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LANGUAGE USE AND LANGUAGE ATTITUDES IN A RURAL SOUTH AUSTRALIAN COMMUNITY

Presented
By
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As part of the requirements for the Master of Arts Degree in the Linguistics Discipline, University of Adelaide, September 9th 1998.

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ABSTRACT

The topic of this thesis is language use and language attitudes towards Indigenous peoples in a rural South Australian community.

This is essentially a linguistic thesis, however, due to the intermeshing of sociohistory and language in the target community, this work argues the importance of considering non-linguistic factors in understanding the community situation, the most important of these non-linguistic factors being the role of people's attitudes. As Edwards (1982p.20), points out:

"With regard to sociolinguistics in particular, attitudes have traditionally been of considerable importance. This is because people's reactions to language varieties reveal much of their perception of the speakers of these varieties...."

This thesis is divided into three interrelating sections. The first outlines the situation in the target community. The second discusses language attitude research and compares attitudes to language varieties around the world. The third illustrates Australian Governmental attitudes through their past and present policies, in dealing with Indigenous Australians.

This work contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text.

I give consent to this copy of my thesis, when deposited in the university library, being available for loan and photocopying.

September 9th 1998

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To everyone who helped in some way, thanks heaps, your contribution has been invaluable.

ABBREVIATIONS

AACLAME - Australian Advisory Council on Languages and Multicultural Education

AEP - Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Education Policy

ALA - Aboriginal languages Association

ATSI - Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander

DAA - Department of Aboriginal Affairs

FECCA - Federation of Ethnic communities council of Australia

NALLS - National Languages and Literacy Strategy

NALP - National Aboriginal Languages Programme

NPL - National Policy on Languages

UAM - United Aboriginal Mission

UMAAW - Upper Murray Association for Aboriginal Welfare

TERMINOLOGICAL MATTERS

Before beginning this work I would like to highlight some important points:

a) I have used, wherever possible, the term 'Indigenous', rather than 'Aboriginal', when describing the Indigenous community of the Riverland. Some Indigenous informants thought this more appropriate in such a formal piece of work;

b) In the Riverland the term 'Aboriginal' is sometimes used in a derogatory way by non - Indigenous people;

c) The term 'Nunga' is *sometimes* used *only* between Indigenous peoples, and not all Indigenous people in the Riverland are 'Nunga' e.g. Ngarrindjeri;

d) The term 'Indigenous' refers to not only 'Aboriginal' people, but also Islander peoples e.g. Torres Strait Islander people. While all these people are Indigenous to Australia, they have very different cultures and identities and it is OFFENSIVE to label them all as 'Aboriginal'.

e) The term 'Koorie' is inappropriate for South Australia. Most Indigenous Riverlanders refer to themselves as 'Nunga', not 'Koorie'.

WARNING: The mention of the names of certain deceased Indigenous Riverlanders may be offensive to some readers of this thesis.

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER

Chase (1981p.23), summarises the general attitude of Europeans towards Indigenous peoples of Australia in this passage:

"In the eyes of White Australia, Aboriginal people have yet to justify themselves and their place on the Australian continent. They have yet to 'earn' special grants for education, land rights or any form of government support supplied solely because of their Aboriginality. If they live in remote areas in settlements, missions or out-stations on reserves, they are seen by sections of White Australia as being mollycoddled by an over-sensitive federal government which unwittingly encourages separatism and which fails to develop Aborigines into worthwhile citizens. Rather, along with the rest of us, Aborigines should be helping in the strenuous business of turning the economic wheels. According to such views they remain 'backward' in the march of progress: a theory which has remained stranded in public opinion from the old evolutionist writings of the last century...."

In Australia's current political climate of 'multiculturalism', much more interest has been shown in languages and cultures other than English, in particular Australia's Indigenous cultures and languages. However, there still appear to be some negative views regarding Indigenous peoples, as the quote by Chase, above, illustrates. It is possible that negativity and general cultural ignorance exists more so in rural communities, such as in this case, the Riverland.

In the Riverland, for example, Indigenous people still receive criticism for 'not living like White people' and 'not having a job like White people'. They are also devalued as people when described by non-Indigenous people as 'half-castes, quarter-castes' and 'three-quarter-castes'. Their culture has also been devalued and is thought of by sections of the non-Indigenous community, as being 'primitive', if existing at all. Similarly harsh judgements are directed at Indigenous speech which is often called 'Pidgin' or 'not proper English', while Indigenous languages are thought to be 'simple', 'easy to learn', having 'no grammar' and consisting of only a 'few words'.

During my research I discovered that the origins of such ignorant attitudes date back to colonial times, over one hundred years ago. Incredibly, in this age of 'education for all' and 'multiculturalism', these same attitudes still exist today and continue to be passed on from parent to child. The importance of these attitudes cannot be denied in that they still heavily influence the racial harmony of the Riverland community.

Historically speaking, attitudes towards Indigenous peoples of Australia, have never been 'accepting'. After all, it wasn't until 1967, that Indigenous people were recognised as a 'people' and granted citizenship in their own country. Additionally, it was not until May 1987 that Indigenous languages were officially recognised as being the Indigenous languages of Australia and thus worthy of respect and acceptance, (cf. Chapter 5 p.101).

From the beginning of European settlement up until the 1970's, government policy called for a monolingual, monocultural Australia. In this time Indigenous peoples were believed to be close to extinction and like their cultures and languages were thought to be worthless and consequently oppressed and ignored. At the same time Indigenous peoples who were being forced to assimilate to the European system, struggled to keep their traditions alive.

Government policies have varied from outright genocide to neglect to laissez - faire, assimilation, to protection - segregation. Under these policies many different groups of Indigenous peoples, some of which were hostile to each other, were forced to live together on reserves and missions, isolated from the non-Indigenous population. Government policy even demanded that Indigenous children be forcibly taken from their families and put into boarding homes and institutions or adopted out to European families (cf. Fesl 1993p.123), to give them a supposed 'better' life. This practise was still occurring in some states until the late 1970's (cf. Fesl 1993p.123). Today, these children are known as the 'Stolen generation', (cf. Appendix No.5.1, 5.2p.220-222), and at the time of writing this, the Australian government has not yet officially apologised for this practise.

In spite of the various policies dealing with Indigenous peoples, little actually changed in relation to their status prior to the 1970's, which was probably lower than the rest of the population of Australia at the time. Pre - 1970's policy did however serve to break up the traditional Indigenous ecological support system. This consists of land ownership, cultural practises, lifestyles, settlement patterns, physical and spiritual well being, as well as the relationship with other languages, Pidgins and speaker's multilingualism, says Mühlhäusler (1990), cited in the Report by the National Languages and Literacy Institute of Australia (1994p.24).

Linguistically, the results of governmental policy and ecological breakdown forced many Indigenous peoples into a Creole situation. This meant that in order to communicate with non-Indigenous people and various Indigenous groups, (with whom they often had to live with now), they had to invent or adopt a new language. This also meant a partial to complete loss of the old Indigenous identity and the need to find a new one.

On a more positive note, from the 1970's to the 1990's, the official status of Indigenous peoples, cultures and languages has improved considerably. For example, Indigenous cultures and languages have become more supported in schools through the Australian Indigenous Languages Framework, which incorporates bilingual education. Additionally, up to 1996, various language revival and language maintenance programs have been implemented for Indigenous languages and cultures in Australia.

Consequently, in official circles there is more awareness as well as more respect and acceptance of Indigenous life and culture in Australia.

There is however, still a need to continue research on 'attitudes' among the general public. For example, investigation in the Riverland revealed specific kinds of racist comments and criticism of Indigenous peoples in specific domains such as 'work ethics', 'housing' and 'funding', and cross cultural conflicts were usually due to ignorance and stereotyping in these domains. This, in turn, reflects the need for education programmes in schools or the workplace to focus on domains like respect and tolerance for cultural differences.

Thus continued attitude research can, firstly, illustrate the nature of community attitudes, the origin of these attitudes, why people have these attitudes, what can be learnt from these attitudes and what can be done to improve attitudes towards certain cultural groups. Secondly, attitude study can, in the long term, benefit areas such as employment and education in helping people to understand and resolve cross - cultural misunderstandings and discrimination. Thirdly, research can illustrate how powerful time; changing government as well as media events and changing official policies can influence people's attitudes.

Methodology

This is a linguistic thesis and initially I had intended to concentrate on formal structural language aspects in the community. This however, soon proved to be too restrictive. The more research I undertook in the Riverland community, the more I became aware of the total intermeshing of the area's socio-history with language factors. This history also accounted for the attitudes of people towards non-standard language, accent and skin colour. These attitudes proved absolutely crucial to understanding the present day community and thus have become the dominant theme of this work.

This thesis is thus integrational in that it combines language factors with cultural, sociological and historical factors. Additionally this work follows ecological theory, as developed by Mühlhäusler (1990), which considers the total home encompassing the community to which the language belongs together with all its linguistic resources *. Examining, the community ecologically involves examining the social and physical support systems of the language, such as school, media and local support projects as well as the inhabitants.

* Footnote: Ecological theory opposes the priorities of linguists like Chomsky who focus on the study of grammar and believe that language exists as a self-contained entity.

The principal methodological framework used in this thesis, has been Hymes' (1962), 'Ethnography of Speech', which focuses on communication as one of the systems within a culture, how it functions within the context of the culture and how it relates to other component systems. Particularly useful were Hymes components of speech events. Hymes' categories were meant to help outsiders make etic observations. The writer of this thesis is a member of the Riverland Community and thus brings with her, emic knowledge not typically found among ethnographers of communication.

Other methods followed during fieldwork were those of Labov (1972), V.K.Edwards (1979), J.R.Edwards (1982), Eastman (1985), Holmes and Bell (1990), Zahn and Hopper (1985) and attitude studies undertaken by various people including Lambert, Giles and Picard (1975), Bradac (1990), Callan, Gallois and Johnstone (1984), and E. B. Ryan (1979).

Within the community Lesley Milroy's (1980), 'friend of a friend' method of interaction was used. However, to some extent, this method proved counterproductive in the target community, as it is somewhat divided and to associate with one group might be construed as an act of unfriendliness against other groups.

Fieldwork conducted within the target community consisted of oral interviewing, participant observation and discussion and later participation of some community members in a speech evaluation exercise. By combining inside knowledge, fieldwork and secondary sources, this work has differed from the more conventional sociolinguistic studies with their separation of fieldwork and controlled tests in a laboratory. Milroy (1980p.1), also comments on this concerning her own study:

"Characteristically, rather than working in the community, they [social psychologists], investigate attitudes to language or patterns of language use, under controlled experimental conditions...."

In conclusion, this thesis addresses the following research matters:

a) The situation of Indigenous people in the community, including a brief outline of the history of Indigenous peoples in the Riverland, the languages spoken and people's opinions on their language and culture;

b) Current attitudes towards Indigenous peoples, cultures and languages. What is the nature of these attitudes? What are their origins? Why and how are they used?

c) Indigenous language usage and the role of language in cross cultural conflict;

d) The applicability of sociolinguistic methods to Australian contexts.

LOCATION OF TARGET COMMUNITY

The community of my study is the Riverland, which is a rural area about three hours drive North East of Adelaide, extending from the town of Blanchetown in the West to the town of Paringa in the East, (cf. Figures 1,2,3,4 p.11-15). Dowling (1990p.4), defines the region as such:

"To the West of the border between South Australia and Victoria, the River Murray temporarily leaves its Westerly course and deviates firstly South and then North, describing a long U-shaped bend named the Great Pyap Bend. The Riverland district covers the area within the Pyap Bend and extends between the major towns of Renmark and Waikerie..."

The Riverland is part of the Murraylands statistical division. According to the Australian Bureau of Statistics (1993p.39), the Murraylands extend Westward from the South Australia – Victoria border to the Eudunda Range and 60 Km North of the upper reaches of the River Murray in the East, with mallee country directly South of the river. The lower reaches of the river, the Coorong to the Southwest and the 90-Mile Desert to the Southeast, bound the Murray Mallee region. Average rainfall varies from 200 to 480 mm in the North to between 250 and 430 mm in the South, (cf. Local Government area statistics of South Australia, 1993p.39).

According to the Australian Bureau of Statistics (1993p.39), along the Murray there are extensive irrigated citrus and stone-fruit orchards and viticulture associated with fruit canning and packing and wine and brandy production. Northwest of the river is sheep farming while cereals are grown South of the river. In the Murray Mallee area, dairy cattle are concentrated on the lower reaches of the river and its reclaimed flats. Cereal crops are grown mainly on the Western side of the river with sheep grazing on the East. Barley is grown near the South Australia – Victoria border. Secondary industry is milk processing, butter manufacturing, flour milling and some production of agricultural implements, (cf. Local Government area statistics of South Australia, 1993p.39).

Physical Geography

The major landscape of the Riverland is described by Dowling (1990p.14), thus:

"From the Eastern extent of the Great Pyap Bend to Overland Corner, the river is incised in easily eroded Loxton and Parilla sands of Pliocene age, Cole (1978). The deep alluvial valley formed is characterised by source-bordering and sand dune formations and extensive wetlands. The latter consist of abandoned river loops preserved as arcuate lagoons, swamps and lakes which, prior to flow control, were subjected to the seasonal rise and fall of water levels in the main channel, Twidale et al (1978:30). Pressey describes this category of wetlands as including... sections of former river channels or anabranches which no longer function as major routes for flow through the system and distributary channels which disperse high flows within the confines of the recent flood plain...Pressey (1986:25). Of the several lakes within the floodplain, the largest is Lake Bonney, covering 1700 ha and only 8 metres above sea level. During the initial years of European occupation of South Australia, this lake dried up several times. Much of the surrounding wetlands, however are affected by substantial inflows of ground water, and even at periods of low water in the main river channel, sections of the wetlands retained water, Pressey (1986).

At Overland Corner the character of the river valley changes dramatically. During the late Pliocene, the Norwest Bend formation fossiliferous oysterbanks and sands was deposited by a phase of the Murrian Gulf marine incursion, Twidale et al. (1978:31). The distribution of this formation is restricted to a narrow depression extending from Overland Corner to the Western margin of the Murray Basin and South towards the present coastline.... / The Murray Plains of South Australia, through which the river flows, provide a stark contrast to the wetlands areas within the floodplain. To the North and South of the river valley the landscape is characterised by low linear East-West aeolian sand and dune fields formed under the prevailing Quaternary wind regime, Bowler and Ma Gee (1978:6)..."

In relation to Indigenous peoples, Woolmer (1973p.17), says:

"People began living along this vast river system about 50,000 years ago, possibly earlier. At Lake Mungo, near Mildura, close to the South Australian border and the Riverland, human remains have been found with a radiocarbon age of 30,780 years, plus or minus 520 years. Over that vast time the climate changed, but Aboriginal people probably always made use of the river valley...."

Social Geography

According to the Australian Bureau of Statistics (1996p.6), survey of estimated resident populations of South Australia, the main Riverland towns have the following populations:

	1991	1996
Barmera	4,488	4,438
Berri	6,922	6,996
Loxton	7,229	7,055
Renmark	7,643	7,677
Waikerie	4,781	4,778
Paringa	1,554	1,612
Morgan	1,320	1,142

TABLE 1

In relation to ethnicity/nationality/cultural group, the Australian Bureau of Statistics (1993p.40-45), survey estimates the population of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders in the main Riverland towns as: *

Barmera	61
Berri	155
Loxton	59
Renmark	55
Waikerie	51
Paringa	6
Morgan	16

TABLE 2

* Footnote: It should be kept in mind that these statistics are now outdated. A. Rigney, Director of the Jerry Mason Senior Memorial Centre, (pers. comm), advised me that the current Indigenous population of the Riverland numbers between 500 and 600 people, (cf. TABLE 2).

The Australian Bureau of Statistics (1993p.40-45), survey indicates the country of birth of populants of the main Riverland towns as the following:

	Barmera	Berri	Loxton	Morgan	Renmark	Paringa	Waikerie
Australia	3,698	5,694	6,243	1,193	6,325	1,319	4,133
U.K.& Ireland	187	297	195	120	271	59	153
Italy	50	36	29	3	83	35	46
Greece	157	148	91	0	277	14	21
Vietnam	3	0	6	0	56	3	3
Other	227	501	356	88	549	94	218

TABLE 3

The Australian Bureau of Statistics (1991p.5), census of population and housing indicates the following languages were spoken at home, in the main Riverland towns: *

Speaks English only	28,115
Aboriginal languages	12
Arabic (including Lebanese)	23
Chinese languages	43
Croatian	71
Dutch	61
French	15
German	235
Greek	1,384
Italian	501
Macedonian	3
Maltese	3
Polish	77
Serbian	0
Spanish	18
Turkish	141
Vietnamese	57
Yugoslavian	112
Other	387
Not stated	442
Total	31,700

TABLE 4

* Footnote: These statistics are now outdated. Additionally, it is not clear what definition of 'language' was used in conducting this survey. For example, were people who spoke their 'language' fluently, the only ones counted in this survey? Alternatively, were peoples who spoke their 'languages' only partially, mixed with English, or only in certain contexts, included in this survey? (cf. TABLE 4).

The Australian Bureau of Statistics (1993p.40-45), survey of labour force in the main Riverland towns indicates:

	Labour force		Participation Rate %		Unemployment
Town	Males	Females	Males	Females	Rate %
Barmera	1,175	907	70.1	54.6	13.4
Berri	1,904	1,405	73.8	55.4	14.9
Loxton	2,010	1,421	74.1	55.2	9.0
Morgan	381	217	58.2	46.7	8.2
Paringa	509	367	77.9	66.7	8.6
Renmark	2,102	1,578	73.2	54.3	14.7
Waikerie	1,377	957	75.0	55.8	8.8

TABLE 5

The Australian Bureau of Statistics (1993p.40-45), survey of annual household income in the main Riverland towns indicates:

	$12000 or less	$12001 - $25000	$25001 - $40000	$40001 -$70000	$70001 & over
Barmera	308	510	303	176	36
Berri	412	710	462	388	83
Loxton	456	797	468	349	111
Morgan	96	179	106	88	19
Paringa	87	178	108	52	6
Renmark	516	899	518	335	78
Waikerie	293	563	357	221	36

TABLE 6

The Australian Bureau of Statistics (1991p.65), survey of qualification (highest) level by sex in the Riverland indicates:

	Males	Females	Total
Higher Degree	33	6	39
Post Graduate Degree	55	66	121
Bachelor Degree	341	294	635
Undergraduate Degree	209	649	858
Associate Diploma	110	79	189
Skilled Vocational	1,795	195	1,990
Basic Vocational	293	374	667
Inadequately Described	88	39	127
Not Qualified	9,216	9,891	19,107
Not Stated	1,312	1,271	2,583
Total	13,452	12,864	26,316

TABLE 7

The Australian Bureau of Statistics (1993p.40-45), survey of qualification (highest) field by sex in the Riverland indicates:

	Males	Females	Total
Business & Administration	242	279	521
Health	134	688	822
Education	193	526	719
Society & Culture	166	162	328
Natural & Physical Sciences	112	43	155
Engineering	1,439	64	1,503
Architecture & Building	395	3	398
Agriculture & Related Fields	207	21	228
Miscellaneous Fields	323	184	507
Inadequately Described	48	18	66
Not Qualified	9,216	9,891	19,107
Not Stated	947	980	1,927
Total	13,422	12,859	26,281

TABLE 8

Tables 7 and 8 were intended to illustrate that the Riverland is mainly a blue collar, working class region, made up of many subsistence farmers.

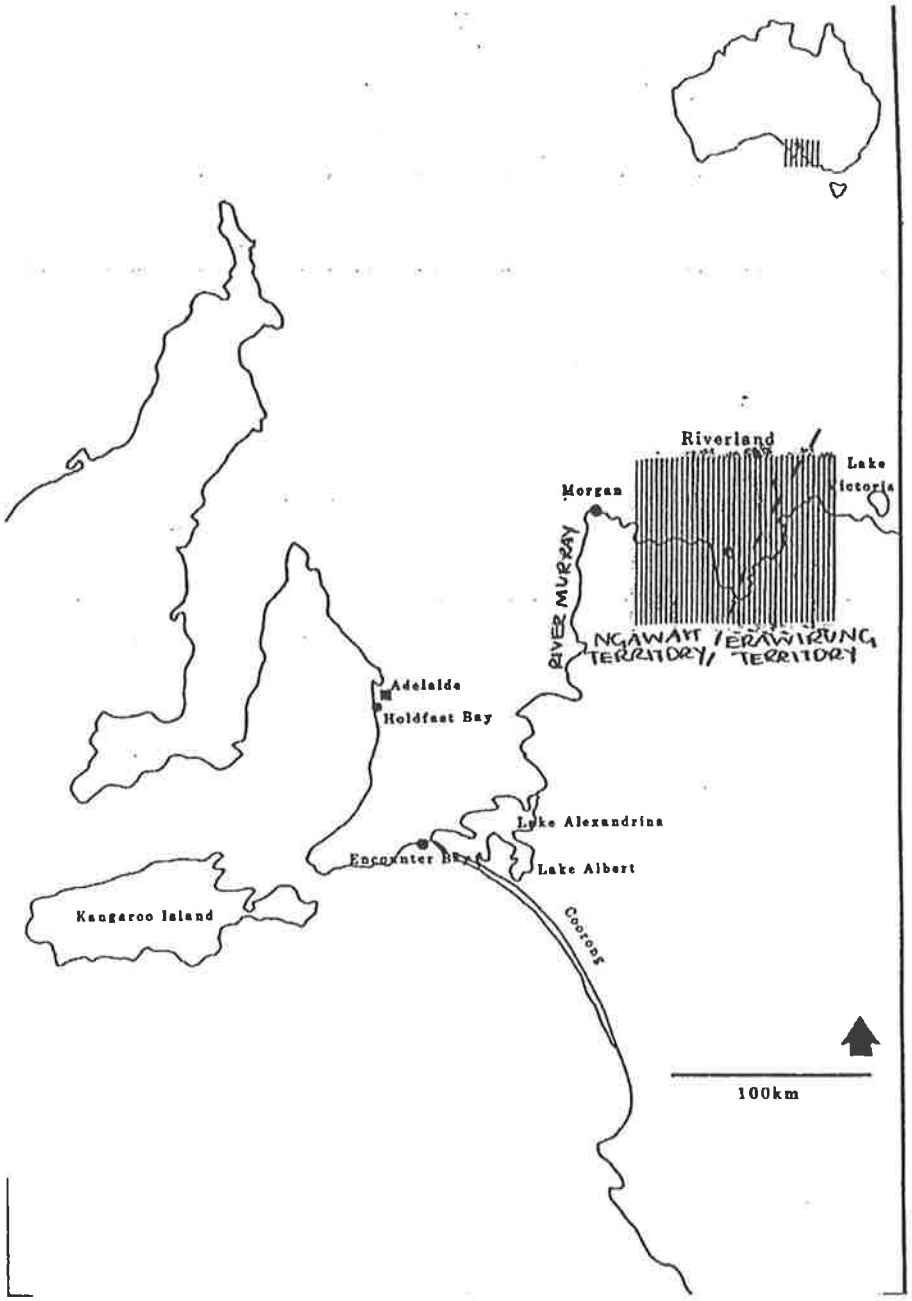

FIGURE 1. The Riverland, South Australia, as depicted by Dowling (1990).

FIGURE 2. The Riverland in relation to South Australia, as compiled by M.J.Walsh (1981) in Stephen A. Wurm and Shiro Hattori. (eds.), *Language Atlas Pacific Area*.

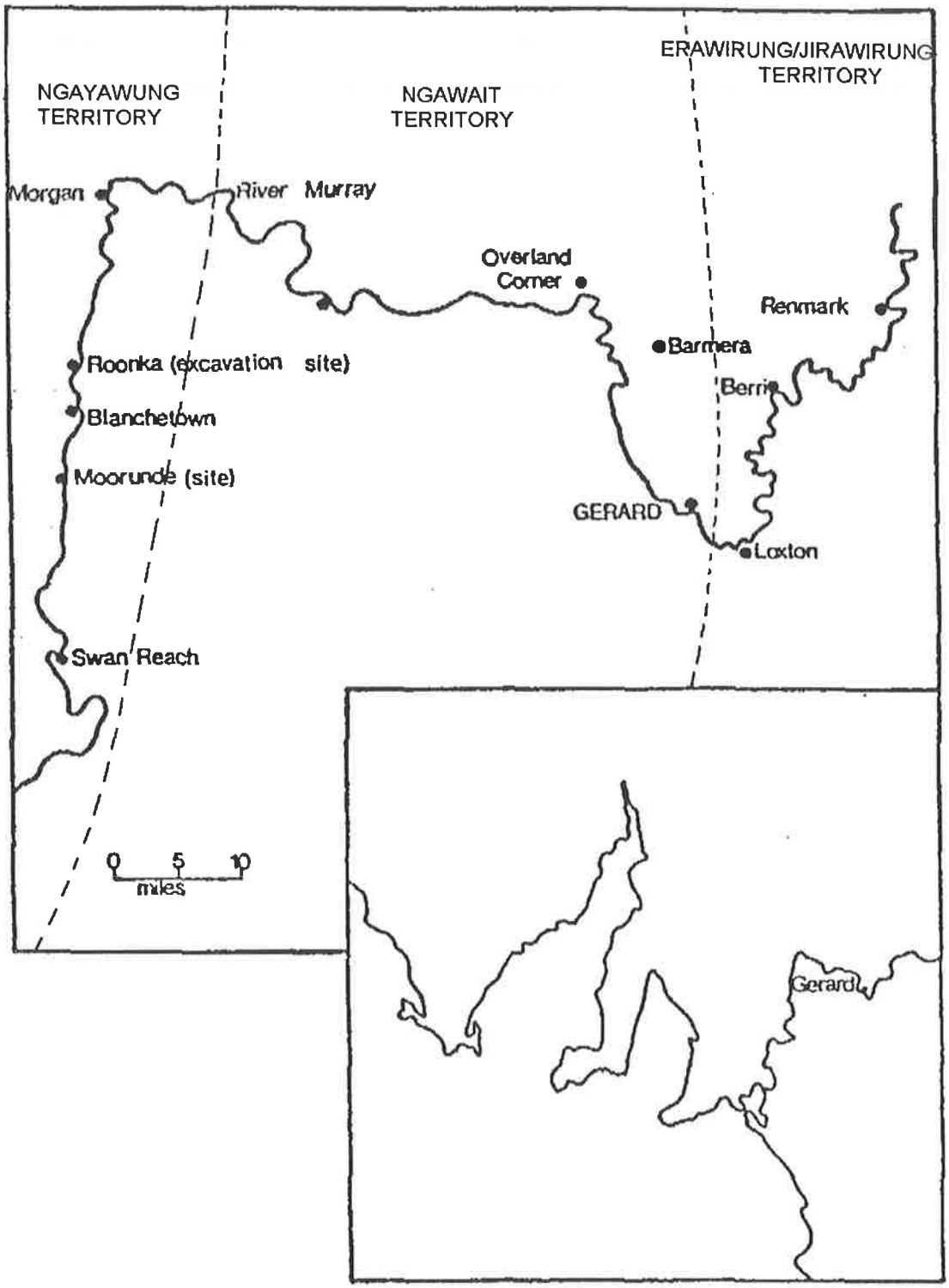

FIGURE 3. The Riverland, adapted from Dowling (1990).

