and social context.* Middlesex: Penguin Books.

GILBERT, Glenn G., ed., 1987, *Pidgin and creole languages: essays in memory of John E. Reinecke*.Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

GILBERT, Thomas, 1789, *Voyage from New South Wales to Canton, in the year 1788, with views of the islands discovered.* London: J. Debrett.

GILCHRIST, Archibald, ed., 1951, *John Dunmore Lang: chiefly autobiographical 1799-1878, cleric, writer, traveller, statesman, pioneer of democracy in Australia, an assembling of contemporary documents.* 2 vols. Melbourne: Jedgarm Publications.

GILES, Ernest, 1889, *Australia twice traversed: the romance of exploration, being a narrative compiled from the journals of five exploring expeditions into and through central South Australia, and Western Australia, from 1872 to 1876.* 2 vols.London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle and Rivington.

GILLESPIE, Lyall, 1984, *Aborigines of the Canberra region.* Canberra: The author.

GILMORE, Mary, 1935, *More recollections.* Sydney: Angus and Robertson.

GLASSON, W.R., 1933, *Early western glimpses.* Orange: Printed at the *Leader* Office.

1949, *Bathurst Foundation Memorial, Sunday, 1st May, 1949 at 3 p.m., at the Foundation Memorial Carin, Lower William Street: celebration of the 134th anniversary of the proclamation of Bathurst by Governor Macquarie on 7th May, 1815, and of the holding of the first Christian service, address by W.R. Glasson.* Sydney: Australasian Medical Publishing Co.

GOVETT, William Romaine, Annette POTTS and Gaston RENARD, 1977, *Sketches of New South Wales written and illustrated for the Saturday Magazine in 1836-37 by William Romaine Govett, together with an essay on the Saturday Magazine by Gaston Renard and an account of his life by Annette Potts.* Melbourne: Gaston Renard.

GRAHAM, Charles, 1880, *Memoir of the Reverend John Graham by his brother Charles Graham.* London: John F. Shaw.

GRAHAM, John, 1863, *Lawrence Struilby; or, observations and experiences during twenty-five years of bush-life in Australia.* London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts and Green.

GRANT, Alexander Charles, 1888[new edn], *Bush life in Queensland, or, John West's colonial experiences.* Edinburgh: W. Blackwood.

GRANT, Ernest J., 1970, *Walking with time.* Melbourne: Abacada.

GRANT, James, 1803, *The narrative of a voyage of discovery, performed in his majesty's vessel The Lady Nelson, of sixty tons burthen, with sliding keels, in the years 1800, 1801, and 1802, to New South Wales.* London: T. Egerton.

GRAVES, Frank Pierrepont, 1929, *A student's history of education.* New York: Macmillan.

GRAY, Robert, 1913, *Reminiscences of India and north Queensland 1857-1912.* London: Constable and Company.

GREAVES, Bernard, ed., 1976[1961], *The story of Bathurst.* Sydney: Angus and Robertson Publishers.

GREENE, David, 1966, *The Irish language.* Dublin: The Cultural Relations Committee of Ireland and The Three Candles.

GREENHILL, Basil, ed., 1982, *The National Maritime Museum.* London: Scala and Phillip Wilson

GREGORY, Charles Augustus and Francis Thomas GREGORY, 1884, *Journals of Australian explorations.* Brisbane: James C. Beal.

GREGORY, Jackson, 1914, *Under handicap.* New York: Harper and Brothers.

GRIFFITHS, G. Nesta, 1952, *Some southern homes of New South Wales.* Sydney: The Shepherd Press.

GRIFFITHS, Tom, 1987, Past silences: Aborigines and convicts in our history-making. *Australian cultural history*, vol. 6, 18-32.

GROSE, Francis, 1785, *A classical dictionary of the vulgar tongue.* London: S. Hooper.

GUNSON, Niel, 1968, *The good country, Cranbourne Shire.* Melbourne: F.W. Cheshire.

ed., 1974, *Australian reminiscences and papers of L.E. Threlkeld missionary to the Aborigines 1824-1859.* 2 vols. Canberra: AIAS.

1974, Introduction. In Gunson, ed., 1974, 1-37.

1988, Two hundred years of Christianity. *Aboriginal history* 12:1, 103-111.

GUNTHER, James, 1892, Grammar and vocabulary of the Aboriginal dialect called the Wirradhuri. In Fraser, ed., 1892, 56-120.

GÖRLACH, Manfred, 1992, The typology of dictionaries of English-based pidgins and creoles. Ms. Paper given at the Ninth biennial conference of the Society for Creole Linguistics, Barbados, 9-14.8.1992.

HADGRAFT, Cecil, 1986, *The Australian short story before Lawson*. Melbourne: Oxford UP.

HAKLUYT, Richard, 1986, *Voyages to the Virginia colonies (a modern version)*. London: Century.

HALE, Horatio and James AGATE, 1839, From the published account of Horatio Hale and James Agate, December 1839. In Gunson, ed., 1974, 155-158.

HALEY, Nelson Cole, 1950, *Whale hunt: the narrative of a voyage by Nelson Cole Haley, harpooner in the ship Charles W. Morgan*. London: Robert Hale.

HALL, E.S., Letter from Mr. E.S. Hall to Sir George Murray, 26.11.1828. *HRA*, vol. 14, 596-600.

HALL, Robert A., 1955, *Hands off pidgin English!* Sydney: Pacific Publications.

HALL, Thomas, 1987[c1910], *A short history of the Downs Blacks known as The Blucher Tribe*. Toowoomba: Vintage Books.

HANCOCK, W.K., 1972, *Discovering Monaro: a study of man's impact on his environment*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.

HARDIE, J.J., 1946, *The bridle track*. Sydney: Dymock's Book Arcade.

HARDY, Bobbie, 1969, *West of the Darling*. Milton: Jacaranda Press.

1976, *Lament for the Barkindji: the vanished tribes of the Darling River region*. Adelaide: Rigby.

1985, *Early Hawkesbury settlers*. Kenthurst: Kangaroo Press.

1989, *From the Hawkesbury to the Monaro: the story of the Badgery family*. Kenthurst: Kangaroo Press.

HARDY, John and Alan FROST, eds, 1989, *Studies from Terra Australis to Australia*. Canberra: Highland Press and the Australian Academy of the Humanities.

HARKINS, Jean, 1994, *Bridging two worlds: Aboriginal English and cross-cultural understanding*. St Lucia: University of Queensland Press.

HARNEY, W.E. (Bill), 1961, *Grief, gaiety and Aborigines*. London: Robert Hale.

HARRIS, Alexander ('Emigrant Mechanic'), 1964[1847], *Settlers and convicts: recollections of sixteen years' labour in the Australian backwoods*. Melbourne: Melbourne UP.

1967[1849], *The emigrant family or the story of an Australian settler*. Canberra: ANUP.

1961, *The secrets of Alexander Harris: a frank autobiography by the author of Settlers and convicts*. Sydney: Angus and Robertson.

HARRIS, John W., 1986, Northern Territory Pidgins and the origin of Kriol. *PL*, C-89.

1990, *One blood: 200 years of Aboriginal encounter with Christianity: a story of hope*. Sutherland, NSW: Albatross Books.

1991, Kriol—the creation of a new language. In Romaine, ed., 1991, 195-212.

HARRIS, John, 1985, *Phonological variation and change. Studies in Hiberno-English*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.

HARTE, Bret, n.d., *The heathen Chinee and sensation novels*. London: Ward, Lock, and Co.

HASLETT, E. ('Maski Mike'), 1937, *Pidgin English dictionary of common nouns and phrases used in conversation with natives in the territory of New Guinea with an appendix containing sentences grouped for use in the vaired occupations of the Territory, also a collection of advice to new arrivals*. Townsville: T. Willmett & Sons.

HASSALL, James S., 1902, *In old Australia: records and reminiscences from 1794*. Brisbane: R.S. Hews and Co..

HASSALL, Rowland, 1803, Papers. MS. ML: A 859: 91.

1817, Letter from Rowland Hassall to Barder, 1 April 1817. MS. ML: BT Box 50.

HASSELL, Kathleen, 1966, *The relations between the settlers and Aborigines in South Australia, 1836-1860*. Adelaide: Libraries Board of South Australia.

HAVILAND, John B., 1974, A last look at Cook's Guugu Yimidhirr word list. *Oceania* 14: 3, 1974, 216-232.

1979, How to talk to your brother-in-law in Guugu Yimidhirr. In Shopen, ed., 1979, 161-239.

HAWKE, Steve and Michael GALLAGHER, 1989, *Noonkanbah: whose land whose law*. Fremantle: Fremantle Arts Centre Press.

HAWKESWORTH, John, 1773, *An account of the voyages undertaken by the order of His Present Majesty for making discoveries in the southern hemisphere and succesively performed by Commodore Byron, Captain Wallis, Captain Carteret, and Captain Cook in the Dolphin, the Swallow and the Endeavour: drawn up from the journals which were kept by the several commanders, and from the papers of Joseph Banks, Esq*. London: T. Strahan and T. Cadell.

HAYSOM, Margo and Nancy TINGEY, eds, 1982, *ACT Heritage Week 1982: Hall Historical Society and Village Voice special issue*.

HEALEY, John Joseph, 1969, The treatment of the Aborigine in Australian literature from the beginning to the present day. PhD thesis, University of Texas, Austin.

1989, *Literature and the Aborigine in Australia*. St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press.

HEGERNHAN, L.T., ed., 1972, *A colonial city: high and low life. Selected journalism of Marcus Clarke*. St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press

HENDERSON, John, 1832, *Observations on the colonies of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land*. Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press.

HENDERSON, Krimhilde and Terry HENDERSON, 1983, *Early Illawarra: people, houses, life. An Australia 1838 monograph*. Canberra: History Project Incorporated.

HENDRICKSON, R., 1983, *Animal crackers: a bestial lexicon*. New York: The Viking Press and Penguin Books.

HENRY, G.J., 1967, *Girroo Gurrll: the first surveyor and other Aboriginal legends*. Brisbane: W.R. Smith and Paterson.

HERCUS, Louise, 1984, The Marawara language of Yelta: interpreting linguistic records of the past. *Aboriginal history* 8:1, 56 - 62.

1986, Victorian languages: a late survey. *PL* B-77

1989, Three linguistic studies from far southwestern New South Wales. *Aboriginal history* 13:1, 44 - 62.

HEWINS, George, 1982, *The Dillen: memories of a man of Stratford-Upon-Avon*. Oxford: Oxford UP.

HEWISON, Anthony, *The Macquarie decade: documents illustrating the history of New South Wales 1810-1821*. Cassell Australia.

HIBBINS, GAHEY and ASKEW, 1985, *Local history: handbook for enthusiasts*. Sydney: George Allen and Unwin.

HIBBINS, Gillian, 1981, Close encounters of the first kind — a plea to read the overlanders.*The push from the bush; a bulletin of social history: devoted to the year of grace, 1838*, vol. 9, July, 87-95.

HILLIARD, Winifred, 1968, *The people in between: the Pitjantjatjara people of Ernabella*. London: Hodder and Stoughton.

HINKINS, John T., 1884, *Life amongst the native race: with extracts from a diary*. Melbourne: Haase, M'Queen and Co.

HISTORICAL SUB-COMMITTEE OF THE CENTENARY CELEBRATIONS COUNCIL, eds, 1934, Victoria, the first century: an historical survey. Melbourne: Robertson and Mullens.

HOGAN, James Francis, 1886, *An Australian Christmas collection: stories, sketches, essays*. Melbourne: Whitcombe and Tombs.

1887, *The Irish in Australia*. London: Ward and Downey.

HOGAN, Jeremiah J., 1927, *The English language in Ireland*. Dublin: The Educational Company of Ireland.

HOLLOWAY, John, 1987, *The Oxford book of local verses*. Oxford: Oxford UP.

HOLM, John A., 1988, *Pidgins and creoles, volume 1: theory and structure.* Cambridge: Cambridge UP.

1989, *Pidgins and creoles, volume 2: reference survey.* Cambridge: Cambridge UP.

1990, Review of Anna Shnukal, "Broken: an introduction to the creole language of Torres Strait". *Language and linguistics in Melanesia,* vol. 21, 1990, 181-186.

HOLMER, Nils M., 1966, An attempt towards a comparative grammar of two Australian languages. *AIAS Occasional Papers in Aboriginal Studies Number 5, Linguistic Paper Number 3.*

1967, An attempt towards a comparative grammar of two Australian languages. Part II. Indices and vocabularies of Kattang and Thangatti. *AIAS Occasional Papers in Aboriginal Studies Number 5, Linguistic Series Number 3, Part II.*

HOLT, Joseph, 1988, *A rum story: the adventures of Joseph Holt thirteen years in New South Wales 1800-1812.* Edited by Peter O'Shaughnessy.Kenthurst: Kangaroo Press.

HOOD, John, 1842, *Australia and the east: a journal narrative of a voyage to New South Wales in an emigrant ship, 1841-2.* London: John Murray.

HORNADGE, Bill, 1986[1980], *The Australian slanguage.* Sydney: Methuen.

HORNER, Frank, 1987, *The French reconnaissance: Baudin in Australia 1801-1803.* Melbourne: Melbourne UP.

HORVATH, Barbara M., 1985, *Variation in Australian English: the sociolects of Sydney.* New York: Cambridge UP.

HOSKING, Dianne and Sally MCNICOL, 1993, *Wiradjuri.* Canberra: The authors

HOSOKAWA, Komei, 1987, Malay talk on boat: an account of Broome pearling lugger pidgin. In Laycock and Winter, eds, 1987, 287-296.

HOTTEN, J.C., 1972[1887], *The slang dictionary.* Totowa: Rowman and Littlefield.

HOULDING, John Richard ('Old Boomerang'), 1913, *Christopher Cockle's Australian experiences.* Sydney: Angus and Robertson.

HOWITT, A.W., 1904, *The native tribes of south-east Australia.* London: Macmillan and Co.

HUDSON, Richard, 1986[1984], *Word grammar.* Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

HUNTER, John, 1968[1793], *An historical journal of events at Sydney and at sea 1787-1792.* Sydney: Angus and Robertson.

HYMES, Dell, 1971, ed., *Pidginization and creolization of languages: proceedings of a conference held at the University of the West Indies Mona, Jamaica, April 1968.* Cambridge: Cambridge UP.

1977, *Foundations in sociolinguistics: an ethnographic approach.* London: Tavistock.

INGAMELLS, Rex, 1945, *Yera: a verse narrative*. Adelaide: Jindyworobak

INGLETON, Geoffrey Chapman, ed., 1952, *True patriots all, or news from early Australia: as told in a collection of broadsides garmered and decorated by Geoffrey Chapman Ingleton*. Sydney: Angus and Robertson.

1979, General introduction. In Tench, 1979, vii-xiv.

1986, *Mathew Flinders: navigator and chartmaker*. Surrey: Genesis Publications.

INGLIS, K.S., 1974, *The Australian colonists: an exploration of social history 1788-1870*. Melbourne: Melbourne UP.

JACKOMOS, Alick and Derek FOWELL, 1991, *Living Aboriginal history of Victoria: stories in the oral tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP and the Museum of Victoria Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Advisory Committee.

JACKS, L.P., 1979[1910], *Mad shepherds and other human studies*. Oxford: Oxford UP.

JAMES, G.F., ed., 1949[1942], *A homestead history: being the reminiscences and letters of Alfred Joyce of Plaistow and Norwood, Port Phillip 1843 to 1864*. Melbourne: Melbourne UP.

JEANS, D N., 1987[1977], *Space and society*. Sydney: Sydney UP.

JENNINGS, J.N. and G.J.R. LINGE, eds, 1980, *Of time and place: essays in honour of O.H.K. Spate*. Canberra: ANUP

JENNINGS, M.V., ed., n.d., *The discovery of Australia*. Hill of Content Archive Series.

JERVIS, James, 1939a, Cedar and the cedar getters. *JRAHS* 25: 2, 1939, 131-156.

1939b, The Great South Road. *JRAHS* 25:5, 1939.

1948, Brisbane Water district: a century of history. *JRAHS* 34:6, 1948, 325-58.

JOHNSON, Richard, 1788, Letter from Rev. Richard Johnson, Port Jackson, New South Wales, 10.2.1788 to Henry Fricker, Portsmouth. In Mackaness, ed., 1954, 14-16.

1790, Letter from Rev. Richard Johnson, Port Jackson, New South Wales, 9.4.1790 to Henry Fricker, Portsmouth. In Mackaness, ed., 1954, 27-37.

JOHNSTON, Brian James, 1983, *A history of the Cosgrove family of Porter's Retreat, NSW*. Bellfield: Brian Johnston.

JOHNSTON, Lorraine and Shelley ROBERTSON, 1993, "Hey, yous!": the Maori-NZE interface in sociolinguistic rules of address. *Te Reo* 36, 115-127.

JONES, A. Currer, 1930, *William Dawes, R.M. 1762-1836*. London: Torquay.

JONES, David, 1982, *The Australian dictionary of acronyms and abbreviations*. Leura: Second Back Row Press.

JONES, Eric and Geoffrey RABY, 1989, The fatal shortage: establishing a European economy in New South Wales, 1788-1805. In Hardy and Frost, eds, 1989, 153-167.

JONES, Shar and Jennifer STACKHOUSE, 1983, *Gentlemen collectors: natural history in NSW 1826-1891.* Sydney: Historic Houses Trust of NSW.

JOURDAN, C., 1982a, Kanaka Pidgin English in Mackay: a case of language death, working notes only. MS. Canberra.

1982b, Mort du "Kanaka Pidgin English" a Mackay (Australie): notes de recherche. MS. Montreal.

1991, Pidgins and creoles: the blurring of categories. *Annual review of anthropology*, vol. 20, 187-209.

JOYCE, Patrick Weston, 1910, *English as we speak it in Ireland.* London: Longmans, Green.

JUPP, James, ed., 1988, *The Australian people: an encyclopedia of the nation, its people and their origins.* Sydney: Angus and Robertson Publishers.

KEESE, Oliné, 1988[1859], *The broad arrow: being the story of Maida Gwynnham, a 'lifer' in Van Diemen's Land.* Sydney: Angus and Robertson.

KEESING, Nancy, ed., 1967, *Gold fever: the Australian goldfields 1851 to the 1890s.* Sydney: Angus and Robertson.

KEESING, Roger M., n.d., Solomons Pijin and the Malaita languages: Kwaio grammar and Pijin grammar. MS. RSPacS, ANU.

1988a, *Melanesian pidgin and the oceanic substrate.* Stanford: Stanford UP.

1988b, Solomons Pidgin pronouns: a further look. *English world-wide*, vol. 9, no. 2, 271-292.

1991, The expansion of Melanesian Pidgin: further early evidence from the Solomons. *JPCL* 6:2, 215-229.

KENNEDY, E.B., 1889, *Blacks and bushrangers.* London: Blackie.

KENNELLY, Brendan, ed., 1981[1970], *The Penguin book of Irish verse.* Middlesex: Penguin Books.

KENNY, Janice, 1984, *National Library of Australia: history and collections.* Canberra: National Library of Australia.

KIDDLE, Margaret, 1961, *Men of yesterday: a social history of the Western district of Victoria 1834 - 1890.* Melbourne: Melbourne UP.

KING, C.J., 1957, *An outline of closer settlement in New South Wales: part 1, the sequence of the Land Laws 1788-1956.* Sydney: Division of Marketing and Agricultural Economics, Department of Agriculture, New South Wales.

KING, Harriet Parker, 1834-1856, Journals 1834 to 1856 with notes and newspaper cuttings 1817 to 1873. MS. In the King Family Papers, bundle no. 3, Phillip Parker King, ML: MSS 673.

1879, Memoir notes by Mrs Admiral King. MS. In the King Family Papers, bundle no. 1, Governor Phillip Gidley King, ML: MSS 673.

KING, Jonathan, 1985, *'In the beginning...': the story of the creation of Australia from the original writings.* South Melbourne: Macmillan.

KING, Philip Gidley, 1807, Letter from Governor Phillip Gidley King to Governor William Bligh, originally in Chief Secretary's Department, dated 1807: information to His Excellency, Mr Bligh Respecting the Natives. MS. In the King Family Papers, bundle no. 1, Governor Phillip Gidley King, ML: MSS 673.

1968, Lieutenant King's Journal. Quoted in Hunter, 1968, 196-298.

1980, *The journal of Philip Gidley King: Lieutenant, R.N. 1787-1790.* Paul G. Fidlon and R.J. Ryan, eds, Sydney: Australian Documents Library.

KING, Robert J., 1986, Eora and English at Port Jackson: a Spanish view. *Aboriginal history*, vol. 10, part 1, 45 - 58.

1990, *The secret history of the convict colony: Alexandro Malaspina's report on the British settlement of New South Wales.* Sydney: Allen and Unwin.

KINGSLEY, Henry, 1877[1859] *The recollections of Geoffrey Hamlyn.* London: Chapman and Hall.

KINGSLEY, Henry, 1982, *Henry Kingsley.* Edited by J.S.D. Mellick. St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press.

KINGSTON, Beverley, 1988, *The Oxford history of Australia. Volume 3: 1860-1900. Glad, confident morning.* Melbourne: Oxford University Press.

KINGSTON, William H.G., n.d.a[c.1908], *My first voyage to southern seas.* London: Thomas Nelson.

n.d.b, *Peter the Whaler: his early life and adventures in the Arctic regions.* London: Dean and Son.

KIRBY, James, 1895, *Old times in the bush of Australia: trials and experiences of early bush life in Victoria during the '40s.* Ballarat: Js Curtis.

KIRK, R.L., 1981, *Aboriginal man adapting.* Melbourne: Oxford UP.

KLEIN, Herbert S., 1978, *The middle passage: comparative studies in the Atlantic slave trade.* Princeton: Princeton UP.

KNIGHT, Roger, 1989, The First Fleet—its state and preparation 1786-1787. In Hardy and Frost, eds, 1989, 121-136.

KOCIUMBAS, Jan, *The Oxford history of Australia. Volume 2: 1770-1860. Possessions.* Melbourne: Oxford UP.

KOHEN, J.L. and Ronald LAMPERT, Hunters and fishers in the Sydney region. In *Australians to 1788*, 343-365.

KOHEN, J.L., 1984, *Dictionary of the Dharug language.* Blacktown: Blacktown and District Historical Society.

LABILLIERE, Francis Peter, 1878, *Early history of the colony of Victoria: from its establishment as a self-governing province of the British Empire*. 2 vols. London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, and Rivington.

LANG, John Dunmore, 1847, *Cooksland in north-eastern Australia; the future cotton-field of Great Britain; its characteristcs and capabilities for European colonization*. London: Ward Lock.

1972, *Reminiscences of my life and times both in church and state in Australia for upwards of fifty years*. Melbourne: Heinemann.

LANGLOH PARKER, K., 1978[1896, 1898], *Australian legendary tales: being the two collections Australian Legendary Tales and More Australian Legendary Tales collected from the various tribes by Mrs. K. Langloh Parker*. London: The Bodley

LAWRY, Walter, 1818, Letter from Walter Lawry to Sameul Marsden, 29.10.1818, Wesleyan Mission House, Sydney, NSW. MS. ML: BT Box 50.

LAWSON, Will, n.d., Bathurst the golden: 1815-1938. Bathurst: *The Western Times* Print.

1947, *Paddle wheels away*. Sydney: F.J. Thwaites.