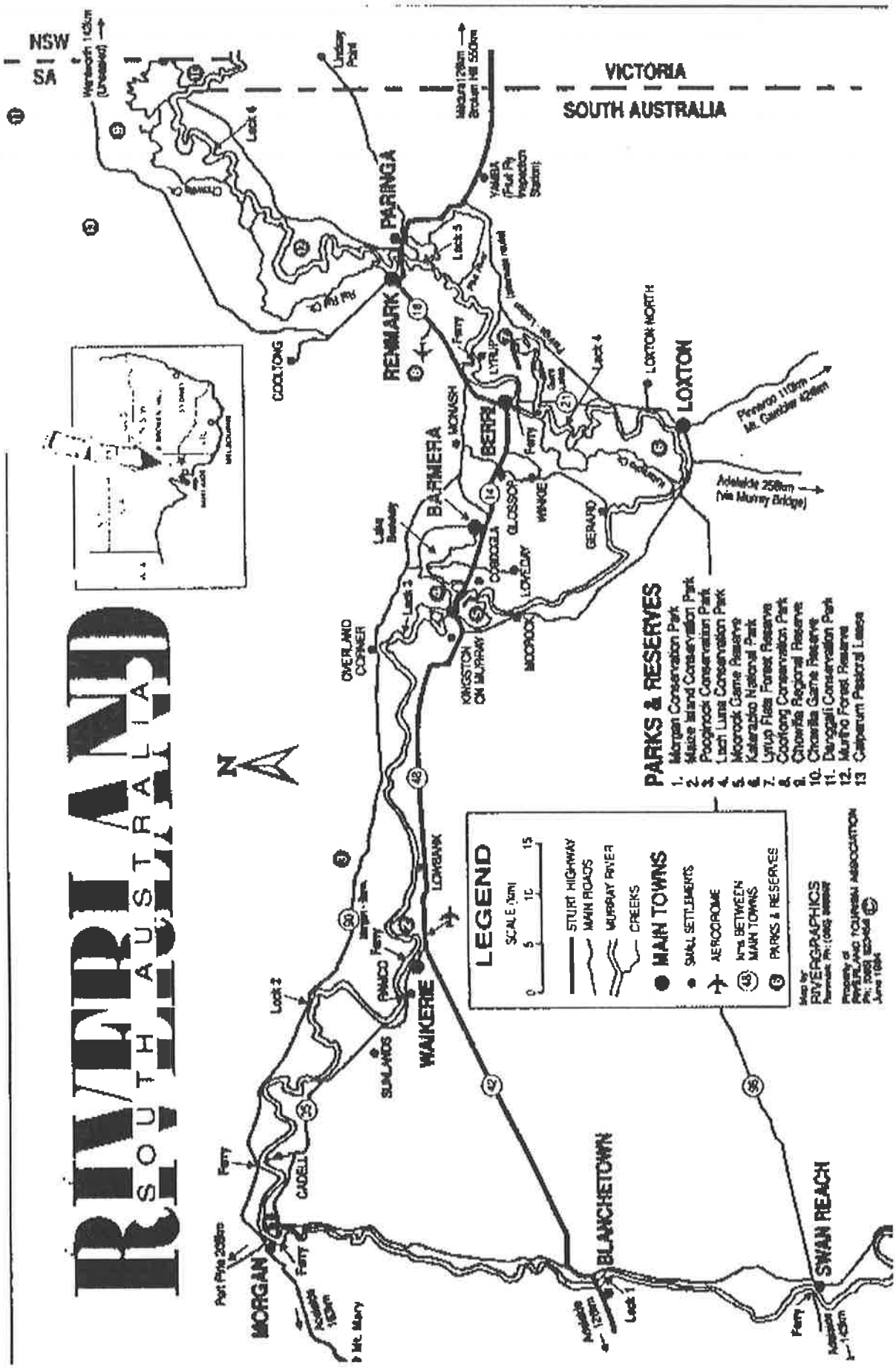

FIGURE 4. The Riverland, taken from "*The Riverland Sun*", winter 1996/7.

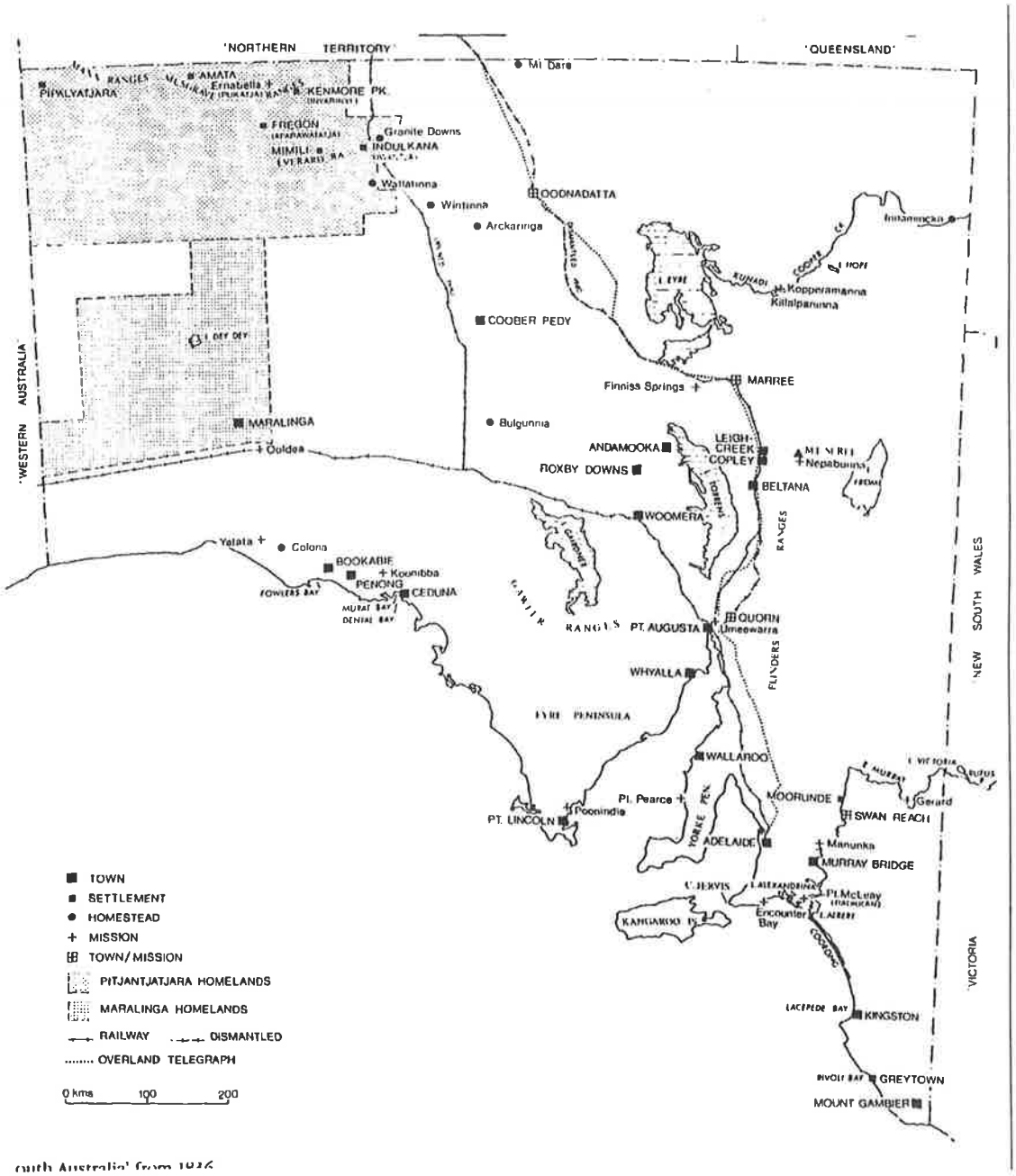

FIGURE 5: This map illustrates the former mission (stations) established in South Australia, taken from Mattingley and Hampton (1988). *Survival in our Own Land.*

CHAPTER 1: EARLY INDIGENOUS HISTORY OF THE RIVERLAND

Indigenous Pre-history

There is little factual information about the original Indigenous peoples of the Riverland, which is also commented on by Dowling (1990p.24). Apart from the notes of a few explorers and travellers, most of the Indigenous history has been lost and is now based only on local folklore. Woolmer (1973p.78), who lived for a period in Barmera and who has researched the early Indigenous history of the Riverland, writes:

"Nothing is known about the names and stories which were undoubtedly attached to all the local geographical features. No sacred area or corroboree ground is known (officially). / no artefacts of a perishable nature remain in existence. No wooden spears, boomerangs or other objects remain and there are no nets or handicrafts. To contemplate the entire disappearance of all the material indicates the depth to which the Narwij - jerooks were obliterated..."

Therefore, attestation of early Indigenous life in the Riverland can only be found today in various canoe and carved trees, stone and chert deposits, char from campfires, the many burial sites in the district and the atmosphere of certain places around the region. Only a few photos of Indigenous people taken during initial settlement of the Riverland exist, although it is not known whether they were of the local Riverland groups, (cf. Appendix 1p.122). Woolmer (1973p.16), cites at least one supposedly early Indigenous place name story remaining, called 'The Punyelroo Cave', recounted in The Murray Pioneer of 1918 (cf .Appendix 1.24p.136).

According to Tindale (1976), cited in Dowling (1990p.5), there were two major Indigenous groups occupying the Riverland district, the NGAWAIT and the ERAWIRUNG/ JIRAWIRUNG. The language spoken by these groups was called YUYU, Taplin (1879), cited in Woolmer (1986p.12). This language belonged to the main linguistic group called the MERU, according to Dowling (1990p.25). The language was never recorded and is now extinct, although a few words and at least one account of a Pidgin English being used, appear in the writings of a few early settlers, (cf. Appendix 1.25p.137). To account for this seeming lack of interest shown by the Europeans, Dowling (1990p.6), explains that:

"Most were more concerned with the unknown hazards of a foreign environment that often pushed their abilities to the limit, and so they had little or no time, nor the inclination to write in detail of their experiences with the Aborigines...."

Today no recognisable remnants of the YuYu language exist in Riverland town names, as most have been distorted or anglicised, (cf. Appendix 1.26p.138 for a list of Riverland town names of supposed Indigenous origin).

Additionally, no recognisable remnants of the YuYu language exist in the family names of Indigenous people today. This is due in part because a widespread practise of Europeans was, not to address their Indigenous neighbours by their traditional names, but to give them English ones like Jack, Jacky, Jimmy, Jemmy, Tommy, Maria or Betsy, say Foster, Mühlhäusler, Clarke (1996p.28). These names were either serious, for instance, a signal of conversion to Christianity, simply convenient, such as 'station' names or in the majority of instances were diminutive nicknames to emphasise the subordinate social position of Indigenous people, (Foster, Mühlhäusler and Clarke, 1996p.28-9). Among those names to be found in the Riverland in early colonial times were 'Kangaroo Jim', 'Black Billy', 'Tommy Dodd', 'Mrs McKinley', 'Bluebeard', 'Fisherman Jimmy', 'Old King Billie', 'Kulkyne Tommy', 'George Monoman', 'Billy Robinson', 'George Rainer' and 'Billy Scrubber'.

Pre-contact Population

The Riverland groups lived in an environment rich in available flora, fauna and year -round water resources, Dowling (1990p.181). According to Dowling (1990p.181), the estimated population density at the beginning of the 19th century, of between 0.3 and 0.5 km^2 per person, means the region would have had one of the largest populations in Australia at the time. Sturt (1833) and Radcliff Brown (1930), cited in Dowling (1990p.55), also comment:

"The most densely populated areas of Aboriginal Australia were the tropical north and temperate east coasts, the south east coasts and hinterlands and the inland waterways. Of them all, the Murray/Darling river system with its associated hydraulic components was the most densely populated region of the continent...."

Dowling (1990p.181), estimates the combined population of the two Riverland groups, prior to the incursion of sealers and whalers on the south coast of Australia, at a rounded off figure of 3,000. He explains that this number is higher than estimations of early observers who were, he says, seeing without realising, that populations among the Murray river were reduced by European epidemic diseases and frontier violence.

Additionally, Dowling (1990p.182), explains that his archaeological research indicates the health of Riverland groups prior to European invasion, was good in that they were free from non-infectious diseases, like cardiovascular, cerebrovascular and renal anomalies. The major cause of death appeared to be intra-tribal and inter-tribal fighting, he explains.

Social Organisation

According to Eyre (1845), cited in Dowling (1990p.26), the sub-groups of the NGAWAIT were the BARMERARA MERU/MARU, the NARWIJEROOK and the KARSINBOLA (Eyre, 1942). These groups had land bordering Lake Bonney or NOOKAMPKA, as it was known by Indigenous groups, in the Barmera district. Sub-groups of the ERAWIRUNG were, according to Taplin (1879), cited in Dowling (1990p.26), the WILOO, RANKBIRIT and YERRARUK, owning land upstream from NOOKAMPKA. Undoubtedly, there were many other groups which were not sighted and thus not identified.

Dowling (1990p.25), suggests that Riverland groups would have lived in similar social groups to those of other regions of Indigenous Australia. That is, groups consisting of several families and friends of about 50-70 people, perhaps belonging to different groups and moving freely between each other. Each group probably had a particular area of land of mythological and spiritual importance explains Dowling (1990p.26). Howitt (1904) and Dowling (1990p.26), say in the Riverland, this would have included a frontage of river or lake (perhaps 2km) and stretched out into the mallee for a walking distance of about 1-2 days.

Included in this land would have been such valuable natural resources as stone quarries or ochre deposits, which can be found scattered throughout the Riverland area, Dowling (1990p.26). One example of this is the stone quarry and Barmera landmark Sugarloaf Hill, (Chambers Creek), in the Loch Luna reserve, (cf .Appendix 1.7 p 125). Local folklore tells that this site was sacred for Indigenous peoples of the NGAWAIT. Woolmer (1973 p.83), also claims that according to an old police station record, the totem for the NGAWAIT peoples was the 'Eaglehawk'.

Each Indigenous group had land boundaries which were well established and maintained according to accounts by settlers and explorers, Dowling (1990p.27). For example, J.T.Schell, cited in Dowling (1990p.27), in speaking about the practises of Indigenous peoples of the Riverland in 1852, said:

"The Blacks were very particular regarding their tribal boundaries. Heaps of stones were used as letter boxes and if one tribe wanted to meet another, at a corroboree, sticks in which notches and cuts had been made would be left at the stone letter boxes...."

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Howitt (1904), cited in Dowling (1990p.27), also noted regarding boundaries:

"No individual of any neighbouring family or tribe could hunt or walk over the land of another without permission from the head of the family group which owned it and a stranger on it might legally be put to death....'

However, despite these apparent strict group boundaries, evidence from Eyre (1845), indicates there was still regular movement of groups beyond their boundaries for social and ceremonial purposes. For example, Eyre (1845), cited in Dowling (1990p.27), recorded a meeting between some NGAWAIT of the NARWIJEROOK sub group and some lower Murray groups, at MOORUNDE (cf Figure 3 p.13). According to Eyre (1845), the purpose was to avenge the deaths of several NARWIJEROOK and to perform initiation ceremonies for several young boys belonging to both groups.

European contact

Although a European colony was not officially established in South Australia until 1836, the decline in Indigenous peoples of the Riverland had begun long before.

In 1788-89, smallpox which was bought by Europeans when they first arrived in NSW, began spreading down the rivers Dowling (1990p.105). This disease turned into an epidemic for Indigenous people who had no immunity to European disease, thus seriously diminishing their population, cf. Dowling (1990p.105).

In 1802 the European ships, Flinder's INVESTIGATOR and Baudin's LE GEOGRAPHE, had anchored in Encounter bay near the mouth of the Murray, Woolmer (1986a p.1). Sailors and runaways from these ships began living on Kangaroo Island, says Woolmer (1986a p.1).

Sealing and whaling had begun on Kangaroo Island around 1806. In all probability, says Dowling (1990p.102), it was these Europeans who first introduced venereal diseases like Syphilis to the Indigenous peoples on the South coast and Murray mouth. Moore (1923), cited in Dowling (1990p.121), explains that these sealers and whalers often visited Encounter Bay carrying out acts of violence like the kidnapping of women. Thus began the second epidemic of disease to spread inland along the Murray River, affecting Indigenous peoples of the Riverland in its path.

According to Dowling (1990p.184), this epidemic would have reduced people by at least 50% as they were already weakened from smallpox, the previous epidemic. Various explorers commented on this. Sturt (1829/30), cited in Woolmer (1986a p.1), on his boat journey along the Murrumbidgee and Murray rivers, regarding this epidemic observed:

"It would disgust my readers were I to describe the miserable state of infirmity to which these tribes were reduced. Leprosy of the most loathsome description, the most violent cutaneous eruptions, and glandular affections, absolutely raged throughout the whole of them...."

Thus, as Woolmer (1986a p.2), comments, even before direct contact with Europeans, the River Murray peoples were a diseased and decimated population. Sturt (1829/30), cited in Woolmer (1986a p.2), concludes:

"The destruction of life was so great as to seriously diminish the tribes. The natives always represent (say) that before this scourge they were much more numerous. They say that so many died they could not perform the usual funeral rites for the dead, but were compelled to bury them at once out of the way…."

The First Overlanders

The establishment of the Overland cattle route in 1838, passing through the Riverland had a profound effect on the Indigenous population. The first Indigenous Riverlanders saw of Europeans travelling by land, were those droving stock from NSW to South Australia, the object being to deliver cattle and sheep for a good profit, to the expanding colony, Dowling (1990p.10).

Captain Charles Sturt and his party were the third group of overlanders in the Riverland, Woolmer (1972p.11). His passage is notable in that as a great observer, he reported on practises and occurrences in the area. His journey is also significant in that it was the last of the relatively peaceful overlanding trips, explains Woolmer (1972p.11-12).

After Sturt, about 19 overlanding parties followed in quick succession, Woolmer (1986a p.14). However, what occurred on those journeys will never be known, as journals were rarely kept or made public, explains Woolmer (1986a p.12). It was wise not to report too accurately in any case, says Woolmer (1986b p.12), as it could have affected a career or reputation and violence was officially frowned upon. For example, overlander Alexander Buchanan (1839), wrote in his diary that, asked by officials about his expedition and relations with Indigenous peoples, he had lied, claiming to have had no 'trouble', nor the need to 'shoot' any. His diary, however, recorded otherwise, such as the instance on November 1839 when he 'dropped' a chief and killed and wounded many others (cf. Woolmer, 1986a p.12).

In the eyes of Buchanan, the Indigenous peoples were 'treacherous savages' impeding his passage and his policy was to 'shoot on sight', says Woolmer (1986a p.14). However, Buchanan was not the only violent traveller as one contemporary observer, cited in Woolmer (1986a p.14), noted:

"Whenever the parties of Whites happened to be in sufficient force, a great slaughter was sure to be committed upon the Blacks...."

Resistance

Indigenous Riverlanders never recovered fully from the pandemics of European diseases that killed off so many of their people, explains Woolmer (1986b p.12). Then came the early overlanders, forcing a passage across their lands. The first few groups were tolerated, but after they began to take further liberties without repayment, opposition was mounted. As Woolmer (1986a p.14), comments:

"To the River people the White overlanders [must have been like] a form of raiding party. They entered territory without seeking permission, they stole 'souvenired' possessions such as spears and nets left unguarded in their accustomed places and rarely observed protocol...."

The overlanders who continued to bring more sheep and cattle along the Murray route to Adelaide, failed to understand that to the now threatened Indigenous peoples, a showing of force was an act to which they could see no other alternative, explains Dowling (1990p.134). However, it was not until 1838, that a single European was killed in retaliation Woolmer (1986a p.15).

Inter-racial clashes continued to increase, especially as the overlanding period intensified from 1839, and this violence continued well into the permanent settlement of the Riverland, says Dowling (1990 p.184).

The culmination of violence between Europeans and Indigenous Riverlanders occurred in 1841, with the 'Rufus River Massacre'. A group of Indigenous people from the Darling region combined with the remnants of the Riverland peoples to disrupt some overlanding parties. As a result Dr Moorhouse, 'protector of Aborigines' and his army passed through the Riverland on his way to the Rufus River, NSW, supposedly to 'wipe out' these disturbances, Woolmer (1986b p.13).

The slaughter of Indigenous peoples was such that the number of dead was not made public. However, according to Woolmer (1986b p.13), one survivor known as Mrs McKinley, had told of how all of her group had been killed. Woolmer adds that Mrs McKinley and some other survivors lived out the rest of their lives in Renmark and some of their descendants still live in the Riverland today.

After the 'Rufus River' Massacre, message passed downstream quickly and any other attempt of resistance was given up, says Woolmer (1986b p.13). As Dowling (1990p.149), points out, even if organised resistance could have been instigated against Europeans occupying their land, it would have been futile. Not only did Europeans outnumber them, but many people would have recalled the frontier violence of places such as Rufus River. Thus as Woolmer (1973p.18), concludes:

"Towards the end they probably amalgamated with Aboriginal people from all along the river. They had found themselves shockingly inferior and disadvantaged in their own land and there was no way in which they could alter the situation. There was no work for them in the area, even if they had been so inclined, their appropriated hunting grounds were given over to the support of stock, the altered land use extinguished the majority of the wildlife which had previously provided food and the river was crowded with professional fishermen. Their life support system was broken. Poor nutrition and their new unsuitable lifestyle allowed apathy and disease to flourish. Some of the remnant population left the district, but almost all found no respite elsewhere...."

Additionally, according to Dowling (1990p.188), violence from Europeans would have remained unchecked in frontier regions far beyond the reaches of law and order being enforced in established settlements. He adds that acts of frontier violence that did come to the notice of the new colonial governments would often be quietly ignored, such as the 'Rufus River' incident. In South Australia the overland route from the east had to be maintained in order to feed and finance the growing populations of Adelaide and the settled districts, says Dowling (1990 p.188).

Summary

As Dowling (1990p.157), concludes:

"In a period of just 81 years (quite conceivably within the living memory of one individual), the JIRAWIRUNG and NGAWAIT who had one of the highest population densities in Australia, had declined to a level where not only would they have been unable to adjust and increase, but had reached the edge of annihilation...."

Indigenous Riverlanders never recovered from the European invasion, which brought them disease and violence and uprooted them from their lands. Sadly so little of their culture and language was recorded. This is important in understanding why the Riverland today does not have the kind of 'traditional language and cultural practises' that so many non-Indigenous Riverlanders claim that 'real' Indigenous people supposedly have.

There now exists a gap, from the time when the early Indigenous Riverlanders 'died out' around 1900, to the 1940's when the new wave of Indigenous peoples came to the Riverland. What exactly happened during these years in relation to the remnant of Indigenous peoples was never recorded.

CHAPTER 2: INDIGENOUS PEOPLE IN THE RIVERLAND TODAY

This chapter discusses the origins, situation and new ecological conditions of Indigenous people who live in the Riverland today. There will also be a discussion of the circumstances that prompted a language attitude study to be undertaken.

The Mission

An organisation called the United Aborigines Mission (U.A.M), was established in 1924 and in the same year, started a mission at Swan Reach, downstream from the Riverland, Woolmer (1973p.72), (cf. Fig.5 p.15). The Swan Reach site soon became too small and was not able to offer 'on-the-job' training or local work says Woolmer (1973p.12). It was also constantly flooded according to my Indigenous informants who recalled the mission.

Consequently, in 1945, the U.A.M secured a 2,470-hectare river property 7miles from Berri and 7 and a half miles from Barmera, in former NGAWAIT territory, in the Riverland, Woolmer (1973p.72). The mission was established here and was named after the U.A.M co-founder A.E.Gerard, Woolmer (1973p.72), (cf fig.5 p.15). A general information sheet, cited in Woolmer (1973p.72), from the mission stated:

"Most of the people came from Swan Reach settlement and settled on the bank of the river about a mile upstream from this present settlement. The camp was shifted to its present site in 1956...."

The 1950's were a time which saw a major increase in new mission schools and stations for Indigenous people, due to the availability of governmental finance, says Fesl (1993p.125). This was a result of the deal made between missionaries and the government that in return for financial aid, missionaries agreed to work towards a governmental goal of assimilation, explains Fesl (1993p.124). For example, at this time, the secretary of the U.A.M, cited in Mattingley and Hampton (1988p.225), wrote to the minister of public works:

"We are definitely convinced that removal of children from the mixed native environment is the only way to accomplish any real advance in their uplift, and in the circumstances such as Swan Reach, the dormitory system for the children in a different atmosphere is the only way to develop the moral and spiritual character of the child, and the children should be placed in the dormitory at a very early age...."

In 1946 a school and dormitory were set up at Gerard. One man Colin Cook, cited in Mattingley and Hampton (1988p.225), recalled his days at the dorm:

"Discipline was strict. It was 'you do as we say'. It was really under the thumb. You had to do it or it was punishment. I remembered the time when one of the sisters - that's what the missionaries were called - put a big stick over one of the girl's backs just because she went swimming. We weren't allowed to go swimming except at certain times. But being Aboriginal kids we were used to going swimming from daylight to dark...."

"We weren't allowed to fight. We weren't allowed to do a lot of things. I don't think a lot of us will forget it. A lot of the kids was really glad when they could get away from it. After the dorm was broken up the children were all shipped down to Adelaide. One teaching - we'll learn to be responsible for ourselves...."

One elderly lady, recalling the practise of removing children, told of how they would run and hide when certain 'White' people came to the mission. The parents would often give them warning signals, she explained. This same woman said she was nearly 25 before she could have a conversation with a 'White' person without running away for fear she had done something wrong.

According to the Indigenous health workers who work at Gerard today, it has taken many years to build up trust. In fact, they say, it has only been in recent years that parents have entrusted the health workers to take children from Gerard to hospital or the surgery, without worrying that their children are being stolen from them.

New Arrivals

In 1952 upon the closure of the Ooldea mission, a group of Western Desert people was brought to Gerard, Woolmer (1986a p 9). Some people opted not to enter the mission immediately and set up camp at Berri, on the banks of the Murray, across from the town, Woolmer (1986a p 9).

When they entered Gerard mission, a violent and turbulent time began, according to those elders who still recall this event. The Desert people, uprooted from their home and put into a new environment totally removed from their land and cultural home, were expected to 'fit in' with the River people. As Mattingley and Hampton (1988p.225), comment:

"Placing two groups with such different backgrounds together and expecting them to live in harmony put a great deal of strain on the community. The Ooldea people also had to adjust to a very different environment...."

Traditionally, the inter-mixing of the River and Desert people had never been done, both cultures so removed and different to each other, and both holding some fear and distrust of each other. At Gerard, after some in-fighting, a new cultural identity was found for the reserve. Ngarrindjeri, the culture associated with Indigenous peoples of Southern South Australia became the identity for Gerard and still is today.

A Narrindjeri man, cited in Mattingley and Hampton (1988p.225), commented on this inter-mixing:

"Some of the Maralinga and Ooldea people were moved to Swan Reach and were the first families to come to Red Banks, in tents pitched along the hillside. They used to travel from there and work out here among the vineyards and in the Winkie area picking grapes and cutting apricots. The people from the North are very loving people. Over the years it has grown in close friendship between Yalata and Ooldea people, and we now think of these people as our own...."

Other Indigenous families from missions like Point Pearce and Point McLeay and 'fringe dweller' families were also moved into the Riverland in accordance with the 'assimilation' ideas of the time.

Language and Culture

The 1950-1960's were a time of repression for many Indigenous people who were punished for speaking their languages. Regarding Gerard, an information sheet, cited in Woolmer (1973p.73), comments:

"Only English is spoken. The Ooldeans still speak Pitjantjatjara among their people. No tribal customs are practised, although many of the old beliefs influence the people...."

One Indigenous lady, Agnes Rigney, cited in Chryssides (1993p.16), talking about her childhood recalls some painful memories of language 'loss'. She says:

"I remember going to church one Sunday with my grandmother and grandfather and them having to whisper to each other in Ngarrindjeri. I remember that very distinctly as if it was yesterday. We were not allowed to speak language in front of the missionary or when there were White workers around and I believe that is why the language was lost..."

"It [the language] was never spoken in sentences. My mother just used to say 'suppertime' and you knew it was time to sit down and eat or she would say 'wood' and you knew you had to get up and get wood for the fire. Even today it is spoken in bits and pieces. It's not spoken fluently and that makes me angry and sad...."

Apart from language, people at Gerard were also punished for practising traditions. One Indigenous lady, Emily Lindsay/Meyer recalled how as a group of young people, they caught fish which they cooked on coals in the traditional way. When they were caught, they were beaten and had to go without supper. The food served by Europeans was pretty awful anyway, she recalled.

Indigenous beliefs were also affected and in some cases rubbished by the preaching of Western religion. Indigenous people were encouraged to 'better' themselves by becoming Christians and adopting the lifestyle and beliefs of the non-Indigenous peoples. However, a few traditional beliefs have remained intact, (but hidden), for some elders, even though they refer to themselves as 'Christians'. For example, one elder referred to herself as a Christian, who visited church regularly, but often tells stories about the power of Indigenous magic in healing and various 'Dreamtime' demons and spirits.