LAYCOCK, Donald and Alice BUFFETT, 1988, Speak Norfolk today. Norfolk Island: Himii Publishing.

LAYCOCK, Donald and Werner WINTER, eds, 1987, A world of language: papers presented to Professor S.A. Wurm on his 65th birthday. *PL*, C-100.

LAYCOCK, Donald, 1989, The status of Pitcairn-Norfolk: creole, dialect, or cant? In Ammon, ed., 1989, 608-629.

LE SOUÉF, W.H. Dudley, 1907, *Wild life in Australia*. Melbourne: Whitcombe and Tombs.

LEE, Leslie, 1928, *The road to Widgewong*. Sydney: Cornstalk.

LEGENDS OF AUSTRALIA, 1842, no. 2, March. Sydney: James Tegg.

LEIGH, Samuel, 1817, Letter from Samuel Leigh to Dr A. Clarke 14 October 1817, Sydney, NSW. In Reports to Wesleyan Mission House, ML: BT Box 50.

LEIGH, W.H., 1839, *Reconnoitering voyages, travels and adventures in the new colonies of South Australia, &c . &c . &c* . London: Smith Elder and Co.

1847, *The emigrant: a tale of Australia*. London: Simmonds and Ward.

LEITCH, Max, 1985, *Where the red gums are growing*. Wagga Wagga: Max Leitch.

LEITH, Dick, 1983, *A social history of English*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

LENTZNER, Karl, 1892, *Dictionary of the slang-English of Australia and some mixed languages*. Halle-Leipzig: Ehrhardt Karras.

LE PAGE, R.B. and Andrée TABOURET-KELLER, 1985, *Acts of identity: creole-based approaches to language and ethnicity.* Cambridge: Cambridge UP.

LEROY, Paul Edwin, 1960, The emancipists from prison to freedom: the story of the Australian convicts and their descendants. PhD thesis, Ohio State University. Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms.

LEWINS, Frank, 1988, *Writing a thesis: a guide to its nature and organisation.* Canberra: Faculty of Arts ANU.

LHOTSKY, L. John, 1835, *A journey from Sydney to the Australian Alps undertaken in the months of January, February and March, 1834: being an account of the geographical and natural relation of the country traversed, its Aborigines, &c., together with some general information respecting the colony of New South Wales. By Dr. John Lhotsky, colonist, N.S. Wales, F.R. Bot. S. Bavaria, etc.* Reprinted in 1979, with introduction and annotations by Alan E.J. Andrews, Hobart: Blubber Head Press.

n.d., *A song of the women of the Menero Tribe near the Australian Alps, arranged with the assistance of several musical gentlemen most humbly inscribed, as the first specimen of Australian Music, to Her Most Gracious Majesty Adelaide, Queen of Great Britain and Hanover, by L.J. Lhotsky, colonist of New South Wales.* Sydney: John Innes.

LINDSAY, Kathleen, 1955, *Dark destiny*. London: Hutchinson.

LINGE, G.J.R., 1979, *Industrial awakening: a geography of Australian manufacturing 1788 to 1890.* Canberra: Australian National UP.

LISTON, Carol, 1988, The Dharawal and Gandangara in colonial Campbelltown, New South Wales, 1788-1830. *Aboriginal history* 12:1, 49-62.

LIVINGSTONE, H., 1892, A grammar and vocabulary of the dialect spoken by the Minyung people, on the north-east coast of New South Wales. In Fraser, ed., 1892, 3-27.

LODGE, K.R., 1984, *Studies in the phonology of colloquial English.* Beckenham: Croom Helm.

LUMHOLTZ, Carl, 1889, *Among cannibals: an account of four years travels in Australia, and of camp life with the Aborigines of Queensland.* Canberra: ANUP.

LYNCH, Bohun (Asterisk), 1986[1923], *Isles of illusion.* London: Century.

LYNG, J., 1939, *The Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand and the Western Pacific*. Melbourne: Melbourne UP.

MACALISTER, Charles, 1907, *Pioneering days in the sunny south.* Goulburn: Charles MacAlister Book Publication Committee.

MACALPINE, Neil and MACKENZIE, John, 1975, *Gaelic-English and English-Gaelic dictionary.* Glasgow: Gairm Publications.

MACARTHUR, James, 1827, Journal of Mr James Macarthur kept while on his visit to Port Stephens, 27 December 1827 to 4 January 1828. MS. In the Macarthur Papers, 1827-1830, documents concerning R Dawson and the Australian Agricultural Company, 190-251, ML: A 4318.

MACDONAGH, Oliver, 1979[1977], *Ireland: the union and its aftermath.* London: George Allen and Unwin.

MACDONAGH, Oliver, W.F. MANDLE and Pauric TRAVERS, 1983, *Irish culture and nationalism, 1750-1950.* London: MacMillan Press.

MACDONALD, Win, 1978, *The Breebong blacks.* MS. NLA: MS 5886.

MACKANESS, George, 1937, *Admiral Arthur Phillip: founder of New South Wales 1738-1814.* Sydney: Angus and Robertson.

1942, ed., *Some private correspondence of the Rev. Samuel Marsden and family,* 1794-1824. Sydney: the author.

1944, *Lags and legirons.* Sydney: Angus and Robertson.

1945[1928], ed., *Australian short stories.* Melbourne: George Jaboor.

1954, ed., *Some letters of Rev. Richard Johnson, B.A., first chaplain of New South Wales.* 2 parts. Sydney: D.S. Ford.

1979[1951], ed., *A new song made in New South wales on the rebellion. By (Lawrence Davoren).* Dubbo: Review Publications.

MACKAY, David, 1985, *A place of exile: the European settlement of New South Wales.* Melbourne: Oxford UP.

MACKENZIE, David, 1845, *The emigrant's guide; or ten years' practical experience in Australia.* London: W.S. Orr and Co.

MACKINNON, Roderick, 1971, *Teach yourself Gaelic.* Kent: Hodder and Stoughton.

MACNAMARA, Norman, 1989, *From Clancy's day to mine: Clancy of the Overflow's grandson tells the story of his pioneer family.* Crows Nest: ABC.

MACQUARIE, Lachlan, 1810, Proclamation, by His Excellency Lachlan Macquarie, Esquire, Captain General and Governor in Chief of His Majesty's territory of New South Wales and its dependencies, &c ., &c ., &c . Facs. in Ingleton, ed., 1952, 53.

1956, *Lachlan Macquarie, Governor of New South Wales, journals of his tours in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land 1810-1832.* Sydney: Public Library of New South Wales.

MADDOCK, Kenneth, 1989, Aboriginal societies. In Hardy and Frost, eds, 1989, 25-36.

MAGUIRE, Desmond, ed., 1979[1968], *Short stories of Padraic Pearse.* Cork: The Mercier Press.

MAJOR, R.H., ed., 1963, *Early voyages to Terra Australis to the time of Captain Cook as told in original documents.* Adelaide: Australian Heritage Press.

MALASPINA, Alejandro, 1793a, Examen politico de las colonias Inglesas en el Mar Pacifico. Ms. Museo Naval, Madrid, MS 318. Translated in King 1990, 92-125.

1793b, Loose notes on the English colony of Port Jackson. Ms. Translated in King 1990, 132-150.

1984, *Viaje científico y político a la América Meridional, a las costas del Mar Pacífico y al las Islas Marianas y Filipinas, verificado en los años de 1789, 90, 91, 92, 93, y 94 a bordo de las corbetas Descubierta y Atrevida de la Marina Real, mandadas por los Capitanes de Navío D. de Alejandro Malaspina y D. José F. Bustamante*. Edited by Mercedes Palau, Aránzazu Zabala and Blanca Sáez. Madrid: Museo Universal.

MANDER-JONES, Phyllis, ed., 1972, *Manuscripts in the British Isles relating to Australia, New Zealand, and the Pacific.* Canberra: ANUP.

MANN, D.D., 1811, *The present picture of New South Wales 1811*. London: John Booth.

MANNING, James, 1882, Notes on the religious creed &c . of the natives of New Holland. *Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New South Wales*, 1882, vol. 16, 155-173.Aborigines of New Holland.

MANNINGTON CAFFYN, Mrs., n.d., Victims of Circe. In Patchett Martin, ed., n.d., pp.115-73.

MANSFIELD, Ralph ('Dr. Roger Oldfield'), 1821, Reverend Ralph Mansfield's description of an Aboriginal funeral, Sydney district (June 1821). In Gunson, ed., 1974, vol. 2, 337.

1827, Aborigines. *The South Asian register*, October 1827, 7-8.

1828a, Annual conference of the aboriginal tribes. *The South Asian Register*, April 1828, 278-79.

1828b, A walk through Sydney in 1828. *The South Asian Register*, December 1828, 319-331.

1828c, Account of the Aborigines of N.S.W., ascribed to 'Dr Roger Oldfield' (1828). In Gunson (ed.), 1974, vol. 2, 351-57.

MARIS, Hyllus and Sonia BORG, 1983, *Women of the sun.* Sydney: Currency Press.

MARRIOTT, Edward West, 1988, *The memoirs of Obed West: a portrait of early Sydney*. Bowral: Barcom Press.

MARSDEN, Anne, Letter from Anne Marsden, Sydney, New South Wales to Mrs. Stokes, 20 August, 1820. In Mackaness, ed., 1942, 75-76.

MARSHALL, Alan, 1948, *Ourselves writ strange*. Melbourne: F W Cheshire.

MARTIN, Henry Byam, 1981, *The Polynesian journal of Captain Henry Byam Martin, RN. In command of HMS Grampus—50 guns at Hawaii and on station in Tahiti and the Society Islands, August 1846 to August 1847*. Canberra: ANUP.

MASSOLA, Aldo, 1969, *Journey to Aboriginal Victoria*. Adelaide: Rigby.1970, *Aboriginal mission stations in Victoria*. Melbourne: Hawthorn Press.

1975, *Corranderrk: a history of the Aboriginal station*. Kilmore: Lowden Publishing.

MASTER, Peter, John SCHUMANN and M.E. SOKOLIK, 1989, The experimental creation of a pidgin language. *JPCL* 4:1, 37-63.

MATHEWS, Daniel, 1870, Daniel Mathews' journal. MS. NLA: MS2195/3/4.

1874, Daniel Mathews miscellaneous papers, diary fragment 9.9.1874. MS. NLA: MS2195, box 2, unmarked folder, bundle labelled 'incomplete'.

1878, Third report of the Maloga Aboriginal Mission School, Murray River, NSW. MS. NLA: MS2195, box 2, in folder marked 'The story of the Maloga Aboriginal Mission'.

1879, Fourth report of the Maloga Aboriginal Mission School, Murray River, NSW. MS. NLA: MS2195, box 2, in folder marked 'The story of the Maloga Aboriginal Mission'.

1881, Diary of Daniel Mathews, Sydney 29.4.1881-3.8.1881 and Maloga 6.8.1881-20.8.1881. MS. NLA: MS2195 Daniel Mathews Papers, box 2.

1893, Eighteenth report of the Maloga Aboriginal Mission School, Murray River, NSW. MS. NLA: MS2195, box 2, in folder marked 'The story of the Maloga Aboriginal Mission'.

MATHEWS, R. H., 1889, The Australian Aborigines. *Journal of the Royal Society of NSW*, vol 23, 335-449.

1901, The Gundungurra language. *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society,* vol 40, 140-148.

McAFEE, Robert J., 1981, Dawes's meteorological journal. *Department of Science and Technology, Bureau of Meteorology, Historical Note*, no. 2. Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Office.

McBRYDE, Isabel, 1984, Exchange in south eastern Australia: an ethnohistorical perspective.*Aboriginal history*, vol. 8, part 2, 132 - 153.

1985, ed., *Who owns the past.* Melbourne: Oxford UP.

1989a, *Guests of the Governor: Aboriginal residents of the first Government House.* Sydney: The Friends of the First Government House Site.