Thus, children growing up during this period were not encouraged to learn the language or culture of their parents. Many as adults today, reflecting upon this, wish they could have made more of an effort. Fortunately, today in the 1990's, stories and beliefs are being 'reclaimed' by young people and are even being taught in some schools in the Riverland. For example, Ngurrunderi 'Creator of the River Murray' and Thukeri, story of the 'Bony Bream'.

From Mission to Aboriginal Land Trust

According to Woolmer (1973p.73), in 1960 the Upper Murray Association for Aboriginal Welfare (U.M.A.A.W), entered into an agreement with the U.A.M to develop Gerard mission further as it was reported to be 'neglected'. The U.M.A.A.W developed an 'assimilation' plan whereby after training, Indigenous families would be provided with homes in nearby towns, Woolmer (1973p.73). At this time The News, cited in Woolmer (1973p.73), reported that:

"River people will tell you there is no colour bar or discrimination...."

There was however, another kind of discrimination underway. In accordance with the assimilation policy of the 1960's, many people especially the young, were encouraged to leave the mission and the Riverland. However, visiting family and friends became almost an impossibility due to the introduction of the permit system at Gerard Mission.

One Indigenous woman told how she was forced to leave the Riverland for the city with her mother. She also explained that visitation rights to see her grandparents living at Gerard were extremely harsh as the day, date and the length of visit times, were dictated. Ultimately, this made it very difficult for people living off Gerard to keep in contact with family and friends living there. This in turn caused further alienation. As Fitzgerald (1971 p.51), explains:

"Until recently Gerard was closed to the wider community and application had to be made even for day permits. This closed aspect of Gerard could only have discouraged European contact with the Aboriginal community and may even have contributed to the existing elements of prejudice. In fact elements of prejudice and again the physical isolation are other factors that tend to ensure that Gerard remains closed from the point of view of European movement to the reserve...."

In 1961 Gerard was taken over by the State government and run by the Aborigines Protection Board, Woolmer (1973p.73). At this time there were 25 families at Gerard, although the population probably varied as the practise of extensive visiting of relatives accounting for fluctuating numbers, something that has continued to the present day.

A welfare centre was established in Berri in 1963 and a welfare officer took up residence, writes Woolmer (1973p.73). The officer's job was to help place Indigenous people in work throughout the region and helped to move Indigenous families from slum areas on the Berri flat, to department houses in Glossop and Barmera, Woolmer (1973p.73).

According to Woolmer (1973p.73), the first step towards self-government at Gerard took place in 1964, when an 'Aboriginal council' was formed, (cf. Appendix.2.1 p.141). Comparing the new time of self-government with the missionary stage, Colin Cook, former chairman of the Gerard community council, cited in Mattingley and Hampton (1988p.226), said:

"In those days [of the missions] we weren't treated like we are now. We weren't allowed to think for ourselves. The older people would have liked to have had more say in what was done. But they had no choice 'you do it that way. You're a naughty little boy. We'll give you a rap over the knuckles'. That's what we've been experiencing all the way through. The people weren't allowed to do what they wanted to do. You were always told what to do...."

"Since D.A.A has taken over and there's been a better relationship and funding, its allowed more community involvement and more employment and its putting together ideas from people who are living here. It's coming from the people themselves suggesting what they want...."

In 1973, Gerard catered for 85 families, Woolmer (1973p.73). At this time Woolmer (1973p.73), explains that he was advised by B.Nicholas that 'there are no 'full blood' Aborigines at Gerard', and that the reserve has no 'member descendant from the Upper Murray tribes, nor are any remaining today'.

By 1985 the population at Gerard had increased to 125 families, although some families had started to move out into the wider community, according to Mattingley and Hampton (1988p.226).

The Riverland's Indigenous community today

The Riverland's Indigenous community today is made up of two groups. Wanganeen and Braddock (1981p.5-6), explain that the first group consists of families that originally came from Swan Reach mission, who were shifted to Gerard mission. The second group consists of families from places like Point Pearce and Point McLeay who travelled each year to the Riverland for seasonal work, Wanganeen and Braddock (1981p.5-6), (cf fig.5 p.15).

According to Wanganeen and Braddock (1981p.6), migration to the Riverland has occurred for reasons such as employment opportunities, housing, education, improvement in lifestyle and family and personal reasons. The main sources of immigration into the area has been from places such as Point Pearce, Ceduna, Port Lincoln, Adelaide, Point McLeay and Port Augusta, Wanganeen and Braddock (1981p.6). Clarke (1994p.311), also adds that Indigenous Riverlanders have come from districts such as Mount Barker, the lower, mid and upper Murray, the Darling river, the north west of South Australia and from Southern Western Australia. Thus a frequent comment in the Riverland, regarding Indigenous people, also noted by Clarke (1994p.311), is:

"We all come from somewhere else...."

Indigenous people in the Riverland have been told by researchers like Pretty (1976, 1986), cited in Clarke (1994p.317), of the identity of the MERU peoples whose land they now occupy. This identity appears to have no relevance to Indigenous Riverlanders today, explains Clarke (1994p.317), in that they only refer to themselves as 'Ngarrindjeri'. It was explained to me that, identifying as Indigenous didn't entitle one to claim just any Indigenous culture or identity. This is not culturally appropriate and is also a reason why Indigenous Riverlanders refused to be identified as MERU peoples.

Similarly, claiming another Indigenous cultural practise can be very offensive. For example, a 1994 NAIDOC week activity planned to be held at Gerard was 'dot painting'. I recall a few Indigenous elders being horrified at this. They explained to me that just because dot painting was an Indigenous art form didn't mean that any Indigenous person could do it. Apparently it was highly offensive and dangerous to 'steal' patterns belonging to another cultural group, that is the River people 'stealing' from the Desert people.

In conclusion, the Riverland today is represented by many different Indigenous groups such as the Kaurna, Pitjantjatjara, Narrunga, Ngarrindjeri and Adnyamathanha. This cultural diversity makes it difficult for there to be one single representative of the Riverland Indigenous community.

Language

Regarding language, a frequent comment given by Indigenous people today is:

"We still speak bits and pieces.... [of our language]...."

Many people today speak standard Australian English or styles of English, as referred to by Eades (1981p.12), as their first language. Additionally, they do not seem to have what Eades (1981p.12), refers to as fluency in a supposed 'real' Indigenous language, (fluency is something often commented on by Indigenous people themselves). This makes it easier for non-Indigenous people to pass them off as 'not real Aborigines', says Eades (1981p.12). Eades' discussion of SouthEast Queensland Indigenous languages has many parallels with the situation of the Riverland's Indigenous community, cf. Eades (1981p.12).

In actual fact, Indigenous people in general choose from different varieties of language depending on who they are talking to, the relationship with the speaker and the situation, explains Eades (1981p.12). This choice encompasses such features as degree of 'heaviness' of dialect/accent, to the appropriate kin terms, to the genres, which are required, Malcolm (1995p.28). The rules and norms governing language use and choice of variety are complex, indicating that views of Indigenous speech as being 'broken' or 'simple' is false, (cf. Chapter.4 p.74).

Additionally, the way in which Indigenous people's use speech, whether it be standard Australian English or a variety of English closer to their Indigenous language, reflects their culture and identity in many ways, says Eades (1981p.13). This appears to be the case for all Indigenous peoples even though, as Malcolm (1995p.19), points out, non-standard speech may vary from place to place, person to person or within the speech of an individual.

Some examples of how Indigenous communication is reflective of culture and identity in the case of the Riverland, are the following:

a) Indigenous peoples of the Riverland speak styles of standard English with words of their Indigenous culture mixed in, when speaking with each other. For example :

1.'I'm gonna NGOPUN down the street'

[ŋɒpŋ]

'I'm going to walk down the street'

2. 'NUKAN at her MAIYINGGAR' *

[ŋʌkŋ] [maɪŋgiː]

'Look at her clothes'

3. 'Got no GANYA to pay for YAYIN'

[ganʲʌ] [jajŋ]

'I've got no money to pay for food'

*Footnote : All of these verbs are Ngarrindjeri and spelt according to B.Rigney and G. Albrecht"s (Undated), Ngarrindjeri Yannun. Additionally, as Rigney (Undated) points out, there is no one correct spelling or pronunciation of Ngarrindjeri words.

4. 'I'm goin' TANTUN'

[ ]

'I'm going to bed (sleep).

Europeans commenting on this kind of speech often mistakenly view it as some kind of 'Pidgin' or 'they can't speak English properly'. These same Europeans forget that many migrant groups in the Riverland also mix words of their original language with English, when speaking with each other, yet they are never accused of speaking 'Pidgin'. This stereotype appears to be applied only to Indigenous people.

According to Eades (1982p.13), mixing such words into one's English, are mainly markers of identity and show that people are proud of their 'dynamic, contemporary culture'. cf. Also Malcolm (1980-2p.77)

Indigenous people of the Riverland felt that people at Gerard or on a mission/reserve, tended to have speech and accent more reflective of their original language, than those who lived in town. Isolation and dense communication networks help to maintain these styles and accents, (Mühlhäusler, pers.comm.).

b) Terms most used by Indigenous peoples today, reflecting their original languages can be grouped into a number of domains. As Clarke (1994p.52) points out, these words generally fall into the following semantic categories. These examples are modified and expanded from Clarke (1994) :

People terms : man, woman, child;

Human kinship : father, mother, sister;

Human body parts : legs, hands, eyes, nose, ears;

Activities : drinking, walking, eating;

Qualities : big, small, beautiful;

Objects : clothes, weapons;

Placenames : parts of the landscape associated with Indigenous missions and farms;

Spirit beings : often used to frighten young children as a control method;

During fieldwork samples were collected from these categories, used in the Riverland today:

	TERM	GLOSSARY	ORIGIN
PEOPLE TERMS	MIMINI	WOMAN	NGARRINDJERI
HUMAN KINSHIP	NANGAY	FATHER	NGARRINDJERI
	NGATJU	AUNTY	NGARRINDJERI
HUMAN BODY PARTS	PILI	EYES	NGARRINDJERI
	KORPI	NOSE	NGARRINDJERI
	TARAKI	LEG	NGARRINDJERI
	PLOMBI	EARS	NGARRINDJERI
	MARANS	ARMS	-
ACTIVITIES	YANNUN	TALK	NGARRINDJERI
	NUKAN	LOOK	NGARRINDJERI
	TANTUN	SLEEP	NGARRINDJERI
	NGOPUN	WALK	NGARRINDJERI
QUALITIES	KRAWI	BIG/FAT	NGARRINDJERI
	GATHEDI/KATJERI (shortened to Katj)	GOOD LOOKING	NGARRINDJERI (cf. Wilson,1996p.108)
	WURENGI/WOORANGI	CRAZY/STRANGE	NGARRINDJERI
	BU:NTHA	CRAZY	NGARRINDJERI
OBJECTS	MAIYINGGAR	CLOTHES	NGARRINDJERI
	YA:NDI	MARIJUANA	NGARRINDJERI WIRANGU, KUKATHA (cf.Wilson,1996 p.112)
	BO:YA/KUPI	SMOKE	NGARRINDJERI
	GUNA/WADLI	TOILET	NARRUNGA, WESTERN DESERT, (cf Wilson,1996 p.108)
PLACE NAMES	NALTA	RIVER MURRAY	NGARRINDJERI
	NALTA/MURRUNDI	RIVER	NGARRINDJERI
SPIRIT BEINGS	MULYAWO:NK	BUNYIP	NGARRINDJERI
	THUKERI	BONY BREAM	NGARRINDJERI
	NGURUNDERI	CREATOR OF THE RIVER MURRAY	NGARRINDJERI

Rigney and Albrecht's (Undated), wordlist includes the following additional categories as important to Riverland Ngarrindjeri peoples :

	TERM	GLOSSARY
PRONOUNS ETC.	NGAN	ME, MINE, WE
	NGINTE	YOU
	KINAWE	HIM, HER, IT
	KATYIL	YES
	TARNO	NO, NOT
	MEKE	WHAT
	MINDE	WHY, HOW
MUSIC	RINGBALIN	SING, SINGING, DANCING, PARTY
	PLANGKUMBALIN	STRIKING THE PLANAGE 'DRUM'
	TARTEMBARRINDRUM	BEATING THE TARTENGK 'CLAPPING STICKS'
EMOTION WORDS	PLUKUN	AFRAID, SCARED
	KANGKUN	LAUGH
	PARPUN	SORROW
	NANKERI	GOOD
HEALTH	BLEWALIN	ILL/SICK
	NGULDUN	HEALTHY
	TONDE	BLIND
NATURE & TIME	YONTHI	AGED
	TULDE	STAR
	MARKERI	MOON
	NUNGII	DAY
	WAIIRRI	SKY
COLOURS	BALPI	WHITE
	KINEMIN	BLACK/DIRTY
	TUMBE	GREEN
ANIMALS	KOOKARKI	KOOKABURRA
	PINYALI	EMU
	NORI	PELICAN
	MULLTHADI	MAGPIE
	MOOROKUN	YABBY

	TERM	GLOSSARY
PLANTS	BILBILLY	RUSHES (Used for weaving & cooking)
	YALKRI	OLD MAN WEED/BEARD (Used for medicinal purposes i.e. colds, arthritis & venereal diseases)
	PAYUNTUK	Root of a thick grass used to make a tea, good for cleansing the liver/kidneys.
	TULGI	THISTLES
	WACHITI	LIGNUM BUSHES
	WOORI	GUM TREE

Rigney and Albrecht's (undated), wordlist contains an extensive amount of animal and plant names reflecting the importance of flora and fauna to the Ngarrindjeri language.

c) Indigenous peoples of the Riverland come from different backgrounds and use words according to their own backgrounds. This practise depends on whether the receiver is of the same background, of a different background but who understands the language, or of a completely different background. For example, as a non-Indigenous community member people would say to me : 'Oh, we use this word for that, they say this word for that...', 'we say this word for that, unna?', 'Raukkan mob, they use this word for that...', or 'they say that word different to us...'

At the same time, however, there is some cross over, with some people using words without always knowing the origin, that is whether a word is Ngarrindjeri or Pitjantjatjara.

As a result, in the Riverland, there are a variety of different terms for the same expression in English. This also dispels the myth that there is no or only one Indigenous language used in the Riverland. Examples are:

WHITEFELLOW :

GUNYA/GOONYA	common to NUKUNU, NARRUNGA and KAURNA, (cf.Wilson 1996p.108)
KRINKERI	NGARRINDJERI
THAUWA	-----

POLICE OFFICER :

DULYA/WALYA	from English 'Soldier', (cf.Wilson 1996p.106)
THULYA	NARRUNGA (Yorke Peninsula) (cf.Clarke 1994).
KYNAIPAREE	-----

SLEEPY OR BLUE-TONGUED LIZARD :

GALTA	NUKUNU, KAURNA,KUKATHA, WIRANGU (cf.Wilson 1996p.107)
MANHARI	-----
THOELONG	-----

d) Another important part of Indigenous communication which is still observed today, is the use of body language and gesture. For example, people explained that there is little personal space and that they touch a lot and sit close together. Additionally, the use of hands, eyes, mouth and looks/facial expression are also important. People explained that they can 'talk' secretly to each other in big groups or at meetings or when they don't feel like speaking verbally or yelling at someone they know from across the street. There is no recording of hand signals or gesture of Indigenous people of the Riverland in works like that of Kendon (1988), at present.

e) Other cultural aspects in Indigenous communication related to d) above are silence and direct questioning. Silence and 'having time to think', are important in Indigenous culture. A question may be answered by silence or the simple gesture such as the shake of a hand. This may be misinterpreted by non-Indigenous people as rudeness, insolence, shyness or a failure to understand a question. In actual fact Indigenous culture respects silence highly and this is a cultural norm, Eades (1981p.12). Sansom (pers.comm.), cited in Malcolm (1980-2p.85), also suggests that in Indigenous society, not freedom of speech but restraint of speech is the prime social condition.

Although many Indigenous people spoken to admired peoples who still spoke their 'full' language, in general most said they were happy speaking the 'bits and pieces' of their languages they still had. Nearly all people spoken to felt that having 'language' helped to keep a culture strong. However, as one young Indigenous woman stressed, Indigenous culture and language is dynamic, constantly adapting and changing. She said that just because a 'full' language wasn't spoken in the Riverland, didn't mean there was no Indigenous identity or culture, as many non-indigenous people believe. This accounts for the fact that no-one feared language or culture 'loss', because being 'Aboriginal' encompasses more than just language or skin colour. Rather 'it's the way one thinks, sees, feels' and it's 'in the blood', as I was told. Many non-Indigenous people find this hard to understand. For example, linguist Dixon (1980), cited in Eades (1981p.11), asserts:

"If a minority group is to maintain its ethnic identity and social cohesion it must retain its language...Once a group has lost its language; it will generally lose its separate identity and will, within a few generations, be indistinguishably assimilated into another, more dominant political group...."

According to Eades (1981p.11), this quotation reflects a view held even by some professional linguists that people who 'claim' Indigenous culture and identity are 'frauds'. She says that this:

"supports a racist tendency which is currently rife in Australia, of asserting that many non-traditional Aborigines who claim Aboriginal culture and identity are political stirrers hopping on the Aboriginal rights bandwagon so as to be eligible for great benefits assumed to be available to Aborigines but not others...."

Eades (1981p.12), believes this view is unrealistic and hasn't taken into account that Indigenous peoples have had to make drastic changes in their lifestyle to adapt to the pressures of Australia as it has changed in the past 150 years. No culture, Indigenous or otherwise, lives in a vacuum and no culture or language is static. As Eades (1981p.12), explains:

"To insist that only people who use a traditional language have Aboriginal culture would be similar to insisting that White Australians today should speak like the first fleeters...."

Attitudes towards Indigenous people in the Riverland

Chase (1981p.23), summarises the main arguments and negative attitude towards Indigenous people in general, in the following passage:

"If Aboriginal people from the ghettos of from the dusty fringe camps of smaller Australian towns attempt to assert some claim to Aboriginality, one area of righteous public opinion sees them as getting assistance under false pretences: they are not real Aborigines, but bludgers cashing in on a touch of the tarbrush.

They have not yet woken up to the fact that they are a long way from the bush, the boomerangs and the didgeridoos; their only claim to Aboriginality apart from skin colour is the atavistic traces of their forebears revealed in unseemly patterns of daily living, their disability to manage either property or money and their habits of keeping open-house to an endless procession of fellow mendicants. Such 'failures' are viewed as the most charitable level of European ethnocentrism as the expected result of trying to bridge thousands of years in a few generations...."

Although my study is hardly representative of the entire Riverland community, it is safe to say that there is a percentage of people who hold moderately to extreme negative feelings for Indigenous people such as those illustrated in the above passage. Undoubtedly, this percentage would be higher taking into account those people who are not even aware of being racist or offensive. This section concentrates on the population of non-Indigenous people holding moderately to extreme negative attitudes. The aim is to understand what is the nature of these attitudes, why they continue to prevail and what are their origins.

Negative traits predicated of an Indigenous person's personality and physical appearance vary from 'lazy', 'dirty', 'smelly', 'foul-mouthed', 'dole bludging', 'primitive', 'drunken', 'ugly', 'trouble makers', to 'not real Aborigines', 'river rats' and 'mud monkeys'. Indigenous peoples were also thought to have no culture at all because they were 'not real Aborigines' and didn't lead a traditional lifestyle. The only positive personality trait attributed to Indigenous people is 'loyalty' to family or friends, but only in situations of conflict between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people.

Negative traits regarding Indigenous speech are similarly harsh. Many non-Indigenous people spoken to were surprised to hear that Indigenous language was still spoken in the Riverland. Instead, Indigenous speech style was described as 'Pidgin', 'English with a funny accent', 'not proper English' and 'English spoken with all the words running into each other'. Attitudes regarding Indigenous languages were, especially regarding some teachers, surprisingly ignorant. It was often dismissed as having nothing more than 'a few words', 'no grammar', 'simple' and 'easy to learn'.

On a physical level, Indigenous people were described as lazy because they had no work ethics. New migrants to the Riverland such as Indians and Vietnamese are often criticised for being 'outsiders'. However, these people are often respected more than Indigenous people because it is believed they have jobs or try to get jobs and are hard working. Work ethics are a topic hotly debated by most non-Indigenous people in regard to Indigenous people. This is probably due to the fact that the Riverland is very much a working class district and thus rates attributes like 'hard working' positively, (cf. Appendix.6. p.223).

Negative attitudes are also directed at Indigenous people in other areas such as lifestyle. Non-Indigenous people believe that money and property given to Indigenous people by the government is abused and therefore should be controlled or restricted. Many believe that government money is only spent on alcohol and that there should be restrictions on alcohol also. (At the same time, many non-Indigenous people forget that alcohol is a big problem for non-Indigenous people in the Riverland also).

Additionally, Indigenous lifestyle is criticised for being very 'public' and that there is a constant flow of relatives and friends in their homes. The way Indigenous children are educated and brought up, with stereotyped 'snotty noses' are also criticised. These kinds of criticisms are probably much the same as those anywhere in the world, where a minority group does things 'differently' to the majority group. Unfortunately, in the case of the Riverland, many non-Indigenous people felt that as a result of these cultural differences, that they didn't want to live next to, or have anything to do with Indigenous people. Thus leading to further segregation and fostering of myths and stereotypes.

Attitudes towards Indigenous people vary in strength, according to certain events such as land rights movements like Mabo, Hindmarsh Island, the Wik decision and certain topics like work ethics, alcohol, housing and funding given by the government (cf Appendix 2. p.182-197). For example, during my research between 1994-1997, I have noticed a huge increase in intolerance towards Indigenous people, due to such events as those mentioned above, (cf Appendix 2.17 p.161).

One particularly outstanding negative feature constantly observed when non-Indigenous people spoke about Indigenous people was the referral to the 'caste' system. This 'Darwinistic system', says Fesl (1993p.184), results in Indigenous people being referred to as an animal, when they are called 'part-Aborigine', 'quarter caste', 'full blood', 'octoroon', or 'half caste'. This kind of linguistic dehumanising makes it easier for non-Indigenous people to criticise, degrade and blame Indigenous people after all, they're not really 'human'.

The 'social Darwinistic' theory, according to Mühlhäusler, Foster and Clarke (1996p.20), began in the late colonial period and then implied that 'castes' were not only immoral but biologically impure and inferior. Today, vocabulary originating from this theory, according to Fesl (1993p.190), has:

"become so firmly rooted in the Australian English used by Anglo-Australians that most use it in addressing Koories, insensitive to the fact that we find the language insulting...."

In fact, what I have most noted is that this usage of 'caste' appears to have been passed down from parent to child, as I have heard the same arguments reiterated by younger people. One of the first features remarked about Indigenous people in the Riverland is 'Oh, they're half-castes, they're not real Aborigines, just because they've got a drop of Aborigine blood they think they're real Aborigines'.

In most cases 'caste' is still used by Riverlanders in a derogatory way, that is to imply that a half or quarter caste is a trouble maker, an 'outcast', 'reject', 'not a real Aboriginal' and not really belonging to either culture. Fesl (1993p.190), remarks on the fact that 'caste' is used:

"on the one hand as a device to disadvantage Koories in claims to land rights or, on the other to attempt to water down Koorie solidarity as they did in the early post-invasion period...."

Non-Indigenous people in the Riverland often claim that only 'full bloods' are 'real Aborigines' and only they are worthy of receiving social security benefits. Another claim is that 'full bloods' have the best 'personalities', (although many who claimed this have probably never even met a so-called 'full blood'). However, this kind of idea is interesting in that it dates back to the late 1800's when according to Foster, Mühlhäusler and Clarke (1996p.16), society was making a distinction between 'civilised' Blacks and 'wild' Blacks, who were supposed to have inherited only negative vices. As one observer, cited in Mühlhäusler, Foster and Clarke (1996p.16), noted:

"I would rather deal with a wild Blackfellow than with many civilised Blackfellows...."

When asked to define what a 'full blood' or 'real' Indigenous person was, non-Indigenous Riverlanders said such things as: "Oh, they live up north', 'they're really dark skinned', 'the ones that live on the missions', 'the ones that eat roos and snakes' and 'the ones that don't get any help from the government'. Thus a definition of a 'real' Indigenous person, was never made clear, rather 'ideals' were based on stereotypes seen in books or on TV

Frequent comments relating to Indigenous people in the Riverland include 'You find no full bloods, no real Aborigines round here', 'we don't have any real Aborigines here', 'we only have the half-castes, the trouble makers', 'it's the half and quarter caste mongrels that cause all the trouble', 'the half and quarter castes they just want to get the best of both worlds', 'they pretend they're White until it comes time to get a handout', 'they're only Black when they want to be'.

However, negative judgements seem to be more relaxed not only for 'full bloods' but also for 'castes' who live the lifestyle and 'fit in' with the non-Indigenous population, or as some Indigenous people would say 'be White Blackfellas'. Chase (1981p.23), comments on this :

"Unrelenting judgements by the stern and remote eye of European Australia are relaxed for the few who have seemingly pulled through and achieved success in imitating European standards. However, more importantly the judgements are more relaxed for those seen to be 'real' Aborigines...In this sense Australia sees value in placing some Aborigines at least, at the nature end of the people-nature spectrum, able to reveal in all their imitative animal Corroborees, their arts and craft in the 'Dreamtime' stories a sense of by-gone days in the history of the continent. This view is expressed repeatedly in static museum collections of 'real' Aboriginal artefacts, in the lurid travel posters and advertising for outback Australia, and in the gim-crack miscellany of curios available for the tourists in capital cities and outback centres...."

In summary then, the nature of these negative attitudes is linguistically dehumanising to Indigenous people, and reasons why there are such attitudes are partly ignorance and partly real cross -cultural differences. These attitudes appear to have originated from colonial times and reflect policies, which were then passed down from generation to generation.

Cross-cultural Conflict

It appears that non-linguistic features play a more important role than language differences in cross-cultural conflict. For example, in the domain of non-verbal communication, silence is a real cultural difference, says Eades (1981), cited in Christie (1985p.26). Non-Indigenous people feel insulted when Indigenous people don't use the same mannerisms as they do, in shops for example, greeting, smiling, making eye contact and making small talk are all polite norms of everyday non-Indigenous communication. On the other hand, not making eye contact, silence and not answering a question directly are all signs of respect and 'norms' in Indigenous communication. As Eades (1985p.26), cited in Christie (1985p.26), explains silences are important in Indigenous culture as this enables people to think about things that have been said or to wait for the right time to speak.

On the other hand, non-Indigenous people, says Eades (1985), cited in Christie (1985p.26), feel silences are rude and people feel awkward and try to say something to avoid embarrassment. Additionally, non-Indigenous people sometimes misinterpret these differences as insolence, failure to understand the question or unfriendliness. This in turn tends to become a stereotype for all Indigenous people and so-called exceptions are pointed out, such as 'Oh, she's a friendly one' or ' he always says hello'.

Neither Indigenous nor non-Indigenous people felt language was a source of cross-cultural conflict. Non-Indigenous people felt that most of the time they could understand the speech of Indigenous people and could be understood by them. Although, some people did remark that Indigenous people only pretended not to understand in 'difficult' situations such as in court or in the police station.

Non-Indigenous people felt that they would not treat someone differently because they spoke differently. However, these same people often became defensive when comparing the English spoken by other cultures with their own. For example, Indigenous people were said to speak with 'much more slang', 'they don't speak clear', 'they speak too fast', 'they've got a funny accent', 'every second word is fuck', 'they swear a lot', 'you can always tell one on the phone', 'they don't speak proper English' and 'well, they speak Pidgin'. Additionally, it was said that Indigenous people don't always explain themselves properly and that sometimes it was hard to get any information from them. These observations all seem to be markers of (making) some social distance between the groups.

Clearly, non-Indigenous people DO have reactions when they hear Indigenous speech and it is described as if there is no variation between people or group at all. Indigenous people are aware that non-Indigenous people describe their speech as 'Pidgin', and in some cases have accepted this as 'ignorance' on the part of Europeans. Most Indigenous people spoken with felt that their speech was 'good' enough and 'proper' enough to be understood and no different to the way any other ethnic group spoke English.

Some Indigenous people did comment, however, that because they were dark skinned, that non-Indigenous people would use baby talk to them or speak exaggeratedly slow to them assuming they wouldn't understand English. Thus Europeans stereotype people with Black skin as having limited English skills and an Indigenous language as a first language.

Indigenous people had difficult generalising 'ways' that they speak. In almost all cases they explained that 'features' depended on who you were and what your background was.

Situations of cross-cultural conflict

Communication breakdowns and cross-cultural differences can lead to conflict. In the Riverland, Indigenous and non-Indigenous people cite domains of conflict as school, shops and service areas, police stations, court, in employment and especially sport, (cf.Appendix.2.12, 2.16, 2.17, 2.31, p.154-177).

Another example of communication breakdown and conflict frequently cited by Indigenous people spoken to, occurs in shops, where an Indigenous person may be served last, ignored or made to wait for no reason. One Indigenous man, Ian Abdulla, cited in Chryssides (1993p.19), explains:

"I've struck a lot of prejudice and so have my kids, but I don't let it worry me. The more notice you take, the worse it gets. I'm proud of my Aboriginal heritage...."

"I waited thirty minutes to get served in a roadhouse once. White people were getting served before me. White people always get served first. So I spoke to the manager about it and he got stuck into the assistant. Other people might not have the gumption to do that. They'd sooner go to another shop. But with me it's the other way round. It's the only way to deal with it..."

On a more personal level, little social mixing occurs between Indigenous and non-Indigenous groups. The reasons for this appear to be complex. Non-Indigenous people with good intentions often don't know how to act around Indigenous people. Additionally, non-Indigenous people often feel sensitive and get defensive when recalling the history of European dealings with Indigenous peoples.

Indigenous people said they felt tired of having to answer 'Aboriginal' questions, defend their culture and tolerate comments such as 'you're so different to the rest of them', 'but you're so clean..'. Some people also said that in the company of non-Indigenous people they felt 'looked at' as if to say 'what is that Nunga doing here?'

Overall people in general felt that because their cultures are so different they never really feel comfortable around each other on a social level.

Consequences

Unresolved cross-cultural conflicts result in increased racial intolerance, race incited activities such as 'making unwelcome' an Indigenous family in a predominantly non-Indigenous housing area, and ultimately violence. This in turn leads to further segregation and widens the social distance between the groups, at the same time, fostering myths and stereotypes.

In the Riverland attempts to bridge cultural differences has been the aim of one Indigenous centre, commented on by Chryssides (1993p.19):

"One of the major roles at the Jerry Mason Senior Memorial Centre, where Agnes Rigney has been coordinator and director since its opening nine years ago, is to help improve the attitudes of the broader community towards Aboriginal people...."

Agnes Rigney, cited in Chryssides (1993p.19), explains why now, more than ever, such a centre is needed in the Riverland:

"There may have been prejudice then but it was never as noticeable as it is today. Today there is a lot of racism in all areas, whatever anyone says - socially, employment - wise and I think there always will be. The major reason for that is ignorance people don't really understand, and they don't take the time to understand the lifestyle and the Aboriginal people. If there was a better understanding of the culture, it would make for a better understanding of the people...."

The ultimate consequence of communication breakdown and cross-cultural misunderstandings is violence. An example of this occurred in Barmera in the months November to January 1995/6. In a short space of time, Barmera developed a reputation for being 'unsafe' and 'violent' due to in-fighting between Indigenous and non-Indigenous youths. One non-Indigenous man was almost killed (cf.Appendix 2.14p.156). Reactions to the violence by the community were confusing. On the one hand, people were outraged, as the area relies on tourism and has a reputation for being a quiet, peaceful area on the Murray. On the other hand, an Indigenous woman, (known for her work in representing Indigenous groups in the Riverland), began publicising the events in the South Australian media, (cf Appendix 2.19p.163-164). She then became the target for severe abuse by non-Indigenous and some Indigenous people for being a 'trouble maker' and a 'liar'. She even received death threats.

In an act to stop some of this violence, a youth committee was formed, in which young people were able to vent their anger in a controlled environment, (cf Appendix 2.20p.165). Unfortunately, neither Indigenous nor non-Indigenous people felt this was a success. One Indigenous woman told me that although alcohol acted as a catalyst to violence, not enough was being done to get at the root of the problem. The main aim of the youth committee appeared to have been turning Barmera's main street into a dryzone, (cf Appendix 2.21p.166). Typically in any kind of conflict in which Indigenous people are involved, alcohol is seen to be the problem.

Some community members told me that as far as they could remember, there have always been problems between Indigenous and no-Indigenous groups. Others believe the media have sensationalised 'problems; between the groups and that the idea of 'racism' has been blown out of proportion. One Indigenous woman, Val Power, cited in Mattingley and Hampton (1988p.271), summarises the racial situation in the Riverland from the 1940's to the 1990's:

"There was no racism in the country town Berri, where I was brought up, and in the Riverland in the late 1940's, right up until the late 1960's. I think one of the main reasons for this is that everybody was poor.

All the people in the particular part of Berri where I grew up - there were really poor White people living on the Berri flats with the same living conditions as us - we grew up more or less like a family than a separate race of people, because we all suffered the same problems, being in a poor standard, rather than the people in the town living in their big flash houses. Our houses were made of second hand wheat bags and whatever we could scrounge from the dump. And we were friends with all those people we grew up with in the 1940's and 1950's and 1960's. They're still our dearest and closest friends. We never had any problems like they're experiencing in the Riverland now. I think society's changed...."

Language attitude study in the Riverland

As the previous pages have illustrated attitudes play a pivotal role in understanding situations of cross-cultural misunderstanding in the Riverland. However, the Riverland is not an isolated case, as Gallois et al. (1984p.39), comment:

"The history of conflict between White and Black Australians is reflected in the negative attitudes of White Australians towards them. They have consistently been depicted as wasteful with money, unambitious, lazy and dirty...."

In general, there has been little attitude research done concerning Indigenous people in Australia.

However, by providing information from two studies that have been done, I hope to provide a background to my work and to highlight the importance of such an attitude study. For example, although Sless (1992p.5), (cf. Chapter 3 p.49), comments that 'there are no generally agreed methods for measuring attitude' and 'measurements of attitude do not necessarily predict behaviour'; an attitude study is still beneficial in this case, if only to prove that there ARE negative reactions to non-standard speech.

Discussion

Wundersitz (1979), carried out a study in which she hypothesised that 'relatively high prejudice levels would exist among non-Indigenous, rural dwellers living in close proximity to a segregated Indigenous community. Specifically, Wundersitz (1979p.70), wanted to find out the nature and content of non-Indigenous racial attitudes as her initial investigation indicated there was considerable social distance between the groups. Her results (1979p.73) indicated:

a) On a stereotype scale designed to measure non-Indigenous beliefs, 48.3% of non-Indigenous respondents rated Indigenous people highly stereotypically, with only 13.7% positive ratings. Strong negative beliefs included being 'lazy', 'unreliable', 'dishonest', 'lack of responsibility' and being 'mentally inferior' to non-Indigenous people. There was also a tendency for respondents to apply such derogatory traits to all Indigenous people with little or no allowance being made for individual variation.

b) On Aboriginal discrimination scale, there was support for at least 'some' restrictions against Indigenous people. 62% of all residents interviewed wanted there to be certain legal restrictions such as restricted access to alcohol and control over spending patterns. 39.3% agreed that Indigenous people should be banned from living in certain neighbourhoods and 40% opposed Indigenous - non-Indigenous marriage. 54.5% of respondents supported segregation of at least one of the six public facilities, swimming pools (41.4%), and public toilets (31.7%), arousing the greatest pro-segregation response. This was justified by the belief that Indigenous peoples were 'dirty' and 'diseased', says Wundersitz.

c) On the Bogardus social distance scale, 20.4% wanted to exclude Indigenous people from all six of the seven categories listed. Thus 40% exhibited moderately or extreme negative feelings towards Indigenous people in general.

Overall, Wundersitz (1979p.75), explains that her results indicate a considerable prejudice against Indigenous people and she suggests the possibility that these results are typical to other rural communities in Australia.

In their study of personality judgement, Gallois, Callan and Johnstone (1984p.40), had these hypotheses:

a) Indigenous listeners would evaluate English spoken by Indigenous people in solidarity-stressing contexts favourably, but would evaluate it less favourably in contexts related to status;

b) Non-Indigenous speakers would be rated higher than Indigenous speakers by Indigenous listeners on traits related to status such as 'successful', 'educated' or 'ambitious' in all contexts, but that this difference would be attenuated on traits related to solidarity such as 'friendly' or 'trustworthy';

The results of their study indicated firstly, that although Indigenous people were negatively stereotyped, they were also positively stereotyped. For example, Indigenous people were seen to be 'tradition - loving' and 'loyal' to family ties.

Additionally, results showed that although speakers weren't identified explicitly as Indigenous or not, most subjects identified speaker identities accurately. Gallois, Callan and Johnstone (1984p.39), also commented on that other researchers found that non-standard speakers from visible ethnic communities were correctly identified from speech cues alone. An exception could be Bayard's (1987), cited in Bell and Holmes (1990p.4), New Zealand study, in which Maori and Pakeha speakers were often misidentified.

The hypothesis dealing with judgements on traits related to solidarity was not supported. According to results, all respondents rated Indigenous males higher on solidarity-stressing traits than non-Indigenous males, while Indigenous females were rated more negatively on solidarity-stressing traits than non-Indigenous females. It was unclear as to why this result concerning females occurred.

As predicted, non-Indigenous speakers were rated higher on status-stressing traits than Indigenous speakers, irrespective of context. Gallois et al. (1984p.50), suggest the respondents seemed to be sensitive to the general prestige value of non-Indigenous standard Australian English produced by middle-class and working class variants. The reason suggested by Gallois et al. (1984p.51), for this result concerning urban Whites, is that they lack contact with Indigenous speakers, they didn't have any Indigenous students at their schools and lived in suburbs of low contact with Indigenous peoples.

Rural, non-Indigenous respondents attended racially-mixed schools, were involved in school programs emphasising the importance of valuing cultural differences, their negative ratings of Indigenous speakers was attributed to a patronising attitude towards Indigenous people. Gallois et al. (1984p.51), suggested that their judgements might not extend beyond the school setting, as other researchers have found among racially integrated groups.

Thus in conclusion, such research shows there is strong prejudice towards Indigenous Australians in general and that more research needs to be done in order to illustrate the importance of implementing cultural awareness programs to enable people to understand cultural differences. Additionally, it is important to remember that such research would reflect the changing attitudes of people over time in accordance with government policy, education and media events.

Summary

Thus, as has been outlined, the two studies mentioned have heavily influenced this thesis and this attitude study. I have kept in mind as much as possible Sless' (1992), points (cf. Chapter 3 p.57). In spite of such difficulties I have found Wundersitz's (1979), and Gallois et al.'s (1984), studies relevant to the study of Indigenous culture and language in the Riverland.

Methodology

Six voices were collected on a tape, three of these voices were male, three female. Three of these voices were Indigenous, three were non-Indigenous. The three non-Indigenous voices were made up of an Anglo-Australian, a distinct - accented European (German), and an Australian of European descent, 'acting out' her interpretation of a stereotypical 'Indigenous' sounding voice. The European speakers were made up of a student in her late teens, one speaker was a house worker in her early 50's, the final was unemployed in his 40's. Indigenous speakers were as follows, one Ngarrindjeri house worker in her late 30's, a Narrunga background student teacher in his 20s, and a Ngarrindjeri of Maori upbringing, mental health officer/teacher in his early 40's.

Each speaker read the same two passages, which ran about two minutes long. One passage was a status-stressing passage, focussing on traits such as 'ambitious', 'rich', 'high status job', while the other passage, a solidarity - stressing passage focussed on traits like 'friendly', 'loyal' and 'would like to have as a friend', (cf. Appendix 2.51 p.200). Speakers were encouraged to read as naturally as possible and mistakes etc., were left in to make the reading as authentic as possible.

Design

A speech evaluation sheet was designed for respondents to 'judge' at the same time as listening to the speakers. Respondents judged from a list of 24 traits, based on those of Gallois et al.'s (1984p.44), study, and Holmes and Bell's (1990), 'New Zealand ways of speaking English'. Regarding the speech evaluation sheet, the following points should be made:

a) Traits, occupations and nationalities were listed in alphabetical order to avoid discrimination;

b) Traits were mixed across columns so there was no single column of negative or positive traits. This was done to :

- encourage the respondent to read each trait;
- to illustrate what is a positive trait in one culture, may not be in another.

c) Due to the fact that I had a time limit on this study, I mistakenly listed only positive and negative traits without allowing for an 'in between'. Thus respondents had to tick in the middle of the two columns if they weren't sure. With hindsight using a scale method would have been better.

d) The evaluation sheet was quite long, which severely limited the amount of people undertaking the 'judging'. Group numbers were kept to six. This enabled a discussion afterwards about 'choice', what 'gave away' non-standard speech etc.;

e) Surprisingly, many people Indigenous and non-Indigenous didn't complete the sheet or refused to fill out the sheet, preferring to give oral responses, particularly those who felt embarrassed about their written English skills. In such cases I tried to incorporate their feelings/responses into the body of the thesis.

Aims

The aims of this language attitude study were:

a) To observe how people judge and stereotype different Riverland peoples;

b) To determine whether people can correctly identify someone's ethnicity or nationality or occupation by their voice or language style alone;

c) To illustrate whether people in the Riverland judge and stereotype people by voice or speech style alone or whether non-linguistic factors such as skin colour are the basis of stereotyping;

d) To observe if and how people react to accent and non-standard speech and what is the nature of these reactions.

CHAPTER 3: LANGUAGE ATTITUDES RESEARCH

This chapter defines and reviews research into language attitudes from the early 1900's to the 1990's.

Language and Attitude

As Cargile et al. (1984p.211), summarise:

"Language is a powerful social force that does more than convey referential information. Our views of others - their supposed capabilities, beliefs and attributes - are determined in part, by inferences we make from the language features they adopt. For example, an American may think a stranger to be 'cultured' and 'refined' simply because of his or her particular British accent. In addition, some important decisions that govern our prospects and social welfare are also shaped by language performance...."

People have attitudes towards language especially evident in initial interaction, says Bradac (1990p.387). The use of certain linguistic features can trigger beliefs like 'her way of talking leads me to think she is a professor' and evaluations like 'he is intelligent' (Bradac, 1990p.387). This initial judgement of the speaker can then affect the receiver's behaviour towards him or her especially in context where speaker and receiver are unknown to each other, Bradac (1990p.387).

The idea that language triggers beliefs, evaluations and attitudes in initial interaction is consistent with the findings of many speech marker studies, says Bradac (1990p.387). This will be illustrated in the following pages.

According to Cargile et al. (1990p.221), many researchers disagree on a single definition of 'attitude'. However, Cargile et al. (1984p.221), propose the following broad definition of attitude as:

"A disposition to react favourably or unfavourably to a class of objects...."

It is generally agreed that 'attitude' is comprised of three components, Cargile et al. (1990p.221). These components are FEELINGS (affective components), THOUGHTS (cognitive elements) and PREDISPOSITIONS TO ACT (behavioural element), Cargile et al. (1990p.221). In sum, says Edwards (1980p.20), this means, one knows or believes something, has an emotional reaction to it, and may be assumed to act on this basis. Alternatively, as Cargile et al. (1990p.221), explain, in an encounter a speaker's language may call up in the hearer's mind, a social category which may lead to a further inference about the speaker's personality. For example, standard British English speech = British upper class = industrious, competent, self - satisfied = being hired for a prestigious job, Cargile et al. (1990p.221).

In relation to these components Edwards (1980p.20), makes the point that sometimes there is confusion between belief and attitude. He explains that ATTITUDE includes BELIEF as one of its components, and that for example, a subject's response to a question like 'Is a knowledge of French important for your kids? yes or no?', indicates a BELIEF. Edwards (1980p.20), adds that to gauge ATTITUDE requires further inquiry into respondent's FEELINGS about the expressed belief. For example, the respondent might believe French is important for their child, yet hate the language itself, Edwards explains. Thus in this way, many ATTITUDE questionnaires are actually BELIEF questionnaires in part, Edwards (1980p.20).

In general, the actual study of language attitude is according to Cargile et al. (1990p.211):

"An attempt to understand people's processing of, and dispositions towards various situated language and communication behaviours and the subsequent treatment extended to the users of such forms...."

However, as Sless (1992p.5), asserts, there are some important points to consider regarding language attitude study. They are:

a) There is no general agreement among researchers on definitions of attitude;

b) There are no generally agreed methods for measuring attitude;

c) Measurements of attitude do not necessarily predict behaviour;

d) Changes in attitude do not necessarily result in changes in behaviour;

e) Communication does not result in predictable changes in attitude;

Attitude development

There appear to be three main areas of value judgement where people develop their attitudes to language. These are according to Trudgill (1983p.202), 'correctness', 'adequacy' and 'aesthetics'.

Firstly, 'correctness' is an area where most people apart from linguists generally believe some grammatical forms and pronunciations are 'wrong' says Trudgill (1983p.202). However, today this is changing and people especially involved in language and education issues are realising what has traditionally been 'wrong' or 'right' is more a question of 'differences' Trudgill (1983p.202). This is especially so in the U.S.A., he points out, where there is more understanding of dialect-related problems. Awareness of educational difficulties connected with the racial situation is the reason for this.

More importantly the change to a more relaxed attitude on the issue of 'correctness' is slow in coming. As Trudgill (1983p.202), comments, people in different language communities are still discriminated against, both consciously and unconsciously, for using non-standard dialects and low status accents whether it be in schooling or employment. Trudgill (1983p.202), adds that linguists addressing audiences of teachers and others have been very surprised to discover the depth of feeling that any attack on the notion of 'correctness' produces. For example, in relation to use of the standard dialect in schools, Honey (1989p.29), explains:

"The response of some of the parents is very revealing. They wanted dialect forms kept out of the schools, on the grounds that they preferred that their children, 'should talk smart when they're grown up...."

Robbins (1973p.22), asserts that usually the upper social classes set standards in language use as in other affairs. Honey (1989p.29), comments on this:

"Prestige is associated with certain groups which thereby become the subject of imitation by others. Among the commonest criteria for the possession of such prestige are political power, economic power and educatedness...."

Lower class forms of language almost always acquire a special connotation and come to be regarded as 'incorrect' and to be avoided, Trudgill (1983p.202). Cheshire (1982), cited in Trudgill (1983p.202), points out the stigmatised occurrence of the -S marker on various verb positions as a feature of lower working class, as in 'I likes it' or 'They goes every day'.

Trudgill (1983p.202), says that such lower class forms have to be avoided by those who wish to sound 'educated' or to hide their background. Trudgill adds, sometimes this means working very hard to hide old patterns of speech.

The second area where value judgements are made about language concerns the 'adequacy' of particular types of language, says Trudgill (1983p.206). He explains that the majority of linguists believe that one language is as good as any other. As Halliday (1964), cited in Trudgill (1983p.206), comments:

"All languages are equally capable of being developed for all purposes...."

However, many lay-people are convinced that English, for example, is inherently more adequate for academic topics than some Indigenous African languages, for example, Trudgill (1983p.206). Another example is that Pidgins are generally believed to be inadequate for a number of purposes, as it is only used as a contact language, Trudgill (1983p.206).

However, Trudgill adds that once creolization takes place, the former Pidgin becomes entirely adequate for all the needs of the speakers. Some people may still dispute this, as stereotypically Pidgins and Creoles are thought to be 'broken', 'bad', or 'corrupt' English (cf. Chapter 4 p.66).

The third area of value judgement is the aesthetic value of a language, dialect or accent. According to Trudgill (1983p.209), many linguists in this area are prepared, at least informally, to make as many value judgements as lay - people. For example, that the Italian language is more 'beautiful' than the Danish language or vice versa. Alternatively, regarding accent aesthetics, Honey (1989p.65), says he is sceptical that one accent is inherently more beautiful than another. Honey (1989p.70), comments however, that:

"The idea of the 23rd Psalm, the parable of the Good Samaritan or Wordsworth's 'Daffodils', being read with self - confidence and pride in a broad Cockney scouse, Birmingham or Glaswegian accent seems to contradict the canons of elegance, precision and 'wellspokeness' generally...."

Regarding dialect aesthetics, Bausinger's (1970p.21), study illustrated dialect preferences in the former West Germany were, in order of preference, Wien (Vienna), Hamburg, Koln (Cologne), Munchen (Munich), Berlin, Stuttgart, Frankfurt and Leipzig.

On the one hand such views on aesthetics have no serious consequences. On the other hand, inter-linguistic comparisons may be harmful in multilingual situations where decisions on educational and other policy are based on such views, Trudgill (1983p.209). For example, in the United Germany, linguistic differences are quite significant as to be social markers (conscious divergence) and social distinguishers (unconscious linguistic divergence).

The 'inherent value' hypothesis proposed by Giles et al. (1974), cited in Trudgill (1983p.210), maintains that some linguistic varieties are inherently more 'attractive' or 'pleasant' than others, and that these varieties have acquired prestige simply because of this belief.

For example, Giles et al. (1974), cited in Trudgill (1983p.210), explain that British RP is the most prestigious accent because it has been elevated to this position as a result of its supposed inherent 'outstanding' attractiveness. Such judgement is the result of strong and pervasive cultural norms, says Trudgill (1983p.211).

Attestation to this is the survey cited in Trudgill (1983p.211), where statements such as the following were recorded, illustrating the high regard of supposed 'aesthetic' qualities of BBC or RP English:

"I talk horrible, I think. But BBC announcers and that, they really sound nice when they talk...." (Female Houseworker, 45)

"I think the Norwich accent is awful - but people you hear on the wireless some of them have got really nice voices...." (Night - Watchperson, 57)

Similarly, Macaulay and Trevelyan (1973), cited in Trudgill (1983p.211), report from Glasgow as to the supposed aesthetic qualities of RP English accents:

"If you were an employer and somebody came in to see you in a broad Glasgow accent and then another man came in with an English accent, you'd be more inclined to give the Englishman the job, because he had a nicer way of speaking...." (Schoolboy, 15)

"There's no doubt the English.... have us beaten there. Their speech is much preferable to ours...." (Commercial Artist)

According to Trudgill (1983p.218), examinations normally made in Britain about non-prestige accents, clearly show rural accents are regarded as much more aesthetically pleasing than urban accents. As one Glaswegian , cited in Trudgill (1983p.218), said :

"It's the slovenly speech in the industrial areas I don't care for.... these industrial cities, I don't like the accents they have...."

In England, the accents most negatively rated are the working - class accents of large cities like Birmingham, Glasgow, Liverpool (Scouse) and London (Cockney), Trudgill (1983p.218). Belfast, Indian and West Indian accents are also rated low and tend to join this disparaged group, explains Honey (1989p.58). According to Honey (1989p.58), accents most positively rated in Britain are RP, followed by 'educated' varieties of Scottish, Welsh and Irish. Rural accents of the West Country, Scottish highlands and Yorkshire English are rated next highest and are believed to be 'beautiful' or at worst 'charming' or 'quaint', says Trudgill (1983p.218).

In relation to language aesthetics in America, Robbins (1973p.22), explains how the Brooklynese speech of New York City is highly stigmatised. Many Americans regard it as 'uneducated' and 'funny', Robbins (1973p.22). He says that the power of more prestigious standard dialects has been so strong that many New Yorkers try with varying degrees NOT to sound like New Yorkers.

Robbins (1973p.22), explains that the stigmatised feature of the older New York dialect is the loss of post - vocalic -R. This has resulted in the loss of certain contrasts and words such as SOURCE and SAUCE and GUARD and GOD are pronounced as homophones, says Robbins (1973p.22).

With the loss of post - vocalic -R in some words, New York City speech came to resemble the southern U.S and England, adds Robbins (1973p.22). However, while there is no stigma attached to omitting post - vocalic -R in England, this is regarded by New Yorkers as inelegant and vulgar, Robbins (1973p.22).

This stigma seems to have affected upper class people more, who have travelled and who associate more with people whose -R's survive as a natural part of their dialects, says Robbins (1973p.22). Thus New Yorker's tend to associate the use of post - vocalic -R, sometimes even unconsciously, with the more educated, wealthy, higher status residents of the city, Robbins (1973p.22).

However, interestingly, a T.V sitcom in America called 'The Nanny' has a protagonist who takes great pride in using the stigmatised, nasal accent of New York, much to the annoyance of her RP British speaking boss and standard speakers around her. This 1996/7-comedy sitcom is very popular in Australia also, at least partly due to the 'sending up' of this accent.

Standard versus non-standard

According to Honey (1989p.71):

"One U.S observer has claimed that non-standard features in American English speech (grammar and vocabulary as well as accent), have the power to close off a conversation among strangers, bring job interviews to an abrupt end, and, when used on the telephone, to render a flat advertised as vacant that morning suddenly to be declared already let...."

This kind of reaction to non-standard dialects and accents relates to the fact that many languages have one particular variety which is the standard dialect and which incorporates a formal set of norms defining 'correct' usage, explains Ryan (1979p.145). This standard variety which is acknowledged by the society as the high prestige standard is usually employed by the social group(s) with the highest social status in that society, and by those who wish to be associated with this status, explains Ryan (1979p.145).

Ryan (1979p.145), asserts that after recognition of this standard variety, one expects the other varieties to disappear over a generation or two. However, she says many regional, ethnic and social class varieties have persisted for centuries, surviving strong pressures to succumb as the standard dialects take over. For example, Schwyzerdeutsch in Switzerland, Canadian French in Canada, Appalachian and Black English in the U.S and Catalan Spanish in Spain, Ryan (1979p.145). One could also consider Australia's Indigenous language varieties as despite stigmatisation, some still continue to exist.

Ryan (1979p.147), believes the value of language as a chief symbol of group identity is one of the major forces of preservation of non-standard speech styles or dialects, Gubulgo (1973). Glaser and Moynihan (1975), cited in Ryan (1979p.147), state that a rise of ethnicity has occurred across the world, with language as an important marker of newly important ethnic groups.

In studies concerning ethnic identity, Taylor (1972) and associates have found language to be a critical dimension of identity, says Ryan (1979p.147). For example, the frequency of non-standard forms of speech used by adolescents as they attempt to distinguish themselves from other established prestige groups, Barker (1947); Fisher (1971); Weinreich (1970), explains Ryan (1979p.147).

For example, Ramirez (1974), cited in Ryan (1979p.148), noted the deliberate return to a Chicano dialect of Spanish by youths, in order to establish identity with their own cultural group. It was also used by fluent Spanish speakers as a way of establishing a feeling of brotherhood with the Chicano movement.

Similarly, Gatbonton - Segalowitz (1975), cited in Ryan (1979p.148), observed that the degree of French accent in the speech of French Canadians was related to their feelings of identification with their own group. Thus those Quebecois with the strongest attachments to the French ethnic group spoke English with the heaviest accents, explains Ryan (1979p.148).

Additionally, Ryan (1979p.148), says that Lambert (1967), describes the second - language learner's need to preserve something which separates him/her from the new language group. Otherwise explains Lambert (1967), cited in Ryan (1979p.148), with fluent speech in the new language, he or she might lose their original identity.

Labov's (1972), study of social motivation of sound change in Martha's Vineyard in the U.S, illustrated that a high degree of non - standard centralisation of two diphthongs was closely correlated with expressions of strong resistance to the influence of outsiders or the 'summer people', explains Ryan (1979p.148).

According to Labov's work, the most traditional area of the island had residents particularly intent upon maintaining their distinctiveness, Ryan (1979p.148). Labov noted in one case that the speech of one young man became more like island speech after he returned to the island after mainland college, Ryan (1979p.148). His speech represented hypercorrection in that he used the non -standard forms even more frequently than the most traditional local speakers (Ryan, 1979p.148). In this way, he deliberately turned his back on 'outside' success in favour of an island life and was apparently via his speech, trying to become 'one of the islanders', Ryan (1979p.148-9).