1989b, "...to establish a commerce of this sort" – cross-cultural exchange at the Port Jackson settlement. In Hardy and Frost, eds, 1989, 169-182.

McCARTHY, F.D., 1976, *Australian Aboriginal stone implements.* Sydney: Australian Museum Trust.

McCONVELL, Patrick, 1990, The linguistic prehistory of Australia: opportunities for dialogue with archaeology. *Australian archaeology*, no. 31, December 1990, 3-27.

McCORKELL, H. A., 1967, *The diaries of Sarah Midgley and Richard Skilbeck: a story of Australian settlers 1851-1864.* Melbourne: Cassell Australia.

McCRAE, Georgina, 1966[1934], *Georgiana's journal: Melbourne 1841-1865.* Edited by Hugh McCrae. Sydney: Angus and Robertson.

McDONALD, D. I., 1968, *They came to a valley: Wellington 1817-1967.* Wellington: Wellington Times.

McGILL, David, 1990[1988], *Up the boohai, shooting pukakas: a dictionary of Kiwi slang.* Lower Hutt: Mills Publications.

McGREGOR, Bill, ed., forthcoming, *The Macquarie Dictionary of Aboriginal languages,* Sydney: The Macquarie Library.

McKEOWN, Keith C., 1952, *The land of Byamee: Australian wild life in legend and fact.* Sydney: Randle House.

McKERNAN, Michael and Diane COLLINS, 1979, *Honours theses in history.* Sydney: Australian Historical Association.

McLACHLAN, Iaen, 1988, *Place of banishment: Port Macquarie 1818-1832.* Sydney: Hale and Iremonger.

McLACHLAN, Noel, ed., 1964, *The memoirs of James Hardy Vaux including his vocabulary of the Flash Language.* London: Heinemann.

McLAREN, John, 1974, *A dictionary of Australian education.* St Lucia: University of Queensland Press and Penguin Books.

McMAHON, John, 1913, *Fragments of the early history of Australia 1788-1812.* Melbourne: W. and J. Barr.

McNAB, Robert, *The old whaling days: a history of southern New Zealand from 1830 to 1840.* Christchurch: Whitcombe and Tombs.

MEAD, Tom, 1987, *Killers of Eden: the killer whales of Twofold Bay.* Sydney: Angus and Robertson.

MEE, Arthur, n.d., *The Lake Counties, Cumberland and Westmorland.* London: Caxton.

MEEHAN, Betty and Rhys JONES, eds, 1988, *Archaeology with ethnography: an Australian perspective.* Canberra: Prehistory, RSPacS, ANU.

MELAUN, Charles, 1933, *The squatter's daughter.* Sydney: NSW Bookstall Company.

MELLISH, 1825, A convict's recollections of New South Wales, written by himself. Unsourced magazine article in a scrapbook collection, Various magazine articles relating to Australia, vol. 1, NLA: N/919.4/VAR, article paginated 49-67.

MELTON, Jim, 1986, *Ships' deserters, 1852-1900.* Sydney: Library of Australian History.

MENNING, Kathy and David NASH, eds, 1981, *Sourcebook for central Australian languages.* Alice Springs: Institute for Aboriginal Development.

MEREDITH, John and Rex WHALAN, 1979, Frank the poet. *Studies in Australian folklore, no. 1.* Melbourne: Red Rooster.

MEREDITH, John, 1989, *The last kooradgie. Moyengull, chief man of the Gundungurra people.* Kenthurst: Kangaroo Press.

MEREDITH, Louisa Anne, 1973, *Notes and sketches of New South Wales during a residence in the colony from 1839 to 1844*. Sydney: Ure Smith.

MICCO, Helen Mary, 1971, *King Island and the sealing trade 1802: a translation of chapters xxii and xxiii of the narrative by Francois Péron published in the official account of the voyage of discovery to the southern lands undertaken in theCorvettes Le Géographe, Le Naturaliste and the schooner Casuarina, during the years 1800 to 1804, under the command of Captain Nicolas Baudin*. Canberra: Roebuck.

MIHALIC, F., 1969, *Introduction to New Guinea Pidgin*. Milton, Queensland: Jacaranda Press.

MILLER, R.S., 1985, *Thomas Dove and the Tasmanian Aborigines*. Melbourne: Spectrum Publications

MILLET, Janet, 1980[1872], *An Australian parsonage or, the settler and the savage in Western Australia*. Facs. Nedlands: University of Western Australia.

MILNE, Edmund, n.d., Album of cuttings, pictures, drawings and manuscript notes. MS. National Museum of Australia, Milne 113 Album.

1912, The Gunda-ah-myro: fragments of the history of a vanishing tribe. *Life*, 1.11.1912, 473-476.

1916, The passing of the lithic people: a story of the coming of white wings to Australia. *Life*, 1.4.1916, 300-304.

1917, War on the Bogan frontier. *The Lone Hand*, 1.6.1917, 339-341.

MILROY, Lesley, 1987[1980], *Language and social networks*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

MITCHEL, John, 1988, *The gardens of Hell: John Mitchel in Van Diemen's Land 1850-1853*. Peter O'Shaughnessy, ed., Kenthurst: Kangaroo Press.

MITCHELL, A.G. and Arthur DELBRIDGE, 1965, *The speech of Australian adolescents: a survey*. Sydney: Angus and Robertson.

MITCHELL, John Francis Huon, 1906, *Aboriginal dictionary (Woradgery tongue.) of birds, beasts, &c., weapons and timber, also customs and ceremonies of the tribe*. Albury: J. Walker.

1908-23, Papers of John Francis Huon Mitchell, ML: ZA 1671.

MITCHELL, R. Else, 1939, The wild cattle of the Cowpastures. *JRAHS* 25:2, pp.128-130.

MITCHELL, Thomas Livingstone, 1839, *Three expeditions into the interior of eastern Australia; with descriptions of the recently explored region of Australia Felix and of the present colony of New South Wales*. 2 vols, 2nd edn. London: T. and W. Boone.

1848, *Journal of an expedition into the interior of tropical Australia, in search of a route from Sydney to the Gulf of Carpentaria*. London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans.

MITCHELL, Winnifred and Geoffrey SHERINGTON, 1984, *Growing up in the Illawarra: a social history 1834-1984*. Wollongong: University of Wollongong.

MONTAGUE, Ronald H., 1989, *How to trace your military ancestors in Australia and New Zealand*. Sydney: Hale and Iremonger.

MOORE, Ivy, 1945, *Glimpses of old Sydney and N.S.W.* Sydney: Robert Dey.

MOORE, John, 1987, *The First Fleet marines, 1786-1792*. St Lucia: University of Queensland Press.

MOORE, T. Inglis, 1961, *A book of Australia*. London: Collins.

MOOREHEAD, Alan, 1987[1966], *The fatal impact: the invasion of the south Pacific 1767-1840*. London: Hamish Hamilton.

MORETON, H V., 1949[1932], *In search of Wales*. London: Methuen.

MORRIS, Edward E., 1982[1898], *Morris's dictionary of Australian words, names and phrases*. Melbourne: Currey O'Neil.

MORRIS-WILSON, Ian, 1984, *English phonemic transcription*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

MORRISON, Edgar, 1971, *The Loddon Aborigines: tales of Old Jim Crow*. Daylesford: Edgar Morrison.

MORTLOCK, J.F., 1966[1864-5], *Experiences of a convict transported for twenty-one years*. Sydney: Sydney UP.

MOUROT, Suzanne and Paulette JONES, 1979, *The Great South Land: treasures of the Mitchell and Dixson Libraries and Dixson Galleries*. South Melbourne: Sun Books.

MOWLE, S.M., 1890, *Aboriginal place names*. Sydney: Parliament House.

MOYNIHAN, Cornelius, 1901, *The feast of the bunya: an Aboriginal ballad*. Brisbane: Watson Ferguson and Co.

MUFWENE, Salikoko S., 1988, Why study pidgins and creoles? *JPCL* 3:2, 265-276.

MUIR, Marcie, 1970-1976, *A bibliography of Australian children's books*. 2 vols. London: Deutsch.

MÜHLHÄUSLER, Peter, 1979, Growth and structure of the lexicon of New Guinea Pidgin. *PL* C 52.

1986, *Pidgin and creole linguistics*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

1989, Review of Roger M. Keesing *Melanesian Pidgin and the Oceanic substrate*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988. *Studies in language* 13: 2, 459-475.

n.d.a (c.1992), Post contact languages in Australia after 1788. MS. Oxford University.

n.d.b (c.1992), Pidgins and creoles of Queensland. MS. Oxford University.

1991a, Overview of the pidgin and creole languages of Australia. In Romaine, ed., 1991, 159-73.

1991b, Queensland Kanaka English. In Romaine, ed., 1991, 174-79.

MULVANEY, D. John, 1967, *Cricket walkabout: the Australian Aborginal cricketers on tour 1867-8.* Melbourne: Melbourne UP.

1975[1969], *The prehistory of Australia.* Hammondsworth: Penguin Books.

1988, Aboriginal Australians abroad 1606- 1875. *Aboriginal history* 12:1, 41-47.

1989, *Encounters in place: outsiders and Aboriginal Australians 1606-1985.* St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press.

MUMMERY, Jeanine, ed., 1990, Prehistory and heritage: the writings of John Mulvaney. *Occasional Papers in Prehistory* no. 17, Department of Prehistory, Research School of Pacific studies, ANU.

MURPHY, J.A., 1930, Diary record of an overland journey to Darwin in search of mica, 1930. MS. NLA: MS 3912.

MURTAGH, James G., 1946, *Australia: the Catholic chapter.* New York: Sheed and Ward.

NARO, Anthony J., 1988, A reply to 'Pidgin origins reconsidered' by Morris Goodman. *JPCL* 3:1, 95-102.

NATUSCH, Sheila, n.d., Draft of diary kept on the Acheron. MS. NLA Rare Books

NEIDJIE, Bill, 1986, *Australia's Kakadu man.* Darwin: Resource Managers.

NESBIT, Alexander, 1830, Report of Dr Nesbit, relative to the natives of Port Stephens, 9 September 1830. MS. In the Macarthur Papers, 1827-1830, documents concerning Robert Dawson and the Australian Agricultural Company, p 43, ML: A 4318.

NEWMEYER, F.J., ed., 1988, *Linguistics: the Cambridge survey. IV Language: the sociocultural context.* Cambridge: Cambridge UP.

NEWTON, Peter John Frederick, 1979, Movements and structures: an historical review of Capell's approach to comparative linguistics in Oceania, with an annotated bibliography of his linguistic and other scholarly works. BAHons thesis, Macquarie University.

1987, More than one language, more than one culture: scholarly and popular ideas about Australian Aboriginal languages from early times until 1860. MAHons thesis, Macquarie University.

NÉE, Louis, 1793, Notes made at Port Jackson. Ms. Quoted in Cavanilles 1800, 151-162.

O'BRIEN, John and Pauric TRAVERS, eds, 1991, *The Irish emigrant experience in Australia.* Swords, Dublin: Poolbeg Press.

O'CONNELL, James F., 1836, *A residence of eleven years in New Holland and the Caroline Islands: being the adventures of James F. O'Connell.* Boston: B.B. Mussey.

O'CONNOR, J.D., 1973, *Phonetics*. Middlesex: Penguin Books.

O'CUIV, Brian, ed., 1969, *A view of the Irish language*. Dublin: The Stationery Office.

O'MUIRITHE, Diarmaid, ed., 1977, *The English language in Ireland*. Dublin: Mercier Press.

O'MURCHU, Máirtín, 1970, Language and community. *Comhairle na Gaeilge, occasional paper no 1*. Dublin: The Stationery Office.

O'REILLY, M. J. (Mulga Mick), 1944, *Bowyangs and boomerangs: reminiscences of 40 years prospecting in Australia and Tasmania*. Hobart: Oldham, Beddame and Meredith.

O'SHAUGHNESSY, Peter, 1988, Introduction. In Holt 1988, 7-30.

O'SIOCHFHRADHA, M., 1958, *Learner's English-Irish Irish-English dictionary*. Ireland: Comhlacht Oideachais.

OAKES, G.S., 1978(repr.), *Pioneers of Bathurst — Kelso NSW and bush memories of the west of NSW*. Sydney: Library of Australian History.

OATES, W.J. and Lynette F., 1970, *A revised linguistic survey of Australia*. Canberra: AIAS.

OLDMEADOW, K.S., 1968, The science of man: scientific opinion on the Australian Aborigines in the late nineteenth century; the impact of evolutionary theory and racial myth. PhD thesis, ANU, Canberra.

OLIVER, Roland and J.D Fage, 1977[1960], *A short history of Africa*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.

OPPLIGER, Mandy, 1984, The phonology and morphology of Awabakal: a reconstruction from early written records. BAHons thesis, University of Sydney.

ORAM, Hugh and Fergus MULLIGAN, eds, 1985, *Irish touring guide: what to do, where to go, what to see*. Belfast: Appletree Press.

ORGAN, Michael, ed, 1990, *A documentary history of the Illawarra and south coast Aborigines 1770-1850*. Wollongong: Aboriginal Education Unit, Wollongong University .

OSMOND, Meredith, 1989, A reconstruction of the phonology, morphology, and syntax of the Sydney language as recorded in the notebooks of Willliam Dawes. Ms. Term paper, Dept. Linguistics, ANU.

PAINE, Daniel, 1983, *The journal of Daniel Paine, 1794-1797, together with documents illustrating the beginning of Government boat-building and timber-gathering in New South Wales, 1795-1805*. Edited by R.J.B. Knight and Alan Frost. Sydney: Library of Australian History and the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, England.

PALMER, Fyshe, 1795, A letter from the Reverend Fyshe Palmer to Doctor John Disney, Sydney, N.S.Wales, June 13, 1795. Reprinted in Ingleton, ed., 1952, 18.

PALMER, Roy, ed., 1986, The *Oxford book of sea songs*. Oxford: Oxford UP.

PARKER, K. Langloh, 1955. *Australian legendary tales.* School edition. Sydney:

PARRY, Edward, 1830, From the Journal of Sir Edward Parry, 13 October 1830. In Gunson, ed., 1974, vol. 1, 112-13.

1870, *Memorials of Charles Parry Commander RN.* London: Strahan and Co.

PARTRIDGE, Eric, 1989[1950], *A dictionary of the underworld.* Hertfordshire: Wordsworth Editions.

1984[1937]. *A dictionary of slang and unconventional English: colloquialisms and catch phrases, fossilised jokes and puns, general nicknames, vulgarisms and such Americanisms as have been naturalised..* Edited by Paul Beale. London: Routledgeand Kegan Paul.

PATCHETT MARTIN, Hariette Anne, ed., 1891, *Coo-ee: tales of Australian life by Australian ladies.* London: Griffith Farran Okeden and Welsh.

PAUL, Lorraine, 1982, *First Lady: the story of "HMS Lady Nelson".* Newtown, Victoria: Neptune Press.

PAWLISCH, Hans S., 1985, *Sir John Davies and the conquest of Ireland: a study in legal imperialism.* Cambridge: Cambridge UP.

PEARL, Cyril, 1980[1958], *Wild men of Sydney.* London: Angus and Robertson.

PEARSON, Michael, 1984, Bathurst Plains and beyond: European colonisation and Aboriginal resistance. *Aboriginal history*, vol. 8, part 1, 56 - 79.

PELLING, Henry, 1960, *Modern Britain 1885-1955.* Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson and Sons.

PEMBERTON, P.A., 1986, *Pure merinos and others: the "shipping lists" of the Australian Agricultural Company.* Canberra: Australian National University, Archives of Business and Labour.

PEPPER, Phillip and Tess DE ARAUGO, 1989[1980], *You are what you make yourself to be: the story of a Victorian Aboriginal family 1842-1980.* Melbourne: Hyland House.

PERL, Matthias, 1990. A reevaluation of the importance of early pidgin/creole Portugese. *JPCL* 5:1, 125-130.

PERKINS, Harold, 1984, *The convict priests.* Gardiner: Thistle Press.

PERON, M.François, 1809, *A voyage of discovery to the southern hemisphere, performed by order of the Emperor Napoleon, during the years 1801, 1802, 1803, and 1804.* London: Richard Phillips.

PERRY, T.M., 1963, *Australia's first frontier: the spread of settlement in New South Wales 1788-1829.* Melbourne: Melbourne UP.

PETTIT, John, 1852-68, Letters from John Pettit to his father in England. MS. ML: microfilm CY 480.

PHILLIP, Arthur, n.d., Phillip's Botany Bay memo. In Tipping, ed., 1988, 19-21.1787-1788, Extracts from a journal, 13 May 1787-26 January 1788. In

Tipping, ed., 39-40.

1788a, Arthur Phillip to Lord Sydney, first letter, 15.5.1788, Sydney Cove, NSW. In Tipping, ed., 41-52.

1788b, Arthur Phillip to Lord Sydney, seventh letter, 28.9.1788, Sydney Cove, Port Jackson. In Tipping, ed., 1988, 63-68.

1788c, Arthur Phillip to Lord Sydney, tenth letter, 30.10.1788, Sydney Cove, Port Jackson. In Tipping 1988, 72-74.

1790a, Phillip's official despatch to Lord Sydney 12.2.1790, Sydney Cove, 12.2.1790. In Tipping, ed., 1988, 96-101.

1790b, Phillip's official despatch to Lord Sydney 13.2.1790, Government House, Sydney Cove. In Tipping, ed., 1988, 103-7.

1968, Journal of Governor Phillip (a narrative taken from the official dispatches of Governor Phillip). In Hunter, 1968, 299-375.

PHILLIPS, John ('A Pioneer'), 1893, Reminiscences of Australian early life. London: A.P. Marsden.

PHILLIPS, F., n.d., Abridgement of the history of NSW: the Aborigines. MS. In Henry Carmichael's notebook, NLA: MS 3228.

PINKERTON, John, 1808-1814, *A general collection of the best and most interesting voyages and travels in all parts of the world; many of which are now first translated into English.* 17 vols. London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme; and Cadell and Davies.

PLOMLEY, N.J.B., ed., 1991, *Jorgen Jorgenson and the Aborigines of Van Diemen's Land: being a reconstruction of his 'lost' book on their customs and habits, and on his role in the Roving Parties and the Black Line.* Hobart: Blubber Head Press.

PLOWMAN, R.B., 1940, *The man from Oodnadatta.* Sydney: Angus and Robertson.

POLLARD, David, 1988, *Give and take: the losing partnership in Aboriginal poverty.* Sydney: Hale and Iremonger.

PONT, Graham, Barbara SANTICH and Paul WILKINS, 1988, *Landmarks of Australian gastronomy: catalogue of an exhibition at the Senior Common Room Club*, the University of New South Wales, October 14-November 9, 1988. Kensington: University of NSW.

POTTS, E. Daniel and Annette, 1974, *Young America and Australian gold: Americans and the Gold Rush of the 1850s.* St Lucia: University of QueenslandPress.

POWELL, J.M. and M. WILLIAMS, eds, *, *Australian space, Australian time: geographical perspectives.* Melbourne: Oxford UP.

POWLING, J. W., 1980, *Port Fairy, the first fifty years 1837-1887, a social history.* Melbourne: William Heinemann.

POWNALL, Eve, 1959, *Mary of Maranoa: tales of Australian pioneer women.* Sydney: F.H. Johnston.

PRAED, Rosa Campbell, n.d., The bunyip. In Patchett Martin, ed., n.d., 271-86.

PRENTIS, Malcolm David, 1972, Aborigines and Europeans in the Northern Rivers region of New South Wales, 1823-1881. MA thesis Macquarie University, Sydney.

1983, *The Scots in Australia: a study of New South Wales, Victoria and Queensland, 1788-1900.* Sydney: Sydney UP.

PRICHARD, Katharine Susannah, 1985[1926], *Working bullocks.* London: Angus and Robertson.

PRIDE, J.B., and Janet HOLMES. 1972, *Sociolinguistics: selected readings.* Middlesex: Penguin Books

PRIEUR, Francois Xavier, 1976, [1949], *Notes of a convict of 1838.* Translated by George Mackaness. Dubbo: Review Publications.

PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE OF VICTORIA, *Victorian Aborigines 1835-1901: a resource guide to the holdings of the Public Record Office of Victoria.* Melbourne: Government Information Centre.

PULLUM, Geoffrey K. and William A. LADUSAW, 1986, *Phonetic symbol guide.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

QUIDDINGTON, Peter, 1989, The lost tribe of Sydney. *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 21.1.1989, 78.

QUIGGIN, E.C., 1906, *A dialect of Donegal: being the speech of Meenawannia in the Parish of Glenties.* Cambridge: Cambridge UP.

QUINLAN, Lucille M. Quinlan, 1967, *Here's my home: the life and times of Captain John Stuart Hepburn 1803 - 1860, master mariner, overlander, and founder of Smeaton Hill, Victoria.* Melbourne: Oxford UP.

RADIC, Thérèse, 1989, *Songs of Australian working life.* Elwood: Greenhouse Publications.

RAE-ELLIS, VIVIENNE, 1988, *Black Robinson: Protector of Aborigines.* Melbourne: Melbourne UP.

RAMSON, W.S., 1987, For the term of a natural life: lexical evidence of the convict experience. *Australian Cultural History*, vol. 6, 94-106.

ed., 1988, *The Australian national dictionary.* Melbourne: Oxford UP.

RANKEN, George ('Capricornus', 'W.H. Walker'), 1876, *Colonisation in 1876.* Sydney: Turner and Henderson.

1877, *The invasion.* Sydney: Turner and Henderson.

1884, *The dry country, also, letters addressed to Mr. Brodribb.* Sydney: Joseph Cook and Co.

1895, ed., *Windabyne a record of by-gone times in Australia*. London: Remington and Co.

RAWSON, Mrs Lance, n.d., The bushman's rest. In Patchett Martin. ed., n.d., 177-254.

RAYNER, Tony, 1981, Civilizing the Tasmanian Aborigines in 1838: a wedding. *The push from the bush; a bulletin of social history: devoted to the year of grace, 1838*, vol. 9, July: 56-71.

READ, Peter, 1988, *A hundred years war: the Wiradjuri people and the state*. Sydney: ANUP.

REAY, Marie, 1964, *Aborigines now*. Sydney: Angus and Robertson.

REECE, R.H.W., 1974, Aborigines and colonists. Sydney: Sydney UP.

REID, Richard, 1987, Baile an Cairn - Heapstown, County Sligo, an Australian emigrant landscape. *Ireland today*, no. 1041 1987: 8-9.

REYNOLDS, Henry, ed., 1972, *Aborigines and settlers: the Australian experience*. Sydney: Cassell Australia.

1981, *The other side of the frontier: Aboriginal resistance to the European invasion of Australia*. Ringwood: Penguin Books.

1987, *The law of the land*. Ringwood: Penguin Books.

1989, *Dispossession: black Australians and white invaders*. Sydney: Allen and Unwin.

1990, With the white people: the crucial role of Aborigines in the exploration and development of Australia. Ringwood: Penguin Books.

RIDLEY, William, 1856, Gurre Kamilaroi—'Kamilaroi sayings'. In Fraser, ed., 1892, 127-131.

1875, *Kámilarói, and other Australian languages*. Sydney: Thomas Richards.

1872, Report on Australian languages and traditions. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. 2, 1872, 257-291.

RIMMER, PETER J., 1980, The British expert cometh: the imprint of the individual on Australia's economic landscape. In Jennings and Linge, eds, 1980, 48-71.