Another study by Labov (1966), in the U.S, showed that despite great variability in the English speech of New York city informants, there was uniformity in their reactions to speakers in terms of judgements of job suitability, says Ryan (1979p.147). In fact, speakers with the highest frequency of stigmatised pronunciations in their own speech, showed the greatest tendency to downgrade others for their use of such features, Ryan (1979p.147). Labov (1966), proposed that non-standard speakers didn't want to accept the dominant group norms, adds Ryan (1979p.147). Although speakers endorsed these norms in a test situation, not using these norms otherwise, suggested there must be an opposing set of values supporting their vernacular forms of speech, asserts Ryan (1979p.147).

Lieberson (1970), cited in Ryan (1979p.149), suggested that language differences can serve two functions with respect to maintenance of group identity:

a) The strengthening of ingroup unity as a symbolisation of group differences;

b) An increase in outgroup distance as a type of restriction on intergroup communication.

Thus, as Ryan (1979p.152), concludes, both evaluative reaction and questionnaire studies have shown that non - standard speech varieties may have low prestige, but are associated with other values of importance for an ethnic group. It seems, says Ryan (1979p.152), that despite the lure of social mobility and years of educational and often political efforts, there is no apparent move towards universal adoption of , for example, RP in Britain or standard English in the U.S.A.

In fact, asserts Ryan (1979p.147), throughout history there are many instances of a low-prestige vernacular dialect becoming a regional standard over a higher status variety, the most notable example being the displacement of a few classical languages in Europe, (like Latin), by 'lowly' vernaculars like French and Italian, Fishman et al. (1966).

The History of Language Attitude study

According to Cargile et al. (1984p.212), evidence of language attitude dates back many years. For example, in the Renaissance rhetoricians were preoccupied with the details of verbal expression such as schemes and tropes, Sherry (1961), cited in Cargile et al. (1984p.212). In 1932, Aristotle believed that the type of language which speakers used had an effect upon their credibility or 'ethos', Cargile et al. (1984p.212).

From this time onwards, the research of dialect geographers in the early twentieth century called attention to language varieties which were stigmatised or, on the other hand accorded prestige, Bloomfield (1933), cited in Cagile et al. (1984p.212).

In the 1930's and 1940's a number of studies in Britain and the U.S, attempted to show accurate judgements of speaker's physical characteristics and personality attributes, on the basis of their speech, Cantril and Allport (1935); Taylor (1934), explain Cargile et al. (1984p.212).

Although some of these studies showed there was little advantage in pursuing voice as a cue to actual personality, Cargile et al., explain that many studies DID show there is considerable social consensus among listener - judges about the stereotypical traits associated with voices. These stereotype - based judgements of voice are socially vital, say Cargile et al. (1984p.212), who summarise:

"There has been an explosion of research in different parts of the world, in the last three decades, showing that people can express definite and consistent attitudes towards speakers who use particular styles of speaking...."

Attitude study in the 1960 - 1970's

According to Bradac (1990p.389-390), research conducted in this decade was primarily concerned with evaluative consequences of linguistic differences produced by speakers representing groups which were culturally dissimilar, typically as a function of geographical differences.

The first contemporary investigation in 'language attitude research', was that of Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner and Fillenbaum (1965), says Bradac (1990p.388). Bradac explains that their study examined listener's evaluative reactions to English and French. Their results indicated that both English and French speakers rated the recorded speakers of the English versions, more positively on traits such as kindness and intelligence, Bradac (1990p.388).

Another important early study was conducted by Lambert, Anisfeld and Yeni - Komishan (1965). A standard philosophical passage was recorded in Hebrew and Arabic by bilingual speakers, Bradac (1990p.389). The Hebrew was used with two dialectal variants, Ashkenazic and Yemenite, Bradac (1990p.389). Jewish respondents then completed measures designed to assess attitudes towards Ashkenazic Jews, Arabs and Yemenite Jews, Bradac (1990p.389). Results indicated that Jewish respondents were relatively negative towards Arabic guises on traits of humour, friendliness and honesty, Bradac (1990p.389). Additionally, Arab respondents downgraded Hebrew guises on intelligence, self - confidence, good - heartedness, friendliness and honesty, Bradac (1990p.389). These data provide evidence of devaluation of outgroup speakers among both Jewish and Arabic respondents, Bradac (1990p.389).

In 1967, Strongman and Woolsey used the 'matched - guise' technique to compare northern and southern English listener's reactions to Yorkshire and London accents, explains Bradac (1990p.389). Across both groups of listeners, the London accent produced relatively high ratings of speaker self - confidence, whereas the Yorkshire accent enhanced ratings of speaker honesty, reliability and generosity, Bradac (1990p.389).

Northern judges also gave high ratings to the Yorkshire guises on good - naturedness, kind - heartedness and industriousness and a low rating on irritability, which may be an example of accent loyalty, explain Giles and Powesland (1975), cited in Bradac (1990p.390).

In the 1970's attitude research firstly, focussed on accent evaluation, says Bradac (1990p.390). For example, Cheyne (1970), cited in Bradac (1990p.390), compared evaluative reactions of Scottish and English listeners to their accent differences. Both groups of listeners gave relatively high ratings to the English accent for prestige, status and intelligence, while the Scottish accent was rated higher on traits of friendliness, likability etc... especially by Scottish respondents, Bradac (1990p.390). This is a clear early example of the distinction between status and solidarity judgements which pervades language -attitudes research, explains Bradac (1990p.390).

Giles (1970), cited in Bradac (1990p.390), compared status ratings of thirteen accents in the U.K. Highest ratings were given to RP English accent, while lowest ratings were given to urban varieties such as Cockney and Birmingham, Bradac (1990p.390). Ratings for foreign accents like Italian and regional accents such as south Welsh, fell between these extremes, Bradac (1990p.390).

Similarly, in an Irish study by Milroy and McClenaghan (1977), 15 Belfast undergraduates rated Scottish, southern Irish, RP and Ulster accents, Edwards (1982p.24). Overall, RP was evaluated most positively, especially on dimensions of competence, personal integrity and attractiveness, yet RP speakers were rated lowest on traits like friendliness, Edwards (1982p.24). According to Edwards (1982p.24), results relate to findings of the Ulster republic interaction and the fact that 13 of the 15 judges were Protestant. Milroy and McClenaghan (1977), cited in Edwards (1982p.25), comment on the consistency of their results, even across judges who misidentified accents:

"It has been widely assumed that an accent acts as a cue identifying a speaker's group membership. Perhaps this identification takes place below the level of conscious awareness....presumably by hearing similar accents very frequently, [one learns] to associate them with their reference groups. In other words accents with which people are familiar may directly evoke stereotyped responses without the listener first consciously assigning the speaker to a particular reference group...."

A second feature of attitude study from the 1970's up to the 1980's, while still focussing on 'accent' was the recognition of variation WITHIN a given accent type and that this variation may have consequences for speakers, asserts Bradac (1990p.391).

For example, Giles (1972), cited in Bradac (1990p.391), showed that adults and pre - adolescents could discriminate along a mildness -broadness dimension of accent and that the broader the accent the more negative the evaluation.

In Australia, Baker (1966); Mitchell and Dellbridge (1965), cited in Edwards (1982p.25), comment on the 'broad', 'general' and 'cultivated' Australian accent. Berechree and Ball (1979), cited in Edwards (1982p.25), investigated reactions of student judges to these speech styles and found competence and attractiveness were associated with the 'cultivated' Australian accent.

Eltis (1980), cited in Edwards (1982p.25), suggests the 'cultivated' Australian accent conforms generally to British RP and in a study of teacher's reactions to pupils, the cultivated accent was rated highest and the broad Australian accent lowest. This finding is consistent with other studies like Huygens and Vaughan (1983), who found the association with prestige and RP in this context, the same in New Zealand, Edwards (1982p.25).

Similarly, in America, Ryan, Carranza and Moffe's (1977), study showed the more heavily accented a Spanish-American speaker was, the more negative they were rated by standard English speaking students, Edwards (1982p.26).

Overall, these studies on accent evaluation in the 1970's show speech samples can invoke stereotypical reactions reflecting views of social groups, explains Edwards (1982p.25). Standard accents are usually given high status and competence, while regional accents seem to reflect greater integrity and attractiveness, Edwards (1982p.25). However, as Edwards (1982p.25), points out, the common downgrading of non -standard varieties in terms of prestige and competence dimensions outweighs those of integrity and attractiveness in many contexts, and remain an important consideration. Additionally, such studies show that speech styles of regional speakers, certain ethnic groups and lower - class peoples, evoke negative reactions at least in terms of status and prestige, from judges who may or may not be standard speakers themselves, says Edwards (1982p.26).

A final point to be made about research from the 1970's onwards, is the recognition that accent, dialect and particular languages spoken, potentially interact with a variety of other linguistic features in producing evaluative consequences, concludes Bradac (1990p.391).

Language attitudes in employment

Hypotheses to develop from language attitude research of the 1970's, in relation to employment are that non - standard dialect/accents and lexical diversity or verbal redundancy/ vocabulary richness, can affect how a speaker is perceived and what kind of employment the speaker is likely to receive. Bradac (1990p.397), explains that people are judged on high/low job status suitability and positions requiring friendliness and good humour as opposed to technical expertise, Giles et al. (1981), on this basis.

Bernstein's (1979), cited in Bradac (1990p.396), hypothesis of elaborated and restricted codes indicate that speakers from a low socio-economic group will have low lexical diversity and upper socio-economic groups have higher lexical diversity, therefore are perceived to be well suited for a high status job or position requiring technical expertise rather than friendliness and good humour.

Examples are, firstly, De La Zerda and Hopper (1979), cited in Bradac (1990p.392), who found that potential employers were more likely to assign speakers with a Mexican - American accent to a low status position rather than a high one, while the reverse was true for speakers with a standard American accent.

Secondly, in Australia, Gallois et al. (1984p.40), comment that Seggi, Fulmizi and Stewart (1982), found that White Australians rate a speaker of 'cultivated' Australian English more favourably in the context of a job interview than they rate a 'broad' Australian or Italian - accented speaker.

Bradac and Wisegarver (1984), cited in Bradac (1990p.392), also showed that speakers with Mexican - American accents were perceived highly suitable for low status jobs. Additionally, they compared the effects of standard American versus Mexican American accents when these were encoded in high or low diversity languages. Results indicated that for perceived intellectual competence and perceived control of communication behaviour, high diversity/ standard American was rated most positive. The high diversity/ Mexican - American was rated next positive, while the low diversity/ Mexican American and the low diversity/ standard American were rated least positive, Bradac (1990p.392). However, as Bradac (1990p.392), points out, the Mexican - American accent DID produce the highest ratings for traits of solidarity.

Similarly, Giles and Sassoon (1983), studied the combined effects of accents and lexical diversity, comparing RP English and Cockney guises in England, explains Bradac (1990p.392). Results showed that RP speakers were rated especially high when they exhibited high lexical diversity and were rated especially negative when diversity was low, says Bradac (1990p.392). Cockney speaker's ratings were between these extremes for both high and low diversity messages, Bradac (1990p.392).

In relation to RP and Cockney accents and employment, Honey (1989p.61), comments:

"What is also common is that when listeners are asked to assign occupations to tape - recorded voices, professional jobs, (such as lawyer or bank manager), are only assigned to RP voices, while Liverpool and Cockney voices are matched with jobs like greengrocer and chimney - sweep...."

Kalin (1982), cited in Bradac (1990p.393), believes that these outcomes fit a 'matching' hypothesis where speakers are 'matched' to positions representing their status level based on the basis of status - related speech and language cues. Additionally, according to Honey (1989p.152):

"It's still common in Britain for job advertisements to specify 'well - spokenness', which implies clarity of articulation and a restricted range of accents which certainly excludes any broad regional or social accents, e.g. a restaurant manager is sought who 'should be well - spoken of smart appearance and highly efficient' (The Times, 1984). A sales executive (with good sales experience) is wanted 'well dressed, well - spoken and with an easy manner', (Daily Telegraph, 1985)..."

In relation to unemployment, Honey (1989p.152), explains that an article in The Times, 1985, on the 'inarticular voice of youth', proposed:

"Unattractive accents were partly responsible for the high totals of unemployment among young people. A correspondent wrote I suggesting that mass unemployment had killed off the ambition which in the past had motivated the young to adapt to more acceptable accents...."

Honey (1989p.108), believes that such views are the result of a taboo against the discussion of accents and their relative intelligibility. For example, Honey (1989p.108), states:

"If a speaker of heavily accented Indian English were refused employment as a guard because of the likelihood of his having to make public announcements, whose intelligibility would be of vital significance, there would be an immediate accusation of racism...."

Trudgill (1973), cited in Honey (1989p.111), also feels that any kind of claim of accent unintelligibility in relation to employment, is often only a cover for mere accent prejudice, because today 'it is no longer acceptable to criticise somebody because of their accent'. However, despite the fact that it is no longer acceptable to criticise accents, non - standard dialects/accents still affect how a speaker is perceived. Honey (1989p.61), comments on this by saying:

"researchers suggest that a standard accent can enhance the credibility of a defendant or witness in a court case, and may not only be crucial to the outcome of a job interview - which will surprise no one, - but even influence the kind of diagnosis a patient will receive from his doctor...."

Bradac (1990p.393), also remarks on this, explaining that Fielding and Evered (1980), provide some evidence that accent can affect a physician" diagnosis. A speaker with an RP accent is likely to be diagnosed as having a psychosomatic problem, while a speaker with a rural regional accent is more likely to be seen as having a physical problem, Bradac (1990p.393).

Language attitudes in education

Bradac (1990p.394), explains that attitude studies examining teacher's judgements of student's abilities and performance can be affected by accent and dialect. Williams et al. (1976), cited in Bradac (1990p.394), say that these studies show that a non-standard form of speech can bias a teacher's judgement in a negative way. Consequences of this are particularly important in the education setting, says Edwards (1982p.27). Schools represent the most important point of contact between speakers of different language varieties, as well as encouraging and reflecting standard English practises and ways it deals with those whose dialect is non - standard, explains Edwards (1982p.27). However, teachers are people foremost and no one should be surprised they have the sorts of attitudes expressed above, Edwards (1982p.28). As Gumperz and Hernandez - Chavez (1972), cited in Edwards (1982p.28), comment:

"Regardless of overtly expressed attitudes.... Teachers are quite likely to be influenced by what they perceive as deviant speech...thus potentially inhibiting the student's desire to learn...."

Trudgill (1975), cited in Edwards (1982p.28), believes that Berstein's (1971), conception of 'elaborated' and 'restricted' codes has been especially harmful in this regard. Berstein's codes have commonly been interpreted as referring to standard and non - standard speech varieties respectively, with further implications that the latter are essentially 'inferior' variants, explains Edwards (1982p.28). Although Labov (1973), and others have done much to demonstrate that non -standard forms are NOT inferior, the formal impact of Bernstein's work remains, Edwards (1982p.28). Not only have teachers in Britain and America been affected by his work, but also Germany, Schafer and Schafer (1975), and Australia, Thompson (1977), Edwards (1982p.28).

According to Edwards (1982p.28), teachers are prone to make and hold generalised expectations and have, in the past, quite openly verbalised their opinions, labelling children's speech as 'wrong', 'bad', 'careless' and 'gibberish, Trudgill (1975). The controversial work of Rosenthal and Jacobson (1968), claimed to show that teacher's expectations could be easily manipulated by providing them with false information about student's capabilities, says Edwards (1982p.28).

Some other examples of studies done in this area are, firstly, Seligman, Tucker and Lambert (1972). Their work involved giving student - teacher - judges voice samples, but also photos, drawings and written compositions by 8 individual students, Edwards (1982p.28). Results illustrated that all types of given information, not only the voice samples, influenced ratings given to these hypothetical children, says Edwards. However, when considering the INTERACTION among types of information, authors noted that speech style was an important cue to the teachers in their evaluations of students, Edwards (1982p.28). When combined with other cues, the effect of speech style did not diminish and boys having 'better voices', who were seen to 'look' intelligent and produced 'good work', were judged as more intelligent, better students, Edwards (1982p.28).

Choy and Dodd (1976), provide more evidence that teachers assessments of pupils may be related to their speech style. According to Edwards (1982p.28), their results showed that in evaluations of Standard English with Hawaiian English, speakers consistently favoured the former. The former were seen as more confident, better in school, less disruptive in class and likely to achieve greater academic and social success, Edwards (1982p.28). In fact, says Edwards (1982p.28), teachers were willing to make quite far - reaching judgements of pupils, for example, how 'happy' their marriages would be.

Another study, with similar results was done by Granger, Matthews, Quay and Verner (1977), on reactions to Black student's speech in the U.S, Edwards (1982p.29). Speech samples were obtained by children describing a picture, in order to allow the children some spontaneity, Edwards (1982p.29). Teacher's ratings displayed a social class and racial bias, explains Edwards (1982p.29). Granger et al. (1977), cited in Edwards (1982p.29), suggest that teachers were attending less to WHAT the children said, as to HOW they said things. This is exactly the danger to which stereotypical perceptions lead, asserts Edwards (1982p.29).

Studies in Dublin have also showed that teacher's judgements may be affected by speech cues. Edward's (1977), study, cited in Edwards (1982p.29), asked 5 middle - class judges to evaluate 20 working - class and 20 middle - class primary school boys on the basis of speech samples. All boys were according to their teachers 'average' students, Edwards (1982p.29). On all dimensions evaluated, the working - class students were seen as more negative than the middle - class boys, says Edwards (1982p.29). In a follow up study, both boy's and girl's speech was evaluated by student - teachers, and all working - class children were again rated more negatively, regardless of sex, Edwards (1982p.29).

In conclusion, Edwards (1982p.30), explains that teacher perceptions are special in that they, more than any other individuals are in a position to directly hinder a child's early success if they hold and act upon overly generalised views.

Williams (1976), cited in Edwards (1982p.29), summarised the results of research projects, dealing with education in America, that began in the 1960's. This included studies of White, Black and Mexican - American students and teacher reactions to these pupils, Edwards (1982p.29). Factor analyses of results showed two consistent factors:

a) Standardness/ non -standardness, related to judgements about social status and ethnicity;

b) Confidence/ eagerness reflected perceived confidence and social status.

This two - factor structure of attitudes, explains Edwards (1982p.29) suggests a strong stereotypical process, probably not only typical to America. However, as Edwards (1982p.29), remarks, not every study has shown that teachers uniformly downgrade non -standard speakers on every dimension. For example, at least one study, done by Crowll and Nurss (1976), found that among Black and White teachers in the southern U.S, speech samples of Black, male pupils, were rated higher than White, male pupils, explains Edwards (1982p.29).

In summary to this review on language attitudes research, Edwards (1982p.26), reiterates the importance of remembering that in such studies, the social context in which speaker's evaluations occur, is not in itself a static entity. As the social context changes, one expects to see changes in evaluation patterns also, says Edwards (1982p.26). Additionally, these changes may be useful indicators of larger adjustments in social perceptions, Edwards (1982p.26).

For example, Edwards (1982p.26), asserts the resurgence of interest in ethnicity and roots in the U.S, based on the new - found political 'clout' of nationalistic French Canadians in Quebec, and an increase in group pride and militancy of African and Spanish Americans. These events cause changes in patterns of reaction to language varieties, Edwards (1982p.26).

Examples are, firstly, Lambert, Giles and Picard (1975), who reported less downgrading of local speech patterns among French speakers in Maine, U.S.A, Edwards (1982p.26). Secondly, Bourhis, Giles and Tajfel (1973), cited in Edwards (1982p.26), provide some evidence that bilingual speakers in Wales may be seen more positively than RP accented speakers. Despite these two studies, the process by which speakers of non-standard varieties adopt stereotypical views of the majority still continue, says Edwards (1982p.26).

Methodology

Since 1960, research on language attitudes has made use of three main investigative techniques, explain Cargile et al. (1994p.212). These techniques are, according to Cargile et al. (1994p.212):

a) Content analyses conducted on the public and their treatment of language varieties to find out the relative status and worth given to them. Techniques include observational, participant - observation and ethnographic studies, Stevens (1983); analyses of government and education policies, Bourhis (1982); as well as literature, government and business documents, newspapers and broadcasting media, Kramarae (1982); Rickford and Traugott (1985);

b) The direct questioning method, openly asking people about their attitudes towards language behaviours. Language attitudes are measured directly by interviews or questionnaires. (Naturally, this method is not suitable for Indigenous cultures like those in Australia, where direct questioning is offensive, (cf. Eades, 1982p.13)).

c) The indirect method, referred to as the 'speaker evaluation paradigm', Ryan et al. (1988). This requires participants to evaluate audiotaped speakers without any social group labels attached. Bradac (1990p.403), elaborates on this method which he says uses items representing empirically - derived or theoretically motivated factors. This 'factor analytic' strategy is now widely used in language - attitudes literature, says Bradac (1990p.403).

Mulac (1975-6), devised the Speech Dialect Attitudinal Scale (SDAS), as a general instrument for measuring reactions to speech and language variations, Bradac (1990p.403). Three primary dimensions or factors have emerged repeatedly in studies using the SDAS, explains Bradac (1990p.403). They are, socio - intellectual status, aesthetic quality and dynamism, (Mulac et al., 1985-6), cited in Bradac (1990p.403). Similarly Zahn and Hopper (1985), have proposed a variant of the SDAS, called the Speech Evaluation Instrument (SEI), and comprising of three factors also, superiority, attractiveness and dynamism, Bradac (1990p.403).

Summary

Cargile et al. (1984p.228), make the following generalisations about social process and language attitudes:

a) Speaker's speech styles alone, or in combination with other language and extralinguistic features can be socially diagnostic of speaker's attributes to hearers and to observers of speaker - hearer exchanges;

b) The evocation of language attitudes in hearers can influence their affective states and social identities. Reciprocally, hearer's affective states and social identities can affect the salience and consequences of language attitudes;

c) The nature of information provided by language attitudes is determined by relevant perceived cultural factors such as historical relations between groups, their relative socio - structural strengths;

d) Salience of particular language attitudes is determined by subjective dimensions of the immediate situation, speaker behaviour and social characteristics and hearer characteristics such as motivational elements and emotional state;

e) Dimensions of the perceived interpersonal history between interlocutors mediate (through uncertainty reduction processes), language variation in social interaction and the consequent outcomes of this variation, (e.g. speaker's evaluations; hearer's behaviours and strategies);

f) Language attitudes can shape behavioural outcomes, (e.g. co-operation, accommodations), decision making in many important contexts, including educational, legal, medical and language public policies.

Bradac (1990p.406), concludes that there is no level of language which does not carry social psychological information, at least potentially. Bradac (1990p.406), makes the following points:

a) All of the levels of language, e.g. phonological, syntax, semantics and pragmatics, affect message recipient's beliefs about and evaluations of message sources;

b) Message recipients distinguish between valued and non - valued (or even counter - valued), linguistic forms;

c) Valued linguistic forms are positively associated with message recipient's judgements of a message sender's status of competence;

d) Message recipients distinguish between convergent and divergent linguistic acts;

e) A message sender's convergence to message recipient's language is positively associated with message recipient's judgements of the message sender's sociability or solidarity, (assuming perceptions of non - malevolent sender intent);

f) Perceptions of communication context affect reactions to valued/ non-valued and convergent/ divergent language performance. Thus in particular contexts the use of valued language may reduce status judgements.

Conclusion

Most importantly, it must be pointed out that all of the language attitude studies dealt with in this chapter, deal with Indo - European languages and attitudes and we cannot assume that such results are universal until we examine further chapters.

Overall, Edwards (1982p.30), makes the following conclusions about language - attitude investigations:

a) Language varieties, which diverge from Standard English, are likely to be viewed even by speakers of those varieties themselves, less positively than standard speech, especially when evaluations are being made of traits relating to a speaker's competence. Regional and class varieties may be seen to reflect more friendliness and warmth and serve solidarity or a bonding function;

b) Unfavourable linguistic attitudes cannot reasonably be said to reflect any inherent linguistic or aesthetic inferiorities in the varieties themselves, Rather, they represent social judgements about the varieties, ones of taste, preference and convention. BUT social judgements are not only endemic and powerful; they are also by nature, singularly resistant to change. This can be dangerous in settings where evaluations have some direct power over those judged, for example schools.

CHAPTER 4: NON -STANDARD VARIETIES OF ENGLISH

In the previous chapter, which reviewed research done on language attitude, it was clear that little attitude research has been done on certain non-standard varieties of English and non-Indo-European languages. In fact many varieties of English have suffered prejudice and neglect from Western observers and, in some cases, still do today. As Mühlhäusler (1979p.42), comments, contempt for non-standard, non-Indo-European languages like Pidgins and Creoles has led to a long tradition of misunderstanding and prejudice as well as a deplorable lack of large-scale studies. This chapter aims to discuss some of the attitudes towards such languages.

Origins of attitudes towards non-standard, non-Indo-European varieties of English

Non-standard varieties of English such as Pidgins and Creoles have long been 'invisible languages', often thought to be inferior and unworthy of study. Grammarians of earlier centuries regarded the classical languages Hebrew and Latin and Greek as the only languages worthy of grammatical study and it was commonly accepted that all other languages fell short of this ideal, explains Mühlhäusler (1979p.41).

With the rise of European nationalism some languages such as German and English began to be regarded on par with classical languages, Mühlhäusler (1979p.41). It was also at this time, that the belief that 'primitive' peoples from other parts of the world communicated by means of 'barbarous' languages was firmly established, Mühlhäusler (1979p.41).

When observers studied these 'primitive' languages, they often found intricacies of grammar not found in languages familiar to them, explains Mühlhäusler (1979p.41). Thus the notion that there were developed and underdeveloped languages made way to a more egalitarian view in the late 19th century. However, according to Mühlhäusler (1979p.41), the view that developmental systems such as Pidgins and child language were deviant, remained dominant prior to 1970. For example, Sayer (1944p.1-2), makes some typical comments about Pidgin English and its speakers:

"The mongrel lingo commenced its bastard career when the trade with China first began to be of importance to the Western world..."

"Considering Pidgin English has been in use and proved its worth for centuries, it's rather too late to try and suppress this quaint and macronic jargon...."

"Pidgin English has many shades of differences and variations of expression, creating philological interest as well as providing a splendid opportunity for natives to murder proper English - a native can make a horrible mess even of Pidgin English...."

Australia

The documentation of the history of Pidgin and Creole study in Australia is poor. It is only in recent years that they have received attention, but even then, papers have been few and far between, (cf. Appendix 4.1 p.213). As Crowley and Rigsby (1979), cited in Mühlhäusler (1991p.159-160), explain:

"When most Australians speak of 'Pidgin English' they generally think of something they also call 'broken English', which is the language variety that no one takes seriously. Pidgin is a sort of simplified English and its darker skinned speakers. Such misconceptions are dangerous because they serve to nationalise European ethnocentrism and they perpetuate racist stereotypes...."

A number of Australian researchers in the 1960's, cited in Kale (1990p.110), evaluated Australian Pidgins and Creoles, thus:

"A collection of disjointed elements of corrupt English and native words...." (Turner, 1966)

"Lingual bastardisation...." (Baker, 1966)

"English perverted and mangled...ridiculous gibberish. childish babbling...." (Strehlow, 1966)

Mühlhäusler (1979p.46), commented that in 1979, no survey of Pidgins and Creoles in Australia had been carried out and that linguists, educators and administrators in Australia had largely ignored their existence.

Before dispelling some of the myths associated with non-standard varieties like Pidgins and Creoles, a definition of these languages is important to cite.

The terms Pidgin and Creole are technical terms used to refer to structurally and contextually definable linguistic systems, Mühlhäusler (1991p.160).

Pidgin: according to Mühlhäusler (1979p.43), this is a contact language used among people who have no other language in common. It is a second language for those who use it and its use is restricted to a limited number of situational contexts, such as trading, (eg. Chinese Pidgin English), plantation life, (Queensland Kanaka English) or military operations, (Korean Bamboo Pidgin) Mühlhäusler (1991p.160).

Since a Pidgin is used in a small number of contexts, it has a smaller lexicon and a less complex grammar than languages of native speakers, Mühlhäusler (1979p.43). Additionally, grammar and lexicon is derived from many sources, including the superimposed European language, local languages and universal grammar, Mühlhäusler (1979p.43).