RITCHIE, Carson I.A., 1976, *Frontier parish: an account of the Society for the Propogation of the Gospel and the Anglican Church in America, drawn from the records of the Bishop of London*. Cranbury: Associated Universities Presses.

RITCHIE, John, ed., 1971, *The evidence to the Bigge Reports: New South Wales under Governor Macquarie*. 2 vols. Melbourne: Heinemann.

ROBERTS, Jan, 1986, *Jack of Cape Grim: a Victorian adventure*. Richmond: Greenhouse Publications.

ROBERTS, Shirley, 1985, *Charles Hotham: a biography*. Melbourne: Melbourne UP.

ROBERTS, Stephen H., 1964[1935], The squatting age in Australia 1835-1847. London: Melbourne University Press.

ROBERTSON, W. (Brin-ga), 1928, *Coo-ee talks: a collection of lecturettes upon early experiences among the Aborigines of Australia delivered from a wireless broadcasting station.*Sydney: Angus and Robertson.

ROBINSON, Charles, 1873, *New South Wales: the oldest and richest of the Australian colonies*. Sydney: Thomas Richards.

ROLLS, Eric, 1984[1969], *They all ran wild: the animals and plants that plague Australia*. Sydney: Angus and Robertson.

ROMAINE, Suzanne, 1988, *Pidgin and creole languages*. London: Longman.

ed., 1991, *Language in Australia*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.

RORABACHER, Louise E., ed., 1968, Aliens in their land. *The Aborigine in the Australian short story*. Melbourne: F W Cheshire.

ROSE, Frederick G.G., 1987, *The traditional mode of production of the Australian Aborigines*. Sydney: Angus and Robertson.

ROSS, Valerie, 1980, *Mathew Everingham: a First Fleeter and his times.* Sydney: Library of Australian History.

ROSSER, Bill, 1987[1985], *Dreamtime nightmares*. Ringwood: Penguin Books

1990, *Up road the troopers: the Black Police in Queensland*. St Lucia: University of Queensland Press.

ROTHBLATT, Sheldon, 1976, *Tradition and change in English liberal education: an essay in history and culture*. London: Faber and Faber.

ROWE, Richard, 1858, Peter 'Possum's portfolio. Sydney: J.R. Clarke.

ROWLEY, C.D., 1939, Clarence River cotton. *JRAHS* 25:2, 1939, 156-162.

ROWLEY, C.D., 1972[1970], *The destruction of Aboriginal society*. Ringwood: Penguin Books.

RUSSELL, Archer, 1936, *Gone nomad. Twenty years' vagabond wanderings in three continents.* Sydney: Angus and Robertson.

RUSSELL, Elaine and Sheena COUPE, eds., 1984, *The Macquarie illustrated world atlas*.Sydney: The Macquarie Library.

RUTHERFORD, Anton William and Anna VROLAND, n.d., Vroland correspondence. MS.

RYAN, Lyndall, 1977, The struggle for recognition: part-Aborigines in Bass Strait in the nineteenth century. *Aboriginal history*, vol. 1, part 1, 27-51.

1981, *The Aboriginal Tasmanians*. St Lucia: University of Queensland Press.

RYAN, R.J., ed., 1981[1974], *Land grants 1788-1809: a record of registered grants and leases in New South Wales, Van Diemen's Land and Norfolk Island.* Sydney: Australian Documents Library.

SANDEFUR, John R. and Joy L. SANDEFUR, 1982, *An introduction to conversation Kriol.* Work Papers of the Summer Institute of Linguistics - Australian Aborigines Branch, series B vol. 5, Darwin.

SANDEFUR, John R., 1979, *An Australian creole in the Northern Territory: a description of Ngukurr-Bamyili dialects (part 1).* Work Papers of the Summer Institute of Linguistics - Australian Aborigines Branch, series B vol. 3, Darwin.

SAMUEL, H. J., 1950, *A saddle at Bontharambo.* London: Longmans, Green and Co.

SAMUEL, Raphael, Reading the signs. *History workshop journal*, no. 32, Autumn 1991.

1992, Reading the signs: II. Fact-grubbers and mind-readers. *History workshop journal*, no. 33, 1992.

SAYERS, Andrew, 1988, *Australian drawings and watercolours. A souvenier book from the Australian National Gallery.* Canberra: Australian National Gallery.

SCARR, Derek, ed., 1978, *More Pacific Island portraits.* Canberra: ANU Press.

SCHAMA, Simon, 1988[1987], *The embarrassment of riches: an interpretation of Dutch culture in the Golden Age.* New York: Fontana Press.

1989, *Citizens: a chronicle of the French revolution.* London: Viking.

SCHAPPER, Henry P., 1970, *Aboriginal advancement to integration: conditions and plans for Western Australia.* Canberra: ANUP

SCHMIDT, Annette, 1985, *Young people's Dyirbal: an example of langauge death from Australia.* Cambridge: Cambridge UP.

SCOTT, Ernest, 1921, Hume and Hovell's journey to Port Phillip. *JRAHS*, 7: 6, 289-378.

SCOTT, Rebecca J., 1985, *Slave emancipation in Cuba. The transition to free labour, 1860-1899.* Princeton: Princeton UP.

SCOTT, Robert, 1801, Letter from Robert Scott to his mother in Glasgow, from Sydney Cove, 16.8.1801. MS. ML: 1109 ML DOC.

SCOTT, T.H., Letter from Archdeacon Scott to Governor Darling, 1.8.1827. *HRA*, vol. 14, 55-63.

SEAL, Graham and Ron EDWARDS, 1988, *Australian folk resources: a select guide and preliminary bibliography.* Canberra: Australian Folk Trust.

SELECT COMMITTEE ON THE ABORIGINES, 1845, Interview with Mahroot, 8.9.1845. *Minutes of evidence taken before the select committee on the Aborigines*, 1-5.

SERLE, Percival, 1949, *Dictionary of Australian Biography.* 2 vols. Sydney: Angus and Robertson.

SEXTON, J.J., 1942, *Australian Aborigines*. Adelaide: Hunkin, Ellis and King.

SHARPE, Margaret C., 1985, Bundjalung settlement and migration. *Aboriginal history*, vol. 9, part 1, 101 - 124.

SHAW, William Hobart, ed., 1879, *The Newcastle Directory and Almanac for the year 1880*. Newcastle: *Herald and Advocate* General Printing Works.

SHINEBERG, Dorothy, 1971, *The trading voyages of Andrew Cheyne 1841-1844*. Canberra: ANUP.

SHIPLEY, Joseph T., 1984, *The origins of English words: a discursive dictionary of Indo European roots*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins UP.

SHNUKAL, Anna, 1983, Torres Strait Creole: the growth of a new Torres Strait language. *Aboriginal history* 7:2, 173-185.

1988, Broken: an introduction to the creole language of Torres Strait. *PL*, C 107.

1991, Torres Strait Creole. In Romaine, ed., 1991, 180-94.

SHOPEN, Timothy, ed., *Languages and their speakers*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Winthrop Publishers.

1985, ed., *Language typology and syntactic description*. 3 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.

SIEGEL, Jeff, 1982, *Language contact in a plantation environment: a sociolinguistic history of Fiji*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.

1990, Pidgin English in Nauru. *JPCL* 5:2, 157-186.

SILVER, Lynette Ramsay, 1986, *A fool's gold?* Milton: Jacaranda Press.

SINGLER, John Victor, 1992, Rejoinder. Nativization and Pidgin/Creole genesis: a reply to Bickerton. *JPCL* 7:2, 319-333.

SIMONSON, Douglas ('Peppo'), Ken SAKATA and Pat SASAKI, 1981, *Pidgin to da max*. Honolulu: The Bess Press.

SKOTTOWE, Thomas, 1988, *The Skottowe manuscript. Volume 1, Newcastle 1813*. Sydney: David Ell Press.

SLADEN, Douglas, ed., 1888, *Australian poets, 1788-1888: being a selection of poems upon all subjects written in Australia and New Aealand during the first century of the British colonization with brief notes on their authors and an introduction by Patchett Martin*. London: Griffith.

SMITH, Christina, 1880, The Booandik Tribe of South Australian Aborigines: a sketch of their habits, customs, legends, and language. Also, an account of the efforts made by Mr. and Mrs. James Smith to Christianise and civilise them. Adeleaide: Government Printer.

SMITH, F. B., 1987, Stalwarts of the garrison: some Irish academics in Australia. *Australian Cultural History*, no. 6, 74-93.

SMITH, Hazel M. and Ellen H. BIDDLE, 1975, *Look forward not back: Aborigines in metropolitan Brisbane, 1965-1966*. Canberra: ANUP.

SMITH, Jim, 1992, Aborigines of the Goulburn district. The author.

SMITH, Keith Vincent, 1992, *King Bungaree: a Sydney Aborigine meets the great south Pacific explorers, 1799-1830*. Sydney: Kangaroo Press.

SMITH, Larry E., ed., 1983, *Readings in English as an international language*. Oxford: Pergamon Press.

SMITH, Rodney (Gipsy), n.d., *Gipsy Smith: his life and work*. London: National Free Church Council.

SMITH, Thomas, 1804, *The wonders of nature and art; or a concise account of whatever is most curious and remarkable in the world*. 12 vols. London: J. Walker.

SMYTH, Arthur Bowes, 1979, *The journal of Arthur Bowes Smyth: Surgeon, Lady Penrhyn 1787-1789*. Edited by Paul G. Fidlon and R.J. Ryan. Sydney: Australian Documents Library.

SMYTH, Robert Brough, 1878, *The Aborigines of Victoria: with notes relating to the habits of the natives of other parts of Australia and Tasmania compiled from various sources for the Government of Victoria*. 2 vols. Melbourne: Government Printer.

SNELL, Edward, 1988, *The life and adventures of Edward Snell: the illustrated diary of an artist, engineer and adventurer in the Australian colonies 1849 to 1859*. Sydney: Angus and Robertson.

SODERLUND, Jean R., 1985, *Quakers and slavery: a divided spirit*. Princeton: Princeton UP.

SOMERVILLE, George, nd[late C19], Being the recollections of an early overlander from Sydney to Melbourne. Ms courtesy of Carol Budge.

SOUTHWELL, Daniel, 1790, The Southwell papers. *Historical Records of New SouthWales*, volume 1 part 2.

STANLEY, Peter, 1986, *The remote garrison: the British army in Australia*. Kenthurst: Kangaroo Press.

STANNER, W.E.H., 1958, Continuity and change among the Aborigines. *The Australian journal of science*, vol. 21, no. 5, Dec. 1958.1977, 'The history of indifference thus begins.' *Aboriginal history*, vol. 1, part 1, 3 - 26.

STEEL, Watson A., 1939, Machattie Park, Bathurst: Dr. Richard Machattie, 1813-1876. *JRAHS*, vol. 25, 1939, part 2, 163-165.

STEELE, J.G., 1983, *Aboriginal pathways in southeast Queensland and the Richmond River*. St Lucia: University of Queensland Press.

STEIN, Stanley J., 1985[1958], *Vassouras, a Brazilian coffee county, 1850-1900: the roles of planter and slave in a plantation society*. Princeton: Princeton UP.

STEPHENS, J. Brunton, 1879, *Marsupial Bill; or the bad boy, the good dog, and the old man kangaroo*. Brisbane: Gordon and Gotch.

STEVEN, Margaret, 1988, *First impressions: the British discovery of Australia.* London: British Museum.

STEWART, Douglas and Nancy KEESING, 1968, *Bush songs, ballads, and other verse.*Penrith: The Discovery Press.

STOKES, J. Lort, 1969[1846], *Discoveries in Australia; with an account of the coasts and rivers explored and surveyed during the voyage of H.M.S. Beagle, in the years 1837-38-39-40-41-42-43.* 2 vols. Facs. Libraries Board of South Australia.

STONE, Sharman, 1974, *Aborigines in white Australia.* South Yarra: Heinemann Educational Books.

STOW, Catherine, 1930, *Woggheeguy: Australian Aboriginal legends collected by Catherine Stow.* Adelaide: F.W. Preece and Sons.

STRETTON, Hesba, n.d., *Under the old roof.* London: The Religious Tract Society.

STREVENS, Peter, 1983, What is standard English? In Larry E. Smith, ed., 87-93.

STUART, Donald, 1959, *Yandy.* Melbourne: Georgian House.

STURT, Charles, 1833, *Two expeditions into the interior of southern Australia, during the years 1828, 1829, 1830, and 1831: with observations on the soil,climate, and general resources in the colony of New South Wales.* 2 vols. London: Smith, Elder and Co.

SULLIVAN, Jack, 1983, *Banggaiyerri. The story of Jack Sullivan as told to Bruce Shaw.* Canberra: AIAS.

SULLIVAN, Martin, 1985, *Men and women of Port Philli* Sydney: Hale and Iremonger.

SUMMER INSTITUTE OF LINGUISTICS AUSTRALIAN ABORIGINES AND ISLANDERS BRANCH, DARWIN, 1986, *Kriol dictionary, first draft, February 1986.* Darwin: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

SUTTOR, Francis B., 1906, The memoirs of George Suttor F.L.S. 1774-1859,revised by Francis B. Suttor, 7.9.1906. MS. Bathurst Historical Society Archives, Bathurst, NSW.

SUTTOR, George, late C18-1859, The Suttor journals and memoirs. MS. Bathurst Historical Society Archives, Bathurst, NSW.

SUTTOR, William Henry, 1887, *Australian stories retold and sketches of country life.* Bathurst: Glyndwr Whalan.

SWAARDECRON, Hendrick and Cornelis CHASTELIN, n.d., A written detail of the discoveries and noticeable occurrences in the voyage of the fluyt "Vossenbosch," the sloop "D'Waijer," and the patsjallang "Nova Hollandia," despatched by the government of India Anno 1705, from Batavia by way of Timor to New Holland; compiled as well from the written journals as from the verbal recitals of the returned officers, by the Council, Extraordinary, Hendrick Swaardecron and Cornelis Chastelin, commissioned for that purpose, and forming

their report to His Excellency the Governor General, Jan Van Horn and the Council of India. In Major, ed., 1963, 124ff.

SWAN, Keith and Margaret CARNEGIE, 1979, *In step with Sturt*. Armadale: Graphic Books.

SWARTZ, Stephen M., 1982, *Papers in Warlpiri grammar: in memory of Lothar Jagst*. Darwin: SIL-AAB.

SWEATMAN, John, 1977, *The journal of John Sweatman, a nineteenth century surveying voyage in north Australia and Torres Strait*. Edited by Jim Allen and Peter Corris. St Lucia: University of Queensland Press.

SWEENEY, Christopher, 1981, *Transported in place of death: convicts in Australia*. Melbourne: Macmillan Co. Australia.

TAFT, Ronald, John L M DAWSON and Pamela BEASLEY, 1975, *Attitudes and social conditions*. Canberra: ANUP.

TALBOT, F H., ed., 1972[1962], The natural history of Sydney. Sydney: The Trustees of the Australian Museum.

TAPLIN, G., 1892, Grammar of the language spoken by the Narrinyeri Tribe in S. Australia.In Fraser, ed., 1892 28-48.

TAUSSIG, John Carlsson, 1976[1961], How Bathurst began. In Greaves, ed., 1976, 1-15.

TAYLOR, J.M., 1912., *The mother state: the physical features, natural resources, geology, scenery, climate, industries and commerce of New South Wales*. Sydney: Angus and Robertson.

TAYLOR, Penny, ed., 1988, *After 200 years: photographic essays of Aboriginal and Islander Australia today*. Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press.

TAYLOR, Peter, 1990, *The atlas of Australian history*. French's Forest: Child and Associates.

TEICHELMANN, Christian Gottlieb and Clamor Wilhelm Schürmann, 1840, *Outlines of a grammar, vocabulary and phraseology of the Aboriginal language of South Australia*. Adelaide: The author.

TEMPLETON, G.A., 1976[1961], Growing pains: 1821-49. In Greaves, ed., 1976, 16-29.

TENCH, Watkin, 1979, *Sydney's first four years: a narrative of the expedition to Botany Bay, and a complete account of the settlement at Port Jackson 1788-1791*. Sydney: Library of Australian history.

TERRY, Michael, 1924, Across unknown Australia. *United Empire*, 1924: 472-7.1925, *Across unknown Australia*. London: Herbert Jenkins.

TESTER, Richard, 1851, Wombat Valley. MS. ML: B1651[Wombat Wallaby], CY Reel 480.

THOMAS, N.W., 1906, *Natives of Australia*. London: Archibald Constable.

THOMAS, W.M.H., 1864, *The gold hunters' adventures in Australia*. Boston: Lee and Shepherd.

THOMPSON, George, 1979[1947], *Slavery and famine punishments for sedition or an account of the miseries and starvation at Botany Bay by George Thompson who sailed in the "Royal Admiral," May, 1792, with some preliminary remarks by George Dyer, B.A. late of Emanuel College, Cambridge; author of "The Complaints of the poor"*. Edited and introduction by George Mackaness. Dubbo: Review Publications.

THOMPSON, James, 1803, *A curious and interesting account of the original natives of New South Wales*. London:

THOMPSON, Paul, 1978, *The voice of the past: oral history*. Oxford: Oxford UP.

THOMPSON, Valerie, 1979, Feet on the ground: the Yass-Port Phillip road 1838. *The push from the bush; a bulletin of social history: devoted to the year of grace, 1838*, no. 5, 5 December 1979.

THORNTON, George, n.d., Papers. MS. NLA: MS 3270.

THOROUGHGOOD, Anne, Ellen BRADLEY and Wendy HUCKER, 1990, *Memories of my mother: recollections of everyday life of rural women in the Tumbarumba district 1850-1950*.Tumbarumba: Pioneer Women's Hut.

THRELKELD, Lancelot Edward, 1825a, The orthography and orthoepy of a dialect of the Aborigines of New South Wales: Part 1. MS. NLA: Brisbane Papers no 15.

1825b, Letter from L.E. Threlkeld to S. Bannister, 27 September 1825. In Gunson, ed., vol. 2, 1974, 186-87.

1825c, Report to the London Misisonary Society, Aboriginal Mission, New South Wales, December 1852 [sic, should be 1825]. In Gunson, ed., 1974, vol. 2, 189-194.

1825d, From Threlkeld's public journal 24 February to 2 July 1825. In Gunson, ed., 1974, vol. 1, 85-90.

1825e, Letter from L.E. Threlkeld to G. Burder and W.A. Hankey, 23.4.1825. In Gunson, ed., 1974, vol. 2, 181-82.

1826a, Second half yearly report of the Aboriginal Mission supported by the London Missionary Society, L.E. Threlkeld Missionary to the Aborigines New South Wales, Newcastle June 21st 1826. In Gunson, ed., 1974, vol. 2, 204-210.

1826b, Memoranda of events 1826. In Gunson, ed., 1974, vol. 1, 91-94.

1826c, Letter from L.E. Threlkeld to G. Burder and W.A. Hankey, 27 March 1826. In Gunson, ed., 1974, vol. 2, 201-2..

1826d, Specimens of a dialect of the Aborigines of New South Wales. Sydney: The author.

1827a, Specimens of a dialect of the Aborigines of New South Wales; being the first attempt to form their speech into a written language. In Fraser, ed., 1892, 131-148.

1827b, Circular, London Missionary Society Aboriginal Mission, Lake Macquarie, New South Wales, May, 1827. In Gunson, ed., 1974, vol. 2, 226-227.

1827c, Circular, London Missionary Society Aboriginal Mission, Lake Macquarie, New South Wales, May, 1827. In Gunson, ed., 1974, vol. 1, 96-97.

1828, London Missionary Society Mission to the Aborigines New South Wales (circular), 8 October 1828. In Gunson, ed., 1974, vol. 1, 97-100.

1829, Letter from Rev L.E. Threlkeld to Rev W.G. Broughton, 17 November 1829. In Gunson, ed., vol. 1, 109-110.

1834, *An Australian Grammar, comprehending the principles and natural rules of the language, as spoken by the Aborigines, in the vicinity of Hunter's River, Lake Macquarie, &c . New South Wales*. Sydney: Stephenson and Stokes, "Herald Office".

1835, Reminiscences of the Aborigines of New South Wales: traits of the Aborigines of New South Wales. In Gunson, ed., 1974, vol. 1, 41-42.

1836, The 6th annual report of the Mission to the Aborigines, Lake Macquarie for MDCCCXXXVI. In Gunson, ed., 1974, vol. 1, 132-34.

1837, Annual report of Mission to the Aborigines of New South Wales 1837. In Gunson, ed., 1974, vol. 1, 135-37.

1850, A key to the structure of the Aboriginal language; being an analysis of the particles used as affixes, to form the various modifications of the verbs; shewing the essential powers, abstract roots, and other peculiarities of the language spoken by the Aborigines in the vicinity of Hunter River, Lake Macquarie, etc., New South Wales: together with comparisons of Polynesian and other dialects. In Fraser, ed., 1892, 85-120.

1854, Reminiscences of the Aborigines of New South Wales: 1825-1826. In Gunson, ed., 1974, vol. 1, 43-81.

1857, Author's preface. In Threlkeld 1891, 125-127.

1891, The Gospel by St. Luke translanted into the language of the Awabakal. In Fraser, ed., 1892, 123-194.

1892, A selection of prayers for the morning, from the service of the Church of England, intended for the introduction of public worship amongst the aborigines of Australia; by the Venerable W.G. Broughton, A.M., Archdeacon of New South Wales and its dependencies. Translated into the Northumberland dialect by L.E. Threlkeld; 1835. In Fraser, ed., 1892, 120-127.

1892, An Awabakal-English lexicon to the Gospel according to Saint Luke. In Fraser, ed., 1892 197-227.

TINDALE, Norman B., 1974, *Aboriginal tribes of Australia: their terrain, environmental controls, distribution, limits, and proper names*. Canberra: ANUP.

TIPPING, Gary R., ed., 1988, *The official account through Governor Phillip's letters to Lord Sydney*. Sydney: G.R. Tipping.

TIPPING, Gary R., ed., 1988, *The official account through Governor Phillip's letters to Lord Sydney*. Sydney: Gary Tipping.

TODD, Loreto, 1974, *Pidgins and creoles*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.1984, *Modern Englishes: pidgins and creoles*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

TODD, Loretto and Ian HANCOCK, 1986, *International English usage*. London: Guild Publishing.

TOLCHER, H.M., 1986, *Drought or deluge: man in the Cooper's Creek region*. Melbourne: Melbourne UP.

TOWNSEND, Joseph Phipps, 1849, *Rambles and observations in New South Wales, with sketches of men and manners, notices of the Aborigines, glimpses of scenery, and some hints to emigrants*. London: Chapman and Hall.

TROLLOPE, Anthony, 1987[1873], *Australia*. 2 vols. Gloucester: Alan Sutton.

TROY, Jakelin, 1985, Australian Aboriginal contact with the English language in New South Wales: 1788-1845. BAHons thesis, The University of Sydney.

1988, Nineteenth century visual images of Australian Aborigines. In Jupp, ed., 1988, 19-22.

1990a, Australian Aboriginal contact with the English language in New South Wales: 1788 to 1845. *PL*, B-103.

1990b, A variation certainly on dinners and dining-rooms, and toasts, and speeches, in either England or Ireland: colonists at corroborees in eighteenth and nineteenth-century New South Wales. In Corones, Pont and Santich, eds, 137-141.