Creole: a creolised Pidgin or Creole is structurally more complex than a second language Pidgin, explains Mühlhäusler (1979p.43). If parents of different linguistic backgrounds use a Pidgin to communicate at home their children will grow up speaking this Pidgin as their first language, Mühlhäusler (1991p.160). If this happens the Pidgin can become the language of a new speech community, Mühlhäusler (1979p.43). This process is called Creolisation and the structural complexity of the Creole is comparable to that of any other natural language as it has to meet all the communication needs of the native speakers, Mühlhäusler (1979p.43).

Deficient?

Leopold de Saussure (1899), brother of Ferdinand and who influenced him significantly, cited in Joseph (1996p.1), comments:

"La langue d'une nation civilisée implantée chez les indigènes des colonies devient bientôt méconnaissable. Elle peut, sans doute, être parlée correctement par un certain nombre d'individus instruits, mais c'est là un fait dont on aurait tort de tirer une conclusion générale..[..l'..] indigène qui parle une langue européenne ne reflète pas la mentalité de sa race, mais bien celle du milieu civilisé auquel il est obligé de se conformer par un effort d'attention et de mémoire. C'est là un phénomène d'imitation forcément très limité...[...]..."

This quote typically illustrates the attitude that Pidgins and Creoles are deficient when compared with languages such as English. It is believed that one cannot talk about certain aspects of the world in these languages, or that speaking such languages promotes muddled thinking, Mühlhäusler (1991p.162). This attitude ignores important linguistic and socio - linguistic findings such as the following cited in Mühlhäusler (1979p.45):

a) A language is SIMPLER than another language if it is more regular, without any loss in communicative potential, or referential adequacy, Mühlhäusler (1979p.44). In these examples, Pidgin English conveys the same amount of information with fewer grammatical exceptions :

Pidgin English		English	
noun	**adjective**	**noun**	**adjective**
PLACE	BELONG PLACE	PLACE	LOCAL
PARENTS	BELONG PARENTS	PARENTS	PARENTAL

b) A language is called IMPOVERISHED if it is unable to express what is relevant to its speakers needs, explains Mühlhäusler (1979p.45). Since Pidgin is not a first language, speakers tend to express their needs in their first language, thus this does not reflect any inferiority on the Pidgin user's part, Mühlhäusler (1979p.45). As Mühlhäusler (1979p.45), comments, someone who uses a Pidgin for trade purposes only, is like a scientist who knows enough of a foreign language to communicate in their narrow field of specialisation.

c) No language has a word for everything, says Mühlhäusler (1979p.45). For example, English has a word for an 'undesirable, middle - aged, unmarried woman' eg. SPINSTER, but no equivalent for the male counterpart, Mühlhäusler (1979p.45). However, many Papua New Guinean languages DO have a word for this concept, Mühlhäusler (1979p.45). Different cultures emphasise different aspects of the real world concludes Mühlhäusler (1979p.45). Other examples can be found Sandefur and Sandefur's (1979), Kriol dictionary, cited in Mühlhäusler (1991p.163), where Indigenous Australian terms can only be translated by long paraphrases in English, like :

Soptri - a kind of wattle tree used for fish poison and medicine;

Bundin - a water lily seed at a certain stage of development, when it is brown.

d) The fact that the lexicon of a language contains a large number of entities does not mean that all members of the language community can actually use them, explains Mühlhäusler (1979p.45). For example, there are hundreds of terms for parts of the body, listed in the OED, which are known to medical experts only, Mühlhäusler (1979p.45). The average speaker of English can handle about 70 terms, as many as the speaker of a Creole derived from English, concludes Mühlhäusler (1991p.163).

Most of the better - known Pidgins and Creoles are a result of European colonial expansion. The major English - derived Pidgins are those of West Africa, North America, the China coast, the Pacific and Australia, explains Mühlhäusler (1979p.45).

English - derived Creoles are found in Sierra Leone (Kriol), many islands of the former West Indies, (Jamaica, Bahamas), in Surinam, (Sranan, Saramaccan), Belize and Guayana. African American English can be traced back to a Creole and its most conservative form, Gullah spoken on the Sea islands off North Florida and South Carolina still exhibits many lexical and syntactical features in common with English - derived Creoles in the Carribean, explains Mühlhäusler (1979p.46).

In Australia, according to Mühlhäusler (1979p.46), the following Pidgins existed, firstly Aboriginal Pidgin English, which stemmed from colonial days and initial European contact. Secondly, Chinese Pidgin English, brought by Chinese migrants in the late 19th century, Mühlhäusler (1979p.46). Thirdly, Melanesian Pidgin English or Kanaka English spoken by Black workers in the Queensland sugar cane industry, Mühlhäusler (1979p.46).

Present day Australia has two Creoles still spoken, Torres Strait Broken and Kriol.

Thus as Mühlhäusler (1979p.46), points out, Australia has a wealth of information for the Creolist or Pidginist, worthy of study, cf. Mühlhäusler (1991p.164). Unfortunately, it has only been in recent years that any interest has been taken in these languages.

It appears that the lack of study of these languages, in the past, has resulted from two things. On the one hand, standard speakers of English believe that Pidgins and Creoles are worthless languages because their speakers cannot speak 'proper' English. On the other hand, speakers of Pidgins and Creoles, aware of the negative attitudes towards them, have felt embarrassed or defensive about sharing their languages with outsiders.

In recent years, however, there has developed a world wide interest in non - standard varieties of English as evidenced by Pidgin courses being offered, various books and articles written about them and entire web sites such as that of 'Ebonics', being devoted to them on the Internet (cf. Appendix 4.2,4.3 p 215-219).

There is now more linguistic interest in non-standard varieties of English due to such things as:

a) The idea that all languages are equal, there is no language inherently better or worse than another;

b) Interest in linguistic variation. Linguists like Labov and Bailey have noted that non - standard varieties provide a good grounds for testing variation;

General principles of language development can be observed better with non - standard varieties as they develop so quickly;

For those who developed integrational linguistics, non-standard varieties of language are good examples of the fact that there cannot be separation between language and non-language. Non-standard language is always contextualised and integrated with other cultural factors like religion, school, prison etc...

Origins of non - standard varieties of English

According to Mühlhäusler (1989p.1), a disruption of traditional language ecology is commonly associated with the origin of all non-standard varieties of English. For example, although stereotypes of happy natives living a life of ease in bamboo huts still exist, the Austro-Pacific region has undergone major changes in the last 200 years, Mühlhäusler (1989p.1). Some of these major changes are the following, cited in Mühlhäusler (1989p.1):

a) White settler's colonies (Neo-Europes), have developed where Indigenous populations have been marginalised, decimated or assimilated;

b) Many of the former natural resources of the area have disappeared, such as Sandalwood, whales and Bêche-de-Mer, two thirds of the Australian forests and more recently, tuna, tropical rain forests and phosphates. The anticipated rise of the sea level, might even lead to the disappearance of entire island nations like Tuvalu;

c) The Indigenous flora and fauna has been replaced by introduced species. Millions of wild rabbits, donkeys, horses buffalos and feral pigs have changed the ecology of Australia almost totally. Introduced cattle changed New Caledonia irreversibly in 20 years. Traditional Indigenous food plants are now replaced by introduced ones, such as the sugar and pineapple plantations of Hawaii, the copra and the coffee plantations of Samoa and the pine forests of New Zealand.

d) Original methods of inter-communication such as drum and sign languages have been replaced by short wave radio and satellite telephones, canoes have been replaced by aeroplanes and artificial political boundaries have cut off previous communication lines. For example, those between Tonga and Fiji or between Papua and the Cape York.

Killer English

According to Cheshire (1991p.1):

"Only a few centuries ago, the English language consisted of a collection of dialects spoken mainly by monolinguals and only within the shores os a small island. Now it includes such typologically distinct varieties as Pidgins and Creoles, 'new' Englishes and a range of differing standard and non - standard varieties that are spoken on a regular basis in more than 60 different countries around the world, Crystal (1985). English is also of course, the main language used for communication at an international level...."

With regards to how many people speak English today, Pennycook (1984p.7), remarks:

"Otto Jespersen (1938/68), estimated speakers of English to have numbered four million in 1500, 6 million in 1600, 8 and a half million in 1700, between 20-40 million in 1800, and between 116-123 million in 1900. As we approach the end of the 20th century, the number of speakers of English appears to have increased almost ten - fold since 1900. Today, rough agreement can be found on figures that put the total number of speakers of English at between 700 million and 1 billion. This figure can be divided into three roughly equal groups, native speakers of English, speakers of English as a second language, (or intranational) language, and speakers of English as a foreign (or international) language...."

Crystal (1987p.358), cited in Pennycook (1984p.8), comments on usage of English around the world:

"English is used as an official language or semi-official language in over 60 countries and has a prominent place in a further 20. It is either dominant or well established in all 6 continents. It is the main language of books, newspapers, airports and air-traffic control, international business and academic conferences, science, technology, medicine, diplomacy, sports, international competitions, pop music and advertising. Over two-thirds of the world's mail is written in English. Of all the information in the world's electronic retrieval systems, 80% is stored in English. English radio programmes are received by over 150 million in 120 countries. Over 50 million children study English as an additional language at primary level; over 80million study it at secondary level, (these figures exclude China). In any one year, the British council helps a quarter of a million foreign students to learn English in various parts of the world. In the U.S.A alone, 337,000 foreign students were registered in 1983...."

Cooke (1988), cited in Pennycook (1984p.83), describes English as a 'Trojan horse', arguing that it is a language of imperialism and of particular class interests. Cooke and Judd (1983), cited in Pennycook (1984p.13), draw attention to the moral and political implications of teaching English around the world, in terms of the threat it poses to Indigenous languages.

Day (1980; 1985), cited in Pennycook (1984p.13), calls this process 'linguistic genocide'. In his study of Chamorro in Guam and North Marianas, Day (1985), cited in Pennycook (1984p.13), concludes:

"As long as the Marianas remain under the control of the U.S, the English language will continue to replace Chamorro until there are no native speakers left. This has been the practise elsewhere and there is no reason to believe that Guam and the North Marianas will be an exception...."

Similarly, Pennycook (1984p.14), comments:

"With English taking up such an important position in many educational systems around the world, it has become one of the most powerful means of inclusion into or exclusion from further education, employment or social positions. In many countries, particularly former colonies of Britain, small English - speaking elites have continued the same policies of the former colonizers, using access to English language education as a crucial distributor of social prestige and wealth...."

For example, Ngũgĩ (1985), cited in Pennycook (1984p.14), describes that in Kenya, his language was proscribed with humiliating punishments and English became the main determinant of a child's progress up the ladder of formal education. Ngũgĩ (1985), cited in Pennycook (1984p.14), explains:

"Nobody could go on to wear the undergraduate gown, no matter how brilliantly they had performed in all other subjects, unless they had a credit (not even a simple pass!), in English. Thus the most coveted place in the pyramid and in the system was only available to holders of English - language credit card. English was the official vehicle and the magic formula to colonial elitedom...."

Mühlhäusler (1989p.1), explains that generally it can be argued that languages developed out of environmental conditions. However, the expansion of English and the development of new varieties of English, have nothing to do with its structural or lexical properties, but rather with power politics, migrations, the dying out of populations and many other factors, Mühlhäusler (1989p.1).

Consequences of this are that there are only very limited chances for the survival of Indigenous languages (Mühlhäusler, 1989p.1). Examples of this are cited in Mühlhäusler (1989p.1):

a) Of the 250 Australian Aboriginal languages spoken when Captain Cook first arrived in Australia, 200 years ago, only 50 remain today. Additionally, there are very few Indigenous Australians who cannot use English or a variety of English as their second language, and the majority of them speak English as their first and often only language;

b) More than 90% of Hawaiians and Maoris speak English as their first language;

c) With the exception of Japan, there is no Pacific island nation where an Indigenous language is the only national or educational language. This is even true for formerly homogenous and monolingual areas such as Samoa, the Marianas and Naru;

d) In most countries of the are English or a Pidgin or Creole - derived form of English is the official language;

In conclusion, Mühlhäusler (1989p.7), explains the seeming unstoppable expansion of English cannot be explained by appealing to structural considerations. Rather as Mühlhäusler (1989p.7), explains, English has become, through a number of historical processes:

a) The language of traffic, commerce and tourism;

b) English has become associated with political freedom and modernisation and;

c) The rise of English has been given a boost by the appearance of news media.

In brief, the political and technological changes illustrated over the last years are indicative of a further acceleration in the spread of English in the Pacific and elsewhere, summarises Mühlhäusler (1989p.7).

I would now like to cite some examples of attitudes towards non -standard varieties of English, firstly beginning with a more in depth discussion of such languages in Australia.

'Aboriginal' English

Malcolm (1995p.19), defines 'Aboriginal' English as:

"A range of varieties of English spoken by many Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people and some others in close contact with them, which differ in systematic ways from standard Australian English at ALL levels of linguistic structure and which are used for distinctive speech acts, events and genres...."

Malcolm (1995p.19), adds that 'Aboriginal' English is systematically governed by its own rules and that considerable variation may exist from place to place, person to person or within the speech of an individual. In this way, 'Aboriginal' English is not just a collection of alternative forms for saying the same thing in standard English, but a marker of Indigenous identity, Malcolm (1995p.19). It continues to exist and remain distinctive because it is suited to express what Indigenous people want to say to each other in an Indigenous context, adapting and using the English to express an Indigenous world view, Malcolm (1995p.19).

Historical Origins

According to Malcolm (1995p.20), there are diverse processes working independently or with each other which formed 'Aboriginal' English, such as:

a) Processes of Pidginisation/ Creolisation/ Decreolisation following language - contact in particular the Northern communities, Kaldor and Malcolm (1991); Sharpe (1975);

b) Processes of Pidginisation/ Depidginisation in communities where Creole is not developed;

c) Residual effects of language shift in communities where Indigenous languages are no longer spoken;

d) Interlanguage construction by individuals learning English as a second language in contexts where the Indigenous languages are still spoken.

Importantly, as Malcolm (1995p.22), explains, contemporary varieties of 'Aboriginal' English are often viewed as a continuum from Creoles at one end, to standard 'Aboriginal' English at the other. Kaldor and Malcolm (1991p.22), remark however, many varieties do NOT fit easily on this continuum, rather a number of continua such as geography, town, camp differences, sociolectal considerations, second language interlanguage; developmental/ acquisitional continua, stylistic continua can account for different varieties of 'Aboriginal' English.

Linguistic features

Phonology

Australian 'Aboriginal' English makes use of a different phonemic system and does not put phonemic boundaries in the same sounds which are distinct in standard 'Aboriginal' English, Malcolm (1995p.22). For example, the interchangeability of certain fricatives, affricates and stops, grouping of voiced and unvoiced equivalents like in PINISH 'finish', SHASE 'chase' DAT' that and DOCK 'dog', Malcolm (1995p.24).

Grammar

There are distinctive markers of plurality in the use of such expressions as LOTS, BIG, MOB, ALL, instead of the Standard English plural marker -S, Malcolm (1995p.24). There is omission of the copula in various forms like 'What your name?' or 'That not a cow', Malcolm (1995p.24).

Vocabulary/ Semantics

There are differences evident in individual 'Aboriginal' English words which appear the same in standard Australian English explains Malcolm (1995p.25), such as:

Word form	SAE Translation	AE Translation
DUST	'REMOVE DUST'	'OVERTAKE'
HALF	'HALF'	'A PIECE/ BIT'
LAW	'UNSPECIFIED LAW'	'INDIGENOUS LAW'
SOLID	'HEAVY'	'HIGHLY ACCEPTABLE'
LANGUAGE	'UNSPECIFIED LANGUAGE'	'INDIGENOUS LANGUAGE'

Discourse

There are a wide range of forms reflecting both heritage of traditional oral genres and innovations of contemporary 'Aboriginal' English speakers as they adapt to new situations (Malcolm, 1995p.26). For example, oral narrative is one of the most important forms of discourse, as Muecke (1981), cited in Malcolm (1995p.26), illustrated in his study of men in the Kimberley region of Western Australia, who used 6 kinds of story sequences regularly: law, payback, hunting, Bugaregara (Dreaming story), travel and the devil story. (cf. Malcolm, 1995p.27).

Function

According to Malcolm (1995p.29), 'Aboriginal' English is a marker of Indigenous identity, serving to differ its speakers from others and providing an expression of solidarity between Indigenous peoples, Hampton (1990). Australian Indigenous peoples describe 'Aboriginal' English as 'easy', 'simple', 'slack', 'straight' English, 'Blackfella English' or 'Blackfella talk', Sandefur (1983); Malcolm (1992). As a result 'Aboriginal' English resists the pressures of identification and attempted 'correction'. On the other hand, standard Australian English is called 'flash' English, which 'breaks' solidarity, Eagleson (1982), cited in Malcolm (1995p.29).

'flash' English, which 'breaks' solidarity, Eagleson (1982), cited in Malcolm (1995p.29).

Attitude

As 'Aboriginal' English is a non -standard dialect belonging to an out-group in Australia, it is often stigmatised by standard English speakers, and sometimes even by the 'Aboriginal' English speakers themselves, as they have internalised some of the norms of the dominant culture, says Malcolm (1995p.19).

For example, firstly, in the past, some linguists and scholars have incorrectly called this language 'Pidgin English', without having had any direct contact with the speakers of these languages, let alone having observed the many speech styles used. For example, German linguist, Bauer (1975p.145), refers to 'Aboriginal' English as a 'problem' which will be resolved as Indigenous people become more 'absorbed' in the Australian school system and society in general:

"Dieses Problem wurde sich dadurch erübrigen, wenn Eingeborenen nach und nach mehr in die gesamtaustralische Gesellschaft und in das Schulsystem einzuschleusen...."

Attitudes of Indigenous people themselves are also important, because if the language comes to be seen by the younger generation as 'old fashioned' or only suitable for older people to speak, chances of that language being used and maintained are slim, says Amery (Undated p.108). For example, McConvell (1986), cited in Amery (Undated p.108), tells how, when he showed a video from Ernabella, to Kriol - speaking children at Turkey Creek in the Kimberlery, the children accepted the 'older' people speaking Pitjantjatjara, but when children appeared on the video speaking fluent Pitjantjatjara, the Turkey Creek children burst into laughter. It was contrary to their expectation that 'traditional' language was only for 'older' speakers, Amery (Undated p.108).

Attitudes of older people towards their languages are equally important, stresses Amery (Undated p.108). For example, Riddiford, cited in Amery (Undated p.108), explains that in West Queensland some 'older' people probably still know

a) They see no real reason for the young to know and understand the language;

b) They may not be in the right relationship to teach the younger person;

c) They think the young people have no respect for their ways, thus are reluctant to teach them language or tell them legends etc;

d) Through social disruption and dislocation, the link between language and territory has been broken. Many people are living away from their own country as a result;

e) Stereotypes about language have been internalised to such an extent that they are ashamed of their languages and have come to believe them to be inferior and substandard;

Education

Compulsory English education in many areas of the continent has been a powerful force in promoting English at the expense of Indigenous languages, and until recently, the Australian education system has generally failed to recognise let alone support Indigenous languages as worthwhile codes, Schmidt (1993p.17). Many Indigenous people relate experiences of punishment like caning and ridicule for speaking their native tongue, Schmidt (1993p.17).

However, many Indigenous people consider English education important so they are better prepared for employment and other practical concerns within their communities such as reducing their dependence on non - Indigenous peoples coming into their communities. Penny (1975), cited in Black (1990p.83-4), reports the following comments from Pitjantjatjara people in South Australia:

'I want school for children. Too many white fellers come little bit, don't stay. Too many white fellers here. When our children learn more, White people go...."

"Many people want our boys and girls learn teaching...we don't like interfering Whites. Some of the Whites we do like don't stay. Better our own people learn teaching...."

In the past, any mismatch that occurred between the language of education systems and the language of children from minority groups, the speech habits of children were attempted to be changed. Such attempts were carried out by 'eradication' procedures aimed at 'stamping out' the non-standard dialect, House of Representatives Standing Committee on ATSI Affairs (1992p.28).

Many teachers still fail to see 'Aboriginal' English as a different dialect of English, treating it as an uneducated, corrupted form of standard English, House of Representatives Standing Committee on ATSI Affairs (1992p.28). This has a damaging effect on the children as teacher's attitudes are perceived as devaluing them, their family and friends, House of Representatives Standing Committee on ATSI Affairs (1992p.28).

Although attitudes towards 'Aboriginal' English may be slowly changing, teacher training still does not prepare teachers for teaching such children and curriculum material to support teachers in the classroom teaching English as a second language, is still meagre, House of Representatives Standing Committee on ATSI Affairs (1992p.31).

English in the Torres Strait

According to Shnukal (1982), cited in Christie (1985p.29), Torres Strait 'Broken', is a language spoken widely in the islands of the Torres Strait as well as on the mainland of Australia. It is spoken as a first or second language mostly by Torres Strait Islanders, 5,000 of which still live in the Torres Strait and another 10,000 living on the mainland. On at least 11 of the 15 predominantly island communities, Torres Strait 'Broken' is the first language, 'mother tongue' or Creole of the two generations born since the end of world war two, Shnukal (1982), cited in Christie (1985p.30).

Historical Origin

Torres Strait 'Broken' developed from a Pidgin English spoken in the Pacific during the 19th century and Melanesian and Polynesian people from different Pacific islands working in the sugar plantations of Queensland further elaborated it and used it as a common language, Shnukal (1982), cited in Christie (1985p.30).

Linguistic Features

An important part of Torres Strait 'Broken' is gestural accompaniment and islanders learn to make appropriate hand and face movements while they are talking, explains Shnukal, cited in Christie (1985p.30). In the eastern islands this is called speaking GINARGINAR eg. suiting gestures to the story being told and not using the right gesture marks one immediately as a 'foreign' speaker of the language, Shnukal (1982), cited in Christie (1985p.31). Since hand movements are not important in English among some speakers of British and Australian English, it is even frowned on to make hand movements while talking, and English-speaking Europeans rarely learn them says Shnukal, cited in Christie (1985p.31).

When comparing lists of personal pronouns for Torres Strait Broken with Standard English, Torres Strait forms are much richer and more complex than English ones, says Shnukal (1982), cited in Christie (1985p.34). Speakers use different words for one (singular), two (dual), more than two (plural), and show whether they are including the listener in what they are saying or leaving the listener out, Shnukal (1982), cited in Christie (1985p.34). Additionally, they must also choose between DEMPLA and OL as subject personal pronouns and DEMPLA and EM as object personal pronouns, Shnukal (1982), cited in Christie (1985p.34).

Grammatically, Europeans who don't speak Torres Strait Broken claim it has no tenses, meaning that speakers of the language cannot indicate whether something happened before the time of talking about it e.g. the past, Shnukal (1982), cited in Christie (1985p.34). This is false, in that speakers of Torres Strait Broken DO make tense distinctions as in standard English, but do so in a different way, Shnukal (1982), cited in Christie (1985p.34). Examples, cited in Christie (1985p.35), are:

a) OL I SPAILE EM

'They insult him' (present tense);

b) OL I BIN SPAILE HIM

'They insulted him' (past tense);

c) OL I GO SPAILE HIM

'They will insult him' (future tense).

Additionally, location and direction is a very complicated part of Torres Strait grammar as speakers have a conscious or unconscious view of the world in which all things are seen as being either at rest or in motion, unmoving or moving, Shnukal (1982), cited in Christie (1985p.35). Torres Strait Broken demands that this kind of information is given by its speakers, whereas in standard English this is often left out, Shnukal (1982), cited in Christie (1985p.35).

Function

As Shnukal (1982), cited in Kale (1990p.110), comments:

"At a time when the Creole is decreolising ...[it] is being rediscovered as a marker of ethnicity and separateness from Europeans by islander children who are bilingual in Torres Strait Creole and English...."

Torres Strait Creole has gone from a non - prestigious language of relatively few 'marginal men' to that of a language of greater prestige - to a lingua franca and increasingly the language of islander identity, explains Kale (1990p.110). The language is receiving increasing pride as shown by influential islanders using it, adds Kale (1990p.11). Additionally, there is a strong feeling within communities that their identity is reflected in the variety of language they use and there is hostility towards standardising written Kriol towards creating a written form that is no one's dialect but that everyone could read, Rhydwen (1993p.162).

Attitude

There are substantial differences between the situation of Kriol speakers and that of speakers of other Indigenous languages. Kriol speakers never identify themselves as Kriol people, rather they refer to themselves by the name of their ancestral languages even if they do not speak them, Rhydwen (1993p.157).

Attitudes of Non -Indigenous peoples towards Kriol continue to be ignorant, it is called 'simple', 'broken' English, without any 'rules' or 'grammar', Shnukal (1982), cited in Christie (1985p.29).

Education

Throughout the era of colonial intervention in Straits affairs, English has been the official language of instruction in school, explains Kale (1990p.109). However, for many decades, the people of west Torres Strait have sought to valorise and protect their ancestral language and validate its role in their modernising society, Kale (1990p.110). According to Kale (1990p.110), there is no well - founded reason why a Pidgin or Creole could not be part of a school programme. However, Torres Strait Creole has shared with other Pidgins and Creoles, the disdain of the members of a dominant culture who speak another language. Among the pejorative epithets describing them are 'argot', 'primitive', 'bastard jargon', 'compromise', 'contact', 'makeshift' or 'hybrid' language, 'broken English', 'mongrel lingo', 'grammarless' and 'gibberish', Adler (1977), cited in Kale (1990p.110).

English is spoken mainly as a language of administration and is used as a medium of instruction in schools, says Kale (1990p.110). Thus as many Torres Strait Islander children encounter not only an alien language but also alien ways with language, Kale (1990p.110). A notion of just how problematic that language may be to the child is indicated in the following comment made by Giraure (1974), cited in Kale (1990p.110):

"Teachers made sure we followed this 'golden rule' by forever shouting at us 'Hey, you speak in English...'I remember being completely inhibited during my first years at school. I could no longer chat idly with my mates. I could no longer make fun through speech. My quick wit was no use to me. I was like a vegetable. I was controlled by the limits of my vocabulary. My days were spent listening with my teacher. Many questions I wanted to ask remained unasked because I did not have the ability to express them in English. Eventually, I found it much easier just to sit and listen rather than attempt to speak, so I sat and listened...."

Some island leaders are becoming dissatisfied with this situation [teaching in English], and are asking that the traditional languages of the area receive formal consideration in the education of islander children, Kale (1990p.106). There have been a number of moves in this direction, including increased linguistic research, more frequent and extensive community meetings concerning the role of that language in educating their children and the development of the expertise of native speakers through higher education, Kale (1990p.106).

To date the only information readily available of a language programme which incorporates a Creole as a medium of instruction is that of the Kriol language programme of the Northern Territory, Kale (1990p.110). Following government approval of bilingual education in that state, in 1977, the Bamyili education (now Barunga), community school established a programme for children whose primary language was Kriol, with positive results, Kale (1990p.112).

English in Papua New Guinea

Tok Pisin , the English based Creole spoken in Papua New Guinea has been described by Europeans, cited in Wurm and Mühlhäusler (1979p.250), as :

"About the most atrocious form of speech perhaps one could find in any corner of the globe..."

Rabaul Times, 16. 8.1925

Similarly, Rhys (1942), cited in Wurm and Mühlhäusler (1979p.250), dcscribes it as:

"Ugly and cumbersome...."

Despite these comments, Papua New Guineans have a strong emotional attachment to Tok Pisin, says Holzknecht (1985p.493). However, English has highest status in PNG because it is felt that is the only way to have status wealth and power, explain Piau and Holzknecht (1985p.489). Romaine (1989p.5-6), says that classroom posters in PNG advise speaking English is 'good', speaking Pidgin is 'bad' and to speak Tok Ples (one's Indigenous language), is worst.