1991, 'Der Mary this is fine cuntry is there is in the wourld': Irish-English and Irish in late eighteenth and nineteenth century Australia. In O'Brien and Travers, eds, 1991, 148-180.

1992a, 'Der Mary this is fine cuntry is there is in the wourld': Irish-English and Irish in late eighteenth and nineteenth century Australia. In Dutton, Ross and Tryon, eds, 1992, pp. 459-477.

1992b, The Sydney language notebooks and responses to language contact in early colonial NSW. *Australian Journal of Linguistics*, vol. 12, no. 1, pp. 145-170.

1993a, Language contact in early colonial New South Wales 1788-1791. In Walsh and Yallop, eds, 1993, pp. 33-50.

1993b, *'Brass plate kings': a history of Aboriginal gorgets*. Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press.

1994, *The Sydney language*. Canberra: The author.

forthcoming, The Sydney language. In Bill McGregor, ed., forthcoming.

TRUDGILL, Peter, 1983, *On dialect: social and geographical perspectives*. New York: Basil Blackwell.

TRYON, Darrell T., 1987, Bislama: an introduction to the national language of Vanuatu. *PL*, D 72.

1991a, The lexicon of Bislama: the Australian component? Ms. Departmental seminar paper, 27 September 1991.

1991b, Wanem Bislama. In Blust, ed., 1991, 509-519.

1992, Whence the Jolly Jumbuck? In Dutton, Ross and Tryon, eds, 1992, pp. 479-82.

TUCKER, James (Giacomo di Rosenberg), 1952, *Ralph Rashleigh or the life of an exile*. Edited and introduced by Colin Roderick. Sydney: Angus and Robertson.

TUNNY, James, 1828, The Deposition of James Tunny, Stroud, April 26, 1828. MS. In the Macarthur Papers, Australian Agricultural Company Correspondence and Papers, September 1826 to April 1828, ML: A 4321.

TURBET, Peter, 1989, *The Aborigines of the Sydney district before 1788*. Kenthurst: Kangaroo Press.

TURNBULL, Clive, 1983[1965], *A Concise History of Australia*. Curry O'Neil Ross.

TURNER, J.W., *When Newcastle was Sydney's Siberia*. Stockton, NSW: Hunter History Publications.

TWEEDIE, Alan D. and Kenneth W. ROBINSON, 1963, *The regions of Australia*. Croydon, Victoria: Longmans.

TYERMAN, Daniel and George BENNETT, 1824, Information regarding the Aboriginals of N.S.W. collected by the L.M.S. deputation 1824. In Gunson, ed., 1974, vol. 2, 338-342.

VALDMAN, Albert and A. Highfield, 1980, eds, *Theoretical orientations in creole studies*. New York: Academic Press.

VELLACOTT, Helen, ed., 1986[1892], *Some recollections of a happy life: Marianne North in Australia and New Zealand*. Caulfield East: Edward Arnold.

VIANA, Francisco Javier de, 1849, *Diaro del viage explorador de las corbetas Españolas Descubierta y Atrevida, en los años 1789 á 1794*. Llevado por el Teniete de Navio D. Francisco Javier de Viana...Cerrito de la Victoria: Imprenta del Ejército.

WALDERSEE, James, *Catholic society in New South Wales 1788-1860*. Sydney: Sydney UP.

WALKER, Kath, 1972, *Stradbroke dreaming*. Sydney: Angus and Robertson.

WALKER, Peter Benson, ed., 1976, *Prelude to federation 1884-1898: extracts from the journal of James Backhouse Walker*. Hobart: OBM Publ Co.

WALLACE, Noel M., 1988, Aboriginal place names. *Australian Aboriginal studies*, 1988, no. 2, 111-113.

WALSH, G.P., 1962, The English colony in New South Wales: A.D. 1803. *The New Zealand Geographer*, vol. 18, no. 2, October 1962, 149-169.

WALSH, Michael J. and S.A. WURM, 1981, Australia and Tasmania. In Wurm and Hattori, eds, 1981.

WALSH, Michael J. and Colin YALLOP, eds, 1993, *Language and culture in Aboriginal Australia*. Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press.

WALSH, Michael J., 1981, Language map of South-eastern Australia and Tasmania. In Wurm and Hattori, eds, 1981.

WANNAN, Bill, ed., 1966, *The wearing of the green: the lore, literature, legend and balladry of the Irish in Australia*. London: Lansdowne Press.

WARD, John Manning, 1981, *James Macarthur, colonial conservative, 1798-1867*. Sydney: Sydney University Press.

WARDAUGH, Ronald, 1987, *Languages in competition*. New York: Basil Blackwell and André Deutsch.

WATLING, Thomas, 1945[c.1794], *Letters from an exile at Botany-Bay, to his aunt in Dumfries with an introduction by George Mackaness*. Sydney: D.S. Ford.

WATSON, F.J., n.d., Vocabularies of four representative tribes of south eastern Queensland with grammatical notes thereof and some notes on manners and customs. Also, a list of place names and their derivations. Supplement to *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of Australasia (Queensland)*, no. 34, vol. 48.

WATSON, Frederick, 1927, *A brief history of Canberra the capital city of Australia*. Canberra: Federal Capital Press of Australia.

WATT, James, 1989, The colony's health. In Hardy and Frost, eds, 1989, 137-151.

WEATHERHEAD, Alexander, 1988, *Leaves from my life by Alexander Weatherhead of Nangutta, Twofold Bay, being fifty-six years experience on the south coast of New South Wales, Australia*. Eden: Eden Museum.

WEAVER, Rix, n.d., *Beyond Cooralong (a story of early Western Australia)*. Perth: C.H. Pitman.

WEBB, Stephen G. and Alan G. THORNE, 1985, A congenital meningocoele in prehistoric Australia. *American journal of physical anthropology*, no. 68, 1985, 525-533.

WEBB, Stephen G., 1987, A palaeodemographic model of late Holocene Central Murray Aboriginal society, Australia. *Human Evolution*, vol. 2, no. 5, 385-406.

WEBSTER, Mona Stuart, 1958, *John McDouall Stuart*. Melbourne: Melbourne UP.

WELLINGS, H.P., n.d., *Eden and Twofold Bay. Discovery, early history an points of interest, 1797-1965*. Eden: H.Wellings.

WELLS, William Henry, 1851, *A geographical dictionary; or gazetteer of the Australian colonies: their physical and political geography, together with a brief notice of all the capitals, principal towns, and villages, also of mines, rivers, bays, gulfs, mountains, population and general statistics, illustrated with numerous maps and drawings*. London: Effingham Wilson.

WELSBY, Thomas, 1977[1907], *Early Moreton Bay*. Adelaide: Rigby.

WENTWORTH, William Charles, 1819, *Statistical, historical, and political description of the colony of New South Wales, and its dependent settlements in Van Diemen's Land; with a particular enumeration of the advantages which these colonies offer for emigration, and their superiority in many respects over those possessed by the United States of America.* Adelaide: Doubleday.

WENZ, Paul, 1990, *Diary of a new chum and other lost stories.* Preface by Frank Moorhouse, edited and translated by Maurice Blackman with translations by Patricia Brulant and Margaret Whitlam and notes by Jean-Paul Delamotte. Sydney: Angus and Robertson.

WHEELWRIGHT, Horatio William, 1861, *Bush wanderings of a naturalist; notes on the field sports and fauna of Australia Felix.* Facs. London: Routledge, Warne, and Routledge.

WHINNOM, Keith, 1971, Linguistic hybridization and the 'special case' of pidgins and creoles. In Hymes, ed., 1971, pp. 91-115.

WHITE, John, 1796, John White, testimony, 8 July 1796. In Paine 1983, 24-25.

1962[1790], *Journal of a voyage to New South Wales.* Edited by Alec H. Chisholm. Sydney: Angus and Robertson.

WHITE, Gloster S., n.d., *"Back to Bathurst week": official souvenier containing the history and progress of Bathurst and district 1813-1923.* Sydney: Direct Publicity Co.

WHITEMAN, John, 1873, *Sparks and sounds from a colonial anvil.* Melbourne: George Robertson.

WICKING, G.W., 1936, *Boom-time gold.* Sydney: Angus and Robertson.

WIGNALL, Edel, 1985, *A bluey of swaggies.* Caulfield: Edward Arnold.

WILDE William, Joy HOOTON and Barry ANDREWS, 1985, *The Oxford companion to Australian literature.* Melbourne: Oxford UP.

WILKES, G.A., 1984[1974], *The colonial poets.* Sydney: Angus and Robertson.1986, *Exploring Australian English.* Sydney: Australian Broadcasting Commission.

WILLEY, Keith, 1979, *When the sky fell down: the desctruction of the tribes of the Sydney region 1788-1850s.* Sydney: Collins.

WILLIAMS, Elizabeth, 1984, Documentation and archaeological investigation of an Aboriginal 'village' site in south western Victoria. *Aboriginal history*, vol. 8, part 2, 173-188.

WILLIAMS, Richard, n.d.[late C18], Extract of a journal from England to Botany Bay, by Richard Williams, belonging to the ship Borrow Dale, Capt. Reed. Facs in Ingleton, ed., 1952, 2.

WILLIAMSON, J.A., ed., n.d., *The story of the British Empire in pictures. The countries of the Empire how they are governed and the life and work of their peoples.* London: Odhams Press Limited.

WILLMOT, Eric, 1988[1987], *Pemulwuy: the rainbow warrior.* Sydney: Bantam Books.

WINCH, Ron, 1982, *Wattle Park, 1882-1982*. Canberra: Wattle Park Uniting Church.

WINDEYER, Richard, c.1842, On the rights of the Aborigines of Australia. MS. ML: A 1400.

WINDROSS, John and J.RALSTON, 1897, *Historical records of Newcastle, 1797-1897*. Newcastle: Federal Printing and Bookbinding Works.

WOOD, G. Arnold, 1924, Lieutenant William Dawes and Captain Watkin Tench. *JRAHS*, 10, 1-24.

WOOLMINGTON, Jean, ed., 1988[1973], *Aborigines in colonial society 1788-1850: a sourcebook*. Armidale: University of New England.

WORGAN, George B., 1978, *Journal of a First Fleet surgeon by George B. Worgan, Surgeon of the Sirius*. Sydney: Library Council of New South Wales in association with the Library of Australian history.

WRIGHT, Judith, 1970[1959], *The generations of men*. Melbourne: Oxford UP.

WRIGHT, Peter, 1981, Cockney dialect and slang. London: B.T. Batsford.

WURM, S.A. and Shirô HATTORI, eds, 1981. Language atlas of the Pacific area. Part 1: New Guinea area, Oceania, Australia. *PL* C: 66.

WURM, S.A., 1969[1967], *Linguistic fieldwork methods in Australia*. Canberra: AIAS.

1979, ed., Australian linguistic studies. *PL* C: 54.

1990, Human categorisation and language a special situation with Australian Aboriginals. In Austin, Dixon, Dutton and White, eds, 1990, 283-289.

1991, Language death and disappearance: causes and circumstances. *Diogène*, no. 153, Spring 1991, 1-18.

WYATT, Ransome T., 1941, *The history of Goulburn, N.S.W. Goulburn: The Municipality of Goulburn*.

YARWOOD, A.T., 1968, *Attitudes to non-European immigration*. Melbourne: Cassell.

1977, *Samuel Marsden: the great survivor*. Melbourne: Melbourne UP.

YOUNG, Everild, 1953, *The land of three worlds*. London: Andrew Melrose.

YOUNGER, R.M., 1976, *The Murray Valley - past and present: Australia's great river*. Swan Hill: Horizon.

YULE, Henry, 1903, *Hobson-Jobson: a glossary of Anglo-Indian words and phrases, and of kindred terms, etymological, historical, geographical and discursive*. New edn, William Crooke, ed. London: John Murray.