English in the Solomon Islands

According to Watson - Gegeo (1987p.28), English has high prestige among Solomon Islanders. It is the official language of the islands and of the educated, Watson - Gegeo (1987p.28). English is believed to be the means to the wealth and power of Europeans, Watson-Gegeo (1987p.28). In comparison Pijin is accepted uncritically by islanders as a bastardised form of English, explains Keesing (1990p.162). As one district officer, cited in Keesing (1990p.162), comments:

"Pidgin English an excellent if revolting (to nice minds), basic English in which some of the more lurid and picturesque cuss-words used by our ancestors do honest duty in conveying precise enough thought, offers a convenient lingua franca...." MacQuarrie (1946)

English in Vanuatu

In Vanuatu English and French share official status, even though they are seen to be the languages of division by the people, says Crowley (1989p.37). However, the English based Pidgin Bislama has high status for the speakers who use it in many official contexts where English would normally be used, Crowley (1989p.44).

Unfortunately English - speakers in the past have regarded Bislama as 'garbled English ' and resorted to ad hoc simplification of their own language, says Thomas (1990p.239). The attitude of the French towards Bislama has been 'less censorious', says Thomas (1990p.239). However, the negative attitudes and inherited prejudices have proved huge obstacles in taking Bislama seriously in contexts such as language policy, Thomas (1990p.256).

English in Fiji

In the past Europeans have had very negative views towards Fijians using English, explains Siegel (1989p.50). Firstly, Melanesian Pidgin English was considered to be a 'bastardised' form of English and secondly it was believed 'Black' people were not fit to speak any kind of English, Siegel (1989p.50). For example, Reverend J.W Butcher, cited in Siegel (1989p.50), said:

"I cannot possibly bring myself to believe that much real intellectual benefit would accrue to the natives [from learning English], until the quality of the Fijian's brain has been altered...."

Fijian Legislative Council, 1910

Today, English is rapidly replacing vernacular bilingualism and the use of local contact languages, (Pidgin Fijian and Pidgin Hindustani), says Siegel (1989p.53-4). English has high status because of its promotion in education and practical benefits, especially in commercial activities, Siegel (1989p.53-4).

English on Norfolk Island

In the past, Norfolk was seen by Europeans as an improvised mixture of Tahitian and English, a haphazardly constructed medium, adopted for talk among people who were unable or too lazy to speak English properly, says Harrison (1985p.135). As one teacher, cited in Harrison (1985p.135), commented:

"I cannot understand why you children don't speak English instead of Norfolk because when you speak English you speak it so beautifully...."

While English has always been a high status language, Norfolk English once associated with elitism is more the 'norm' to speak today, Harrison (1985p.15). Feelings towards English are ambivalent, while islanders have always been proud of their ability to speak English, Norfolk still serves as a source of affection and camaraderie, says Harrison (1985p.140).

English in Indonesia

At the time of Indonesia's independence, English was adapted by Indonesian elites as their most favoured language and it became like Dutch, previously, 'the mark of the well-educated man', a symbol of the 'new elite', says Lowenberg (1991p.128). The high status was given to English because of its utility as a world language and also because of the prestige and power it represented being the dominant language of the U.S, which exerted great political and economic influence on Indonesia, from the time of independence, explains Lowenberg (1991p.128).

At present, however, while English remains the high prestige language of the educated and modern, Bahasa Indonesian appears to be as favoured as English in terms of solidarity, explains Lowenberg (1991p.129).

English in Vietnam

According to Denham (1992p.63), the spread of English in Vietnam has been largely unplanned and is the result of popular demand. Vietnamese see English as the key to which opens many doors, to research and development in all areas of scientific, technological and commercial endeavour as well as being the major international language, explains Denham (1992p.64).

English in Singapore

According to Crewe (1977p.10), English in Singapore is the de facto dominant working language, the language of government bureaucracy, legislation, the judgement of courts of record, commercially it is the language of international trade and socially its use carries the most prestige.

Although English is a high status language in Singapore, feelings towards it are ambivalent, explains Crewe (1977p.10). On the one hand, English is believed to be the language of modernity, progress, technology and economic development says Crewe (1977p.10). On the other hand, English signifies the 'Western' values of materialism, sex, drugs and violence, Crewe (1977p.13).

English in the Marshall Islands

Pine and Savage (1989p.85), explain that at the time of writing their article, Marshallese was still the dominant language. However, they add that the language has begun to compete with languages more widely spoken around the world like German, Japanese and more recently English, forcing Marshallese into decline, Pine and Savage (1989p.85). English in particular has high status because it plays an important role in providing access to higher education, improved employment, required for any type of government job, immigration to the U.S and for U.S military service, Pine and Savage (1989p.85).

English in Hawaii

European attitudes towards Hawaiian use of English have been very negative as this quote by Hamilton (1948p.69), illustrates:

"To complicate things further its understanding the pronunciation of Pidgin English differs - each nationality has its own peculiar way of pronouncing the jargon of words which have proved essential to convey meaning in a form as simple as possible. Both Hawaiians and Japanese give the long E sound to I's; Japanese give the EE sound to short I and the D sound to TH. To those not initiated into its mysteries, the voice inflection in which pronouns are wrongly stressed, gives the language an amazing and frequently humorous sound...."

Although English is a high status language in Hawaii and many individuals in the past, suppressed their Hawaiian Creole English and ancestral languages in favour of English, Hawaiian Creole English today remains a salient indicator of solidarity and in - groupness, Sato (undated p.266).

English in Western and American Samoa

Samoan is the first language of the majority of the population and the dominant language of local governance and social interaction, explains Huebner (1989p.61). However, English is a high status language used in commerce, trade, international diplomacy, politics, education, opportunity for employment and emigration and in the case of American Samoa, of U.S federal bureaucracy, Huebner (1989p.62).

Although more English is used in American Samoa and English has not yet gained the dominant position in Samoan society, Baldauf (1990p.273), comments that English is fast becoming more prominent across the range of language domains, especially among younger people.

English in New Zealand

As one observer, Bayard (1987), cited in Holmes and Bell (1990p.67), noted:

"In its context: 'rain in the elps, foin and moild alswhere', is easy enough to understand although it may jar a sensitive ear. But such mangling of the vowels CAN cause misunderstanding...."

New Zealand Listener, 11.2.1989

According to attitude research New Zealand is still oriented to Britain in terms of what they consider the 'best' accent, explain Holmes and Bell (1990p.3). RP holds pride of place as the most respected, admired accent, associated with high education, competence and prestige, Holmes and Bell (1990p.3).

Gordon and Abell,(1982), cited in Holmes and Bell (1990p.3), illustrate that teenagers from Christchurch and Dunedin rate RP higher than cultivated New Zealand English on a range of social parameters. Similarly, Vaughan and Huygens (1983), cited in Holmes and Bell (1990p.3), sampled Auckland University students who also gave RP top place over cultivated New Zealand English, on social scales.

Victoria University students Gordon (1974), Taborn (1974) and Hamilton (1977), illustrated that a wide age range of Wellingtonians rated RP the highest accent in social terms, Holmes and Bell (1990p.3).

Only Taborn (1974), recorded positive attitudes to New Zealand pronunciation, while Gordon (1974), noted that men in her sample rated New Zealand speakers as highly as RP speakers on personality traits, Holmes and Bell (1990p.4).

English and African Americans

Attitudes towards the non-standard English of African Americans has traditionally been extremely negative, leading to theories such as 'verbal deprivation' cf. Robbins (1973 p.96). Herskovits (1937), cited in Edwards (1979p.41), reports that until the late 1930's proposed to account for 'Negro' speech, was that it was:

"The blind groping of minds too primitive in modes of speech beyond their capabilities..."

In the 1970's, however, Robbins (1973p.92), cites similarly negative attitudes of teachers towards the speech of African American children:

"The vocabulary is definitely limited; they speak in single words, simple words, not sentences...."

And:

"The majority of children don't speak in complete sentences/ In phrases they might say something like 'that's he ball' instead of 'that's his ball'...."

Consequently, African Americans deprecate their own speech. For example, Claudia Mitchell - Kernan (1971), cited in Abrahams (1976p.17), notes in Oakland, California that African Americans described their speech as 'flat', 'country' or 'bad'. When asked to define 'flat' or 'country', informants described such speech as 'misplacing words', 'not speaking distinctly' and 'putting words in the wrong places', explains Kernan (1971), cited in Abrahams (1976p.17). Non-country speech folk antonyms were 'proper' and 'good', Abrahams (1976p.17).

Abrahams (1976p.17), explains there is evidence to suggest the high value placed by Afro - Americans upon standard English is in part a result of derogation of some forms of their speech and the institutionalisation of learning standard English. Abraham (1976p.17), also comments that in certain contexts such as rapping, the dozens etc., use of non-standard speech not only signifies solidarity, but is also a positive assertion.

West Indian British

Attitudes towards the use of Creole and West Indian speech in Britain have been very negative. It has been described as 'sloppy', 'bad' and even teachers have called it 'babyish', 'lacking in proper grammar' and 'very relaxed like the way they walk', Edwards (1979p.42). Consequently, West Indians deprecate their own speech calling it 'broken', 'ugly', 'bruck up', 'monkey talk' and Jamaicans, for example, are reminded that they will never amount to anything because they talk like Quashie, says Edwards (1979p.48). West Indian literature also reflects this attitude, such as the character in Lamming's (1960), cited in Edwards (1979p.48-9), Season of Adventure, who says:

"She learn fast how to talk two ways...Tonight she go talk with the stranger man...grammar an' clause, where do turns into does, plural an' all that. But inside her, like between you and me, she tongue make the same rat - trap noise...."

Standard English is considered 'sweet' and 'gettin' on sensible', says Abraham (1976p.17). An attitude study by Edwards (1978), cited in Edwards (1979p.89), illustrated that West Indian children were rated lowest by teachers and fellow students and West Indian children also rated their own speech lowest.

Although West Indians have accepted critical views expressed by standard speakers, Creole remains the high status variety in terms of signifying solidarity and in - groupness, Edwards (1979p.49).

English and Indigenous Americans

Although, during my research, no information was found on present day attitudes towards Indigenous Americans, the following quotes, cited in Diamond (1991p.277), by past American government officials is enlightening:

"The only good Indians I ever saw were dead...." (General Philip Sheridan)

"The immediate objectives are the total destruction and devastation of their settlements. It will be essential to ruin their crops in the ground and prevent their planting more...." (President George Washington)

"If it be the design of providence to extirpate these savages in order to make room for cultivators of the earth, it seems not improbable that rum may be the appointed means...." (Benjamin Franklin)

"This unfortunate race, whom we had been taking so much pains to save and civilise, have by their unexpected desertion and ferocious barbarities justified extermination and now await our decision on their fate...." (President Thomas Jefferson)

"They have neither the intelligence, the industry, the moral habits, nor the desire of improvement which are essential to any favourable change in their condition. Established in the midst of another and a superior race, and without appreciating the causes of their inferiority or seeking to control them, they must necessarily yield to the force of circumstances and ere long disappear...."

(President Andrew Jackson)

CHAPTER 5: POLICY ON AUSTRALIAN INDIGENOUS PEOPLES AND THEIR LANGUAGES

In brief, Mattingley and Hampton (1988p.45), summarise that since Europeans invaded Australia:

"Legislation has imposed inferior status on all members of the race, denoting them as second class citizens in their own country. Acts dealing with dogs, alcohol, game, fisheries, opium and land have all contained clauses of 'exclusion', 'exemption' or other 'special' provisions...."

Policy dealing with Indigenous languages has been no exception. However, it is clear that policies concerning Indigenous peoples, their culture and languages, has reflected the development of Australia itself as a country. As Ozolins (1993p.3), explains:

"In the first half of the 20th century, Australia was a sparsely populated but markedly homogenous society. It had a past history that ran from ruthless extermination to the non-benign neglect of the small Indigenous population. It had a White policy to keep out Asians from the near north and with highly protected industries to keep out cheap foreign imports. Australia was in many ways a recluse among nations...."

In contrast, in the second half of the 20th century, Australia experienced what Ozolins (1993p.3), and calls:

"A period of considerable cultural and linguistic diversity...."

Not only was there more interest in other European cultures and languages, but also interest in Australia's own Indigenous cultures and languages. For example, in South Australia in the early 1970's, for the first time, some recognition was given to Indigenous languages. This was through the introduction of a policy of bilingual education into some community schools, (cf. p.100).

This chapter traces the origin of policies dealing with Indigenous people up to the present day. This enables a comparison to be made between changing governmental policies, the development of Australia and the changing attitudes of its population towards Indigenous people, their cultures and languages, wherever possible. There is a special focus on language policy and a special focus on South Australia.

Policy in 1788

According to Sharpe (1981p.38), when the first fleet came to Australia it was policy in England that:

"The poorer classes weren't educated too much, in case they became dissatisfied with 'their lot'..."

This was extended to Australia, she explains in that White authorities made no provision for schooling of convicts and their children. Yet according to Troy (1990p.21), from the earliest years of the first colony there were attempts to:

"Provide Aborigines with a formal education in the British tradition...."

For example, in NSW in 1795, Governor Macquarie set up a school for children at Paramatta, Sharpe (1981p.39). The 'schooling' policy was unsuccessful, says Sharpe (1981p.39), because in general:

"Early White settlement was a penal colony of convicts, Indigenous people were extraneous to that and the general policy was to interfere as little as possible with them and certainly not to offer them education...."

Although there was no compulsory education system at this time, according to Troy (1990p.21), when Indigenous children could not be recruited voluntarily, they were kidnapped and forced to attend school. As Troy (1990p.21), observes:

"It was an ironic situation when one considers that most Aborigines appear to have considered the colonial government's attempts to have been an invasion of their privacy while poor colonists complained about the lack of educational facilities...."

Attempts to 'civilise' Indigenous people soon became attempts to 'save' them, as it became clear that contact with colonists had devastating physical and social effects on the Indigenous population, says Troy (1990p.21). It was believed, according to Troy (1990p.21), that:

"Education 'saved' morally through Christianising and physically and socially through teaching independence from the colonists - thereby protecting Aborigines from exploitation, physical attacks and ill health caused by alcohol, tobacco and disease (not to mention arsenic - laced flour and other deliberately poisoned food.)...."

Policy in the early 1800's

In the 1800's, missions were established in parts of Australia to continue the work of Christianising and educating the Indigenous population, says Troy (1990p.24). Missionaries set up some schools for Indigenous people and education involved reading, writing and speaking in English, sewing, cooking, hygiene, agriculture, learning to be sedentary, to conform to British cultural norms and to be Christian, explains Sharpe (1981p.39). However, she adds, the ultimate aim was the 'saving of souls'. Rowley (1833), cited in Troy (1990p.24), states that:

"Christians in this period believed that welfare for non - Christians meant conversion: it did not mean the right of free men to decide what they wanted to do, and then find the opportunities to do it...."

Missionaries were however, the only people who formally learnt and used Indigenous languages for the purposes of education, Troy (1990p.24). Coates (1838), cited in Troy (1990p.24), remarks that once established, many missionaries made it their policy to learn Indigenous languages and to use them as vehicles for converting the peoples to Christianity. For example, Threlkeld (1974), cited in Troy (1990p.24), made clear their policy:

"First obtain the language and then preach the Gospel, then urge them from Gospel motives to be industrious...."

However, according to Troy (1990p.24), the missionaries could not encourage adults to their programs so they turned to the children, segregating them from their parents in dormitories. These 'schools' at first offered to 'look after' the children, says Sharpe (1981p.39). She explains that in NSW around this time, as White settlement was spreading, Indigenous people had to go further to find traditional foods. Sometimes this meant leaving at short notice to catch large game. The 'schools', then became a convenient place to ensure the safety of their children, while they were away, Sharpe (1981p.39). However, it became clear that missionaries were trying to change the way of life of the children, to convert them and wipe away their culture, asserts Sharpe (1981p.40).

Parents then withdrew their children from these 'schools', sometimes with violent scenes, because as Sharpe (1981p.40), explains, many of these children came from different cultural groups, some of which were hostile to each other.

Some of the children who attended these 'schools', grew up to see that Europeans never really accepted them into their system, despite their 'education', Sharpe (1981p.40). She adds, that Europeans didn't want to marry them or employ them for other than 'menial' tasks. Thus European education seemed pointless says Sharpe (1981p.40), and many Europeans themselves, knew such children would never really be accepted into their society.

According to Sharpe (1981p.40), it was a culmination of these feelings and events that eventually led ignorant Europeans to believe that Indigenous people could not be educated or do well at school. This in turn led to Indigenous people being thought of as inferior and thus requiring less education, Sharpe (1981p.40).

Policy from 1825

According to Sharpe (1981p.40), in 1825 an edict was sent out from England, which asked the Australian government to 'set about' to 'civilise' and 'convert' the 'natives' to Christianity. This was the first official policy dealing with the Indigenous people and that was of 'assimilation'. However, Sharpe (1981p.40), explains that this policy was never really implemented as it was too costly and the idea was unpopular with the White settlers. For example, in NSW, despite the good will of governors like Phillip and Macquarie, Troy (1990p.27), explains:

"Government policy was hindered by some colonists who had their own self - interested policies and who expressed total lack of regard for Aboriginal welfare...."

Part of the 1825 assimilation policy was however upheld in that there was no recognition of cultures or languages other than English. The policy was for all Australians, English language only, English culture only.

A British colony was officially established in South Australia in 1836, Dineen and Mühlhäusler (1996p.83). They comment that the Kaurna people of the Adelaide district were the first group to experience sustained contact with colonists.

As elsewhere in Australia at this time 'assimilation' was the unofficial policy implemented regarding Indigenous people, explain Dineen and Mühlhäusler (1996p.87). Efforts were made to lead them away from their 'heathen' ways, they add. For example, the first governor of South Australia, Hindmarsh (1836-8), cited in Dineen and Mühlhäusler (1996p.89), declared that settlers should:

"Help to promote their advancement in civilisation and ultimately...their conversion to the Christian faith...."

It was clearly still a time where, as Dineen and Mühlhäusler (1996p.89), comment:

"Christianity was seen as a vehicle of civilisation, that agency by which Aboriginal people could gain access to membership of White society (whether or not that was their desire)...."

The first South Australian mission was established in 1838 known as the Adelaide mission or The Native Location and in 1839 German missionaries Teichelmann and Schurmann from the Dresden mission society set up a school which taught literacy in the Kaurna language, Dineen and Mühlhäusler (1996p.89). However revolutionary Teichelmann and Schurmann were to learn and teach Kaurna in South Australia, according to Simpson (1996p.12), they received much criticism for not teaching English immediately in their school. It appears, says Simpson (1996p.13), that many colonists wanted Indigenous people to learn English, partly because they were short of labour and wanted help in tasks like getting firewood.

In a letter dated (12.6.1839), cited in Simpson (1996p.13), Teichelmann and Schurmann write:

"Some persons have blamed us that we did not proceed immediately to instruct the natives by means of the English language, but dayly experiences corroborates what judgement at first led us to think, namely that it is altogether impracticable, at least as yet, to instruct the natives by means of the English language, especially on religious and moral subjects...."

In 1850, the Poonindie mission near present day Port Lincoln was founded by Archdeacon Hale to provide employment for trainees from the school in Adelaide and to separate them from both unscrupulous Europeans and traditional Indigenous peoples, Kwan (1987p.158), (cf. fig.5 p.15).

In 1859 Point McLeay mission station was founded at Lake Alexandrina by the Aboriginal Friends Association, Fesl (1993 p.198), (cf. fig.5 p.15).

In 1866 the Lutheran mission at Killalpaninna, north of present day Marree in South Australia was established, Kneebone and Rathjen (1996p.1), (cf. fig.5 p.15). From the outset, explain Kneebone and Rathjen (1996p.1) the Dieri peoples were seen as:

"'Depraved heathens and in milder terms and times as 'naughty children', albeit with 'disgusting habits', their only possible positive feature was their potential for redemption and reform..."

Missionaries learnt the Dieri language in order to adapt it to their purpose and created terms to express Lutheran teaching. The missionaries were also bringing these forms to diverse groups who came to the mission and thereby created a type of Lingua Franca on the mission, Kneebone and Rathjen (1996p.33).

In 1862 Kopperamanna mission was founded at Cooper Creek by Moravians, Fesl (1993 p.198), (cf. fig.5 p.15).

In 1868 Point Pearce mission station was founded on the Yorke Peninsula by the Aboriginal Friends Association, Fesl (1993 p.198), (cf. fig.5 p.15).

In 1877, the Finke River mission was founded at Hermannsburg by Lutherans, Fesl (1993 p.198), (cf. fig.5 p.15).

In 1897 Koonibba Mission Station was established on the Far West Coast by Lutherans, Fesl (1993p.198), (cf. fig.5 p.15).

Policy in the mid 1800's

According to Troy (1990p.31):

"The initial policies were aimed at assimilation an co-habitation even through Aborigines were being dispossessed of their land and were not asked for their opinions on sharing land and assimilation. 'Sharing' with the British was especially difficult for the Aborigines as the British expected them to co-exist on agriculturally developed land. The Aborigines were ignorant of the lifestyle needed in order to use land for agriculture and the British did not effectively explain to them how they should adapt...."

'Assimilation' turned out to be a disaster and the colonial officials saw the demise of Indigenous people to be the direct result of the expansion of European settlement, says Troy (1990p.31). Consequently, official policy went from 'assimilation' to that of paternalism and 'segregation' and from about 1836 onwards, increasingly 'narrow' legal documents were used to 'protect' the Indigenous population from the colonists and to keep them physically apart, Troy (1990p.31). However, as Troy (1990p.31), adds, that, from which Indigenous people were to be 'protected' - were in terms of what the British saw as the areas in which such people needed protection.

Concerning language policy, even 'protecting' Indigenous people by physically removing them to reserves or missions did not affect the need to learn English. Not only was English essential for communication with the Europeans, it was often necessary as a lingua franca for different cultural groups thrown together on missions or reserves. In fact, as Troy (1990p.31), explains:

"Sociolinguistically, the result of government policies was that pressure was exerted on Aborigines to have new linguistic experiences, even from as early as 1788...."

Policy in the late 1800's-1914

According to Fesl (1993p.122):

"In the first quarter of the twentieth century two activities to bring about a solution to what became known as the 'Aboriginal Problem' were simultaneously in progress across the country. The first was missionary work, the second was enforcement of 'protection' legislation and regulations...."

This so - called 'protective 'legislation was, explains Rowley (1970), cited in Fesl (1993p.122):

"To protect the 'dying race', those Koories with dark skin colouring whom it was believed had no White ancestry, and about whom it was predicted, because of their numerically low numbers and general poor health, they would soon 'die out'...."

Thus officially in 1911 legislation was passed in the form of the Aborigines Act to 'make provision for the better protection and control of Aboriginal and half - caste inhabitants', Mattingley and Hampton (1988p.45). Under this 'protection' legislation in force in all mainland states, Fesl (1993p.179), explains:

"Koories were confined to reserves, missions and other institutions and the control of food, plus access to jobs remained in the hands of the invaders. Regulations and policies developed under the umbrella of the legislation accelerated the use of education as a tool of disempowerment...."

In this way, Indigenous people could be 'protected' from contact with alcohol, prostitution and harmful influences of European society which were engulfing and destroying many, Mattingley and Hampton (1988p.45).

This act, however, was to control the lives of Indigenous people for the next 50 years and had many devastating effects, remark Mattingley and Hampton (1988p.45). For example, Indigenous people were still being 'protected' from what Europeans decided they needed 'protection' from. Ultimately this extended to the 'removal' of Indigenous children from their families to more 'suitable' institutions. According to Fesl (1993p.123), this practise continued in some states until the late 1970's.

Additionally, as Mattingley and Hampton (1988p.45), point out, this act gave the 'Chief protector of Aborigines' power over families, children, property, rights of movement and freedom of access. This gave them the power to cause any Indigenous person to be kept within the boundaries of any reserve or institution or to be removed or transferred to another. People could be ordered to move their camps from any municipality, town or township. Entry to reserves was restricted and any person who removed an Indigenous person or caused, assisted, enticed or persuaded an Indigenous person to remove from a reserve was guilty of an offence...."

Mattingley and Hampton (1988p.45), conclude, the Aborigines Act, emphasised control, eroded civil rights, imposed segregation and essentially:

"Was the compromise of almost absolute control with a degree of apartheid; and as usual of good intentions to protect, with economic interest..."

Throughout this 'protective' segregation policy stage, implemented for Indigenous people, little changed in the area of language policy which was (unofficially), still English language only, English culture only. There is in fact very little written about language policy in general, from the time of invasion up to the early 1900's. There was no official language policy directed at Indigenous languages which reflects the attitude of the time. This attitude was that languages other than English were not worthy of study or learning for the general population. Thus these languages were depressed, denigrated, ignored and ridiculed.

Policy in the 1930's

It became clear that 'segregation' and attempts to educate and civilise were still unsuccessful. Additionally, as Fesl (1993p.123), comments, the Indigenous population was actually increasing rather than decreasing as had been anticipated. Thus a new method was needed to deal with what Fesl (1993p.123), calls 'The Aboriginal Problem'.

'Assimilation' became popular once more and by 1939 was generally accepted. Although officially the policy was not yet implemented, Tatz (1964), cited in Fesl (1993p.123-4), explains that it was stated publicly:

"Policy should provide for their physical needs, their health and 'within the limits of their ability', their education and training to 'perform some useful service'...."

In the meantime, influenced by the new ideas of 'assimilation', the withstanding Aborigines Act of 1911 was altered. Three controversial clauses were introduced to the act in 1939, Mattingley and Hampton (1988p.50). They were the following, cited in Mattingley and Hampton (1988p.50):

a) The definition of an 'Aboriginal' person was broadened to include anyone descended from the original inhabitants of Australia, which brought people of fourth and fifth generation under control of the act;

b) The introduction of the 'exemption' system and;

c) The introduction of the 'consorting' clause.

The 'exemption' system meant that 'exempt' people had to carry a certificate which declared them 'honorary Whites', Mattingley and Hampton (1988p.50). They add that this 'paper' could be revoked at any time if the person did not maintain 'certain behaviour'.

Additionally, exempted people were not allowed to live on reserves or missions, they were not eligible for assistance that non-exempt people were, but they were allowed liquor, say Mattingley and Hampton (1988p.50). They remark that this system produced alienating effects, felt throughout all communities and split families and caused many riffs between groups.

The 'consorting' clause in this act prohibited any male from associating sexually with an Indigenous female unless married to her, Mattingley and Hampton (1988p.47).

Missions

According to Sharpe (1981p.43), in the 1930's a number of new church missions were set up for Indigenous people, but most of them followed the same policy as the state education. She adds that up to 1900 each state in Australia had its own education system, which was run from the capital city. Education was a bureaucracy and like other bureaucracies, when new ideas came in, it was hard to change the system, comments Sharpe (1981p.41).

Despite this, there were some missionaries who learnt or tried to learn Indigenous languages and who tried to convince their mission bodies of the need to use them, Sharpe (1981p.41). This reflected a world wide change beginning to take place, in that minority groups were beginning to feel more and more that their languages were important and worth carrying on, explains Sharpe (1981p.43).

In fact, as Sharpe (1981p.43), points out, Hermannsburg mission in South Australia continued to use the Aranda language at this time. Additionally, the new Ernabella mission set up by Presbyterians, at this time, had the policy of using local languages and respecting Pitjantjatjara culture.

In 1948 a conference was held between mission representatives and government administrative officers as a further move to establishing and implementing an official policy of assimilation, says Fesl (1993p.124). Once again she explains, a deal was struck where in return for financial aid missionaries agreed to work towards a governmental goal of assimilation.

The principles and aims of the assimilation policy were coined at a conference in 1951 and essentially, says Fesl (1993p.25), they were:

"The intent was still the elimination of Koorie lifeways and their replacement with British values, education and training, to make Koories useful tools of the British economy...."

For example, in the 1950's the Commonwealth Office of Education had started special schools for Indigenous people in the Northern Territory, Fesl (1993p.125). In 1956 it was decided that the language of instruction, says Fesl (1993p.125), should be English because:

a) Indigenous people need to speak English and;

b) The "misconception" that English terms could not be translated into Indigenous languages.

The 1950's saw a major increase in missionary activity with new mission schools and stations established due to the availability of government finance, explains Fesl (1993p.125). She points out that the majority of staff in these schools was untrained and emphasis was on training for menial work. Sharpe (1981p.41), also comments that prior to the late 1950's few Indigenous children had access to schools and if they did it was often a mission school with untrained teachers. In fact, often the wife of a mission worker was asked to teach whether she wanted to or not, says Sharpe (1981p.41).

Essentially, says Sharpe (1981p.42), few Indigenous children got into European schools and even then, the set courses, no room for cultural difference and no personal relationship with the teacher, made it almost impossible for an Indigenous student to succeed.

Reflecting on the treatment of Indigenous education during this period of time, the following Indigenous people, cited in Sharpe (1981p.44-5), had this to say:

"Not only wasn't there a policy set in NSW regarding Aboriginal languages, but the Education department's policy towards teaching of the Aboriginal languages was disgusting. It was very difficult for Aboriginal people even to be able to send their children to school. For most Aboriginal children there were only mission schools. These were most inadequate and staffed by people who tried to teach, but had no idea of teaching. Then when the policy changed to allow our people to go to the normal schools, then in a lot of places the White community excluded the Aboriginal community by withdrawing their children. This was particularly so up around Lismore..."

(John Heath, Newcastle, NSW)

"When I was at school we were told we weren't allowed to speak an Aboriginal language at all. When I wanted to talk with my cousin about things, nothing to do with school, perhaps they thought it was being cheeky. If you asked for information in another language you were being cheeky, you must be talking about the teacher. So you thought 'Oh well we won't use it, save getting into trouble..'. But then it was a disadvantage on the playground when you wanted to play, wanted to call out 'Oh that was a good shot', you wanted to do it in your own language...(this was in Western Australia)...."

(Gloria Brennan, Canberra)

In relation to language, Fesl (1981p.48), says, worst of all was:

"The denigration of our languages by people who couldn't learn to speak them...."

Fesl (1981p.48), explains:

"Because they couldn't learn them, they denigrated them by calling them 'rubbish language', 'pagan gibberish' and such names. This created SHAME amongst Aboriginal people. They became ashamed to speak their languages, they wouldn't teach their children because they would be seen as speaking this 'primitive jargon'...."

Wafer (Undated), cited in Sharpe (1981p.44), summarises that in this period of time the government still hadn't done anything as far as Indigenous language policy and planning went. It was still a matter of ignoring all languages other than English.

Policy in 1960

The assimilation policy was officially adopted in 1961 and became enforceable by 1963 (cf. Fesl, 1993p.126). According to Mattingley and Hampton (1988p.52), in South Australia at this time, many people, especially children were being moved from missions into towns and cities, due to overcrowding. They remark that relocated people suffered severe traumas of loneliness and alienation. Thus one South Australian woman, Mary Cooper, cited in Mattingley and Hampton (1988p.52), through her own experiences in being moved from Point Pearce, set up a place where parents and children could meet. Cooper, cited in Mattingley and Hampton (1988p.53), recalls:

"The government policy was assimilation. They had taken steps to remove families from the reserves into various cities, various small towns...[They] persuaded me to leave Point Pearce because there was no future....for my children; there was nowhere for them to expand. All of this was quite true...And so we became outcasts on the fringe of White man's society and not permitted to go back to our Aboriginal society unless we had a permit from the management of ...which ever reserve you belonged to...."

Another Indigenous, South Australian woman, Vi Deuschle (nee Watson), cited in Mattingley and Hampton (1988p.53), explains:

"Aboriginal people saw assimilation as a form of genocide, because it was expected by Europeans that Aborigines would move into mainstream society and forego their own Aboriginal identity. The policy of integration which followed was that Aborigines would come into White society and be able to retain some aspects of their culture - of course only that which was acceptable to the mainstream and there wasn't too much of that...!"

However, the 1960's saw several social movements, which greatly affected Indigenous peoples of Australia in positive ways, says Fesl (1993p.128). For example, in 1962 an act to repeal the 'Aborigines Act of 1934-1939' was introduced to abolish restrictions and restraints on the peoples as well as promoting their 'assimilation' into the wider community assert Mattingley and Hampton (1988p.54). Additionally, in 1962 Indigenous people were given the right to vote as electors of the commonwealth by an act of parliament, Mattingley and Hampton (1988p.54). In South Australia, in 1965, the elected Labour government announced the 'stepping up' of essential services for Indigenous peoples in the areas of education, transitional and permanent housing, employment, vocational training and diet and hygiene education, Mattingley and Hampton (1988p.54).

In 1967, Indigenous people were recognised as a 'people' and granted full citizenship rights in their own country, Mattingley and Hampton (1988p.55). Around this time, Indigenous people were influenced by the Black Power movement in the U.S and became publicly vocal in their own interests says Fesl (1993p.128). To add to this, she explains, the post - war migration program brought many 'Yurri Gurri' or 'welcome' migrants to Australia who spoke languages other than English. Fesl (1993p.128), remarks that this made a strong impression on Indigenous people who had been told and taught that it was shameful to speak a language other than English.

The language policy in the 1960's was assimilation through education, Fesl (1993p.126). This brought about in 1964 an investigation into the teaching of Indigenous peoples. Results of the Watts - Gallacher report (as it was known), initially recommended teaching in the Indigenous languages, but eventually opted for retaining English as the medium of instruction explains Fesl (1993p.127), also (cf. Sharpe, 1981p.43). Thus nothing really changed as far as language policy went.

Policy in the 1970's

In 1972 a new federal government was elected. It repealed nearly all of the legislation of the 'protection' acts, assimilation was discarded as a policy and a new 'self determination' policy for Indigenous people was announced, Fesl (1993p.128).

One of the first programs was established which gave some recognition to Indigenous languages. This was bilingual education which was implemented in South Australia in the late 1960s and in the Northern Territory in 1973, House of Representatives Committee on ATSI Affairs (1992p.76).

According to Fesl (1993p.180), these so - called 'bilingual schools' were based on U.S models and:

"The programs however, were transition - bilingual (transition to English) and therefore assimilationist in design. No subjects taught in Koorie languages empowered students to proceed further in the British education system...."

Fesl (1993p.129), says that the government's good intentions in establishing such schools, failed perhaps due to haste. She also suggests that many bureaucrats were still too entrenched in their ideas of 'protection' or 'assimilation' to consider giving Indigenous people independence in education.

Policy in the 1980's

According to Fesl (1993p.181):

"Self - determination was followed by a 'self - management' policy in the 1980's. Structures and institutions were established to aid the process, but again, control and decision - making powers remained in non - Koorie hands...."

However, the 1980's signified a time of new interest in Indigenous languages and also signified the re -establishment of pride in Indigenous identity, says Fesl (1993p.167). For example, at the first national conference convened by FECCA, to discuss a national language policy, Indigenous people also lent their support by participating, even though they remained separate from such groups for political purposes, explains Fesl (1993p.167).

In May 1982, after campaigning by FECCA and Indigenous groups, the senate charged its standing committee on education and the arts to inquire into the 'Development and implementation of a co-ordinated language plan for Australia', (Report by the Senate Standing Committee on Education and the Arts, 1984x). The outcome was, after many delays, involving a change of government, sixteen positive recommendations regarding Indigenous languages in the report released in October, 1984, Fesl (1993p.168). For example, some recommendations were, that an accurate assessment be made of the health of Indigenous languages, the extension of bilingual education, two - way schools and better training of teachers in general, House of Representatives Standing Committee on ATSI Affairs (1992p.76).

It was not until May 1987 that the government responded with the report on the National Language Policy, Fesl (1993p.169). The report supported Indigenous languages by acknowledging and affirming that they are the Indigenous languages of Australia. It also declared the right of use, acceptance and respect, House of Representatives Standing Committee on ATSI Affairs (1992p.76). A major objective of the NPL was:

"To stimulate, co-ordinate and initiate significant long and short term activity to assist the preservation and continued use and appreciation of salvage work on Indigenous languages...' House of Representatives Standing Committee on ATSI Affairs (1992p.76).

The Lo Bianco report, (as this became known), was empathetic to the linguistic needs of Indigenous people and stated the need for Indigenous people to make decisions, says Fesl (1993p.170). However, as Fesl (1993p.170), explains:

"When it came to application of the principle, it was a different story as contrary to the stated need to have Koories making decisions, several major recommendations were made by Lo Bianco himself, instead of a recommendation that the matter be referred to Koorie communities. For example, he put forward a National Aboriginal Languages Project (NALP), to be managed within the Commonwealth portfolio. The role of NALP was spelled out:

"This will consist of a three-year National Aboriginal Languages Project (NALP) to be managed within the Commonwealth Education Portfolio (Lo Bianco, 1987,118). This recommendation was made despite the fact that the National Language Policy Liaison Group had constantly argued that language issues covered a much wider field than education. Being "managed' within the department also deprived the Koorie community and the ALA of decision-making powers...."

In December 1987 AACLAME was announced. This council was the advisory body with oversight of the implementation of the NPL, (House of Representatives Standing Committee on ATSI Affairs, 1992p.76). It was under the framework of the NPL and AACLAME that the NALP was established in 1987, (Ibidem).

An Aboriginal Education Policy Task Force was appointed in April 1988. Following the reports of the select committee and the AEP task force, the National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Education Policy was launched in October 1989, House of Representatives Standing Committee on ATSI Affairs, (1992p.76). One of the educational goals, cited in the House of Representatives Standing Committee on ATSI Affairs, (1992p.77), was:

"To develop programs to support the maintenance and continued use of Aboriginal languages..." (Goal 17)

The main commonwealth language maintenance program from 1987-1990, was the National Languages Program, (House of Representatives Standing Committee on ATSI Affairs, 1992p.77). In 1989 a report was conducted and noted that it was funded at half the level requested, (Ibidem). AACLAME recommended this level be doubled, but no further funding was envisaged, (Ibidem). Mr Jo.Lo.Bianco, cited in the House of Representatives Standing Committee on ATSI Affairs (1992p.78), commented on this shortfall:

"It would have been possible for us to have done a much better job had we had the extra money, not just because more money is what people always ask for - I am cautious about that sort of argument - but because when we looked for the amount of demand for support under NALP and what we were able to provide, we were just a little bit under what we were able to provide, we were just a little bit under what we were being asked for..."

A review of this program conducted in 1988-9 found that 91 languages were assisted with around 5600 people benefiting indirectly or directly, House of Representatives Standing Committee on ATSI Affairs (1992p.78).

Although consultants Riley - Mundine and Roberts criticised the NALP for having little co-ordination between projects, the review found that the NALP had begun to redress the neglect of ATSI languages and that the educational, linguistic and cultural potential of this program was enormous, House of Representatives Standing Committee on ATSI Affairs (1992p.78). A working party of members of Australian professional languages and linguistics, (undated p.8), comment:

"The policy change from assimilation to multiculturalism represented a major development in the self-concept of the Australian nation. The complementarity of English, the national language and the other languages used by Australians, understanding that bilingualism is consistent with being Australian - is an important aspect of this...."

Policy in the 1990's

In December 1990, Minister for Employment, Education and Training released a Green Paper on literacy and languages, (House of Representatives Standing Committee on ATSI Affairs, 1992p.80). The Green Paper's third goal dealt with ATSI languages, (Ibidem) and stated:

Those ATSI languages still actively transmitted to and used by children must be maintained and developed. All others should be recorded where possible, for the benefit of the descendants of their speakers and for the nation's heritage...."

The Green Paper claimed only 20 languages were still 'actively' transmitted, the remaining 70 languages were to be ignored by the proposed policy, (House of Representatives Standing Committee on ATSI Affairs, 1992p.81). The paper also ignored the 56% of funding that went to ATSI communities and regional language centres and the 17% that went to institutions, private companies and the individuals, (Ibidem). It proposed these funds be turned over to the education system through the AEP indicating a narrow view held by DEET, that ATSI languages could be taught successfully by a European education system, (House of Representatives Standing Committee on ATSI Affairs, 1992p.81). Thus the Green Paper failed to comprehend the nature of language maintenance activities and was prepared with little or no consultation with ATSI people, (Ibidem).

In the period leading up to the release of the Green Paper, language maintenance agencies became uncertain about continuity of their programs and level of funding. This in turn left many uncertain about the government's commitment and the importance attached to ATSI languages, House of Representatives Standing Committee on ATSI Affairs (1992p.82).

In 1991 a White Paper was released announcing a National policy and strategy to promote language and literacy in Australia through the ALLP, (House of Representatives Standing Committee on ATSI Affairs, 1992p.82). The third goal of the ALLP, (Ibidem), relates specifically to ATSI languages:

"Those ATSI languages which are still transmitted should be maintained and developed and those that are not should be recorded where appropriate...."

Despite this being the same as the goal strongly objected to in the Green Paper, House of Representatives Standing Committee on ATSI Affairs (1992p.82), the White Paper falsely claims that responses to the Green Paper:

"Recorded a high level of community support for the four key goals...."

The expanded version of the goal used elsewhere in the paper, is more comprehensive, House of Representatives Standing Committee on ATSI Affairs (1992p.82), stating:

"ATSI languages should be maintained and developed where they are still transmitted. Other languages should be assisted in an appropriate way, for example, through recording. These activities should only occur where the speakers so desire and in consultation with their community for the benefit of the descendants of their speakers and for the nation's heritage...."

Despite the claim that this policy incorporates principles of the NPL, it still places heavy emphasis on school based educational programs, House of Representatives Standing Committee on ATSI Affairs (1992p.175). Additionally, Fesl (1993p.175), claims to see:

"The spectre of linguistic imperialism raising its head once more...."

Fesl (1993p.175), explains:

"Disguised under the heading 'Aboriginal Literacy' within the Aboriginal languages monetary allocation, it is clear that the lion's share of money was made available for 'literacy in English', not for literacy in Australian languages...."

Fesl (1993p.175), adds that little money was allocated for literacy in Indigenous languages, but more money was made available for literacy in English...."

Fesl (1993p.176), concludes:

"Despite the governmental rhetoric of support for Koorie's languages, if the White Paper recommendations were to be implemented the needs for Koorie languages would be subsumed under English language issues - a colonialistic policy which has existed since the invasion...."

Since the White Paper was released the following papers were announced, leading up to the present day.

In 1991 the National Reconciliation and Schooling Strategy was released by the Minister of ATSI Affairs, (National Languages and Literacy Institute Report, 1994p.311).

In 1992 the National Languages and Literacy Strategy was nominated by the Minister for ATSI Affairs in the joint policy statement for the AEP national priorities for 1993-5, (Ibidem).

In 1993 a Review and Analysis of Literature relating to the national ATSI education policy was undertaken by the AEP task force to DEET, (National Languages and Literacy Institute Report, 1994p.311).

In 1994 the reference group overseeing the national review, (Ibidem), provided a National Review of Education for ATSI peoples to the Minister of Employment, Education and Training.

A report prepared by Mr Jo. Lo. Bianco (1996) on language issues in South Australia, is still being assessed by the South Australian Government and, at this point, it is unclear as to what recommendations and practical steps will follow.

The role of Post-contact Language

From the early years of invasion, Europeans and Indigenous peoples used Pidgin English(es) to communicate with each other. However, as the House of Representatives Standing Committee on ATSI Affairs (1992p.18), comment:

"The Pidgin English sometimes used was mistakenly viewed as an ATSI language and dismissed as primitive. Alternatively, it was viewed as an incapacity to learn English properly...."

Indigenous people were forbidden to speak their own languages, yet they were ridiculed and criticised for speaking 'Pidgin' English. However, as T.G.H Strehlow, (Undated), cited in the House of Representatives Standing Committee on ATSI Affairs (1992p.18), explains in relation to Northern Territory Pidgin English:

"Northern Territory Pidgin English is not English perverted and mangled by the natives; it is English perverted and mangled by ignorant Whites, who have in turn taught this ridiculous gibberish to the natives and who then affect to be amused by the childish babbling of these 'savages'.

The negative attitudes towards non-standard dialects like Creole and Aboriginal English originating from this early stage have survived almost to the present day. The traditional educational approach towards such English was to 'eradicate' it as it was believed to be corrupted and uneducated, House of Representatives Standing Committee on ATSI Affairs (1992p.30).

Although these attempts often failed, Fesl (1993p.150), explains that Indigenous attitudes towards the way they speak varies from pride to embarrassment that they cannot express themselves in SAE. Fesl (1993p.150), believes that this self-consciousness arose as a result of the attitude and behaviour of teachers and missionaries towards Indigenous people and their speech styles. The House of Representatives Standing Committee on ATSI Affairs (1992p.31), believe that:

"While attitudes to Aboriginal English may be changing, the changes are far from complete and basic teacher training still doesn't adequately prepare teachers...."

They recommend better training for teachers and curriculum material to support teachers in the classroom teaching English as a second language.

Essentially language policy from the late 1980's-1990's appears (at least on paper), to have begun to redress the ignorance, oppression and neglect of Indigenous language. However, there is still room for doubt as to whether Indigenous languages exist on equal footing with the English language after reading, for example, the green and white papers.

Due to the 1996 change in government at the time of writing this work, it is unclear as to how policy will change in the future regarding Indigenous peoples and their languages. This is especially in light of the proposed budget cuts to be made in the area of Indigenous affairs.

Additionally, it should be noted that whether deliberate or not, the language and wording of policy especially from the late 1980's, makes it extremely difficult for the average person (such as myself), to understand how they translate into actual practise.

Summary

In accordance with the development of Australia as a multicultural nation, so too have government policies dealing with Indigenous peoples and languages echoed these developments. From the earliest European settlement in Australia, good intentioned policies such as the 'schooling' policy in NSW, which tried to force 'education' on Indigenous peoples, were unsuccessful, (cf. this chapter p.74-5). Unfortunately, such policies did much to further damage European views of Indigenous people ie. that Indigenous people could not do well at school, therefore could not be 'educated' in the European way and were thus 'inferior'.

Negative attitudes towards Indigenous peoples often led to policies which dealt negatively with the peoples, their cultures and languages ie the banning of speaking Indigenous languages, banning the practise of Indigenous traditions etc. in order for Indigenous peoples to assimilate better into the 'superior' European way of life.

Prior to the late 1960's in Australia, policies on Indigenous peoples varied from outright genocide to neglect, laissez-faire, assimilation and protection-segregation, with little actually changing in relation to the status of Indigenous peoples, which at the time was lower than the status of other peoples living in Australia.

Prior to the 1970's, policies dealing with Indigenous languages have been non - existent. Rather, like the peoples who spoke them, the languages were thought to be 'inferior', 'heathen', or 'rubbish languages', thus were ignored and oppressed and peoples who spoke them were made to feel SHAME.

However, from the 1960's, certain social movements including a change in government, at the same time, spurred on by the Black Power Movement in the U.S, affected Indigenous Australians in positive ways. For example, Indigenous people were recognised as a 'people' in their own country and were given the right to vote. Additionally, in the 1960's, as Fesl (1991p.126), explains 'Yurri Gurri', 'welcome migrants' entered Australia, speaking languages other than English. This, says Fesl (1991p.126), encouraged Indigenous peoples to use or reclaim their own languages and also spurred on academic interest in languages other than English, especially Indigenous ones. This in turn lead to the first unofficial recognition of the existence of Indigenous languages in Australia, when bilingual education programs were introduced in some schools, in South Australia in the late 1960's and in the Northern Territory in 1973 (cf. House of Representatives Standing Committee on ATSI Affairs, 1992p.76).

Language policies from the 1980's to the 1990's appear (on paper at least), to have made a commitment to respect and maintain remaining Indigenous languages, (with the permission of Indigenous peoples). For example, the first official recognition of Indigenous languages as languages of Australia that deserve respect and acceptance, came in May 1987 through the government's release of the NPL, (cf. this chapter p.83). However, as Fesl (1991p.170) pointed out, good intentions on paper can be difficult to apply in real life, (cf. the Lo Bianco incident, this chapter p.83), and the 1991 White paper (cf. this chapter p.85).

Overall, Australia has developed positively in lieu of policies which now accept and respect languages other than English, especially Indigenous ones, which have suffered the most criticism and neglect. There is no doubt however, that languages other than English including Indigenous ones will never achieve the same status that government policy gives to English. However, Australia must continue to maintain a positive attitude towards languages other than English and put the policy promises made on paper into real life.

Additionally, as Mühlhäusler comments (1997p.2), there is a great need for there to be better documentation of the history of language policies in Australia, as much can be learnt from them. While this chapter only gives a brief outline of the kind of language policies that have existed in Australia, it has illustrated that good intentioned, bad policy making, can have damaging long term effects. For example, the '1939 Aborigines Act' brought in a new definition of an 'Aboriginal' person, (cf. p.96). This lead to the re - introduction of terminology used back in the 1860's such as half/quarter/three-quarter caste, full blood, octoroon and quadroon etc. which essentially refers to Indigenous peoples as if they were animals. This terminology not only continues to exist and be used commonly today, in 1997, but many non-Indigenous people refuse to believe it is offensive to Indigenous people. Any kind of reconciliation or mutual respect between Indigenous and non - Indigenous peoples cannot occur on unequal footing, when one culture still considers itself to be 'superior' and resorts to using this kind of dehumanising language, despite it being highly offensive to the other culture.

It will be interesting to note how the newly elected Liberal government in Australia will deal with issues on policy, in lieu of the budget cuts in ATSI affairs.

CHAPTER 6: ANALYSIS OF SPEECH EVALUATION

The following chapter discusses the results of the speech evaluation exercise undertaken in the Riverland. It was a conscious decision to place results in chapter six, to enable the reader, presented with the body of the thesis, to understand the entire situation, before making any judgement on the empirical data. Empirical results of the speech evaluation are listed, in full, in Appendix 6. p.223, while samples of the speech evaluation sheets, questions, reading passages used, can be found in Appendix 2.51 p.200-211.

Additionally, before beginning the data analysis, the following points should be made. Firstly, the percentages of respondent's ratings may seem high. This is due to the design of the speech evaluation sheet, which was divided into two columns representing traits and which did not accommodate for an 'in between' rating. Thus respondents were more likely to select traits spontaneously, rather than consider their judgement whether the speaker was, for example, strongly 'unhelpful' or only slightly 'unhelpful'. Only a minority of respondents who were not sure of how to answer or who wanted to rate 'in between', indicated this by ticking between the traits, (cf. Appendix 2.51 p 201).

Secondly, the small size (59) of respondents who participated in the speech evaluation, is an unfair indication of the amount of research into 'attitudes' done in the region. A speech evaluation more importantly cannot, used in isolation, illustrate people's attitudes towards a variety of speech or language styles. In my case, interviewing and simply discussing people's feelings about a certain speech style or language, far outweighed the written evaluation. This is especially notable in a community such as the Riverland, with an Indigenous component. An oral Indigenous culture places little emphasis on written material, reflected in the small amount (19) of respondents in the speech evaluation. A better response was achieved when Indigenous respondents could orally respond to the voices they heard rather than fill out the sheet provided. Some Indigenous people, when faced with the speech evaluation felt uncomfortable or embarrassed about the idea. However, this does not reflect the fact that aside from the speech evaluation, people did have a lot to say about language and stereotypes.

I have thus analysed Indigenous and non-Indigenous respondents separately to highlight any cultural differences in judgements of speakers.

Surprisingly, some European respondents also felt uncomfortable about the written speech evaluation, claiming it was 'too hard', 'confusing' or that their 'English was not good enough' or felt pressured that this was really some kind of 'test' to see how 'good' they could identify voices. However, such people often freely expressed their opinions during a simple discussion.

Thus in summary, a total of 59 respondents to the speech evaluation is hardly representative of the entire Riverland community. However, this gives some insight into indirect or unconscious attitudes towards certain varieties of speech. The evaluation, used in combination with interviewing, discussion and observation, has given me a significant indication into the kinds of attitudes peoples have which stem from this unconscious stereotyping of, in particular, Indigenous voices and speech styles.

The outcomes of the hypotheses made in this thesis were as follows:

Hypothesis 1: That non-Indigenous respondents would rate non-Indigenous speakers higher on status-stressing traits was proved correct. For example, speaker four, distinct-accented, 'European' female, was rated 'ambitious' by 67.5%, 'hard working' by 72.5%, 'successful' by 75%, 'smart' by 77% and 'would give a job to' by 92.5%.

Speaker 1, Indigenous male, but who was misidentified by 90% of non-Indigenous respondents as 'European Australian', was rated by 30% as 'ambitious', 95% as 'hard working', by 72.5% as 'successful', by 75% as 'smart' and by 75% as 'would give a job to'.

In comparison, speaker 3, Anglo - Australian male, but who was misidentified by 92.5% of non-Indigenous respondents as 'Indigenous', was rated 'ambitious' by 0%, 'hard working' by 35%, 'successful' by 17.5%, while 25% rated 'would give a job to'.

Speaker 2 who was correctly identified by 77.5% of non-Indigenous respondents as an 'Indigenous' female, was rated by 5% as 'ambitious', by 40% as 'hard working', by 45% as 'successful', by 65% as 'smart', while 62.5% rated 'would give a job to'.

Hypothesis 2: That non-Indigenous respondents would rate non-Indigenous speakers higher on solidarity-stressing traits was disproved. Non-Indigenous respondents rated all non-Indigenous respondents highly on solidarity-stressing traits, for example, speaker four, 'European Australian' female, was rated by 70% as 'nice', 80% as 'likeable', by 72.5% as 'friendly' and by 72.5% as 'would like as a friend'.

However, some non-Indigenous respondents rated some voices identified as 'Indigenous' as high as or higher than non-Indigenous speakers, on some solidarity-stressing traits. Results indicated that while these speakers were rated as highly as non-Indigenous respondents on traits like 'friendly' or 'nice' they were not rated as highly on the trait 'would like as a friend'. This possibly reflects a patronising attitude that some non-Indigenous peoples have towards Indigenous peoples in general. For example, speaker 3, Anglo - Australian male, but who was misidentified as 'Indigenous', was rated by 75% as 'nice', 75% as 'likeable', 60% as 'friendly', and by 57.5% as 'would like as a friend'.

Speaker 2, correctly identified by 77.5% of non-Indigenous respondents as 'Indigenous female' was rated by 77.5% as 'nice', 72.5% as 'likeable', 52.5% as 'friendly' and by 47.5% as 'would like as a friend'.

Hypothesis 3: That Indigenous respondents would rate non-Indigenous speakers higher on status-stressing traits was proved correct. For example, speaker 5, Indigenous male, but misidentified by 52.6% as 'European Australian', was rated by 84.2% as 'ambitious', 63.1% as 'hard working', by 68.4% as 'successful', by 57.8% as 'smart' and by 52.6% as 'would give a job to'.

Speaker 4, European female, was rated by 68.4% as 'ambitious', by 89.4% as 'hard working', by 52.6% as 'successful', by 52.6% as 'smart' and by 63.1% as 'would give a job to'.

In comparison, speaker 2, correctly rated by 89.4% as 'Indigenous' female, was rated by 0% as 'ambitious', by 52.6% as 'hard working', by 31.5% as 'successful', by 52.6% as 'smart' and by 47.3% as 'would give a job to'.

Speaker 6, European female but who was misidentified by 63.1% as 'Indigenous', was rated by 0%as 'ambitious', by 0% as 'hard working', by 0% as 'successful', by 21% as 'smart' and by 10.5% as 'would give a job to'.

Hypothesis 4: That Indigenous respondents would rate Indigenous speakers higher on solidarity -stressing traits was disproved. Feelings of solidarity did NOT influence evaluation. For example, in some cases ratings 'would like as a friend' or 'would give a job to' were not extended, even though respondents and speakers belonged to the same broad cultural group. For example, speaker 6, European female, but misidentified as 'Indigenous' by 63.1% of respondents, was rated by 21% as 'nice', by 31.5% as 'friendly', by 21% as 'likeable' and by only 10% as 'would like as a friend'.

Speaker 2 correctly identified as 'Indigenous' female by 89.4%, was rated by 57.8% as 'nice', by 52.6% as 'friendly', by 63.1% as 'likeable' and by 42.1% as 'would like as a friend'.

In comparison, speaker 4, rated correctly by 57.8% as 'European' female, was rated by 57.8% as 'nice', by 73.6% as 'friendly', by 73.6% as 'likeable' and by 57.8% as 'would like as a friend'.

Speaker 5, Indigenous male, misidentified by 52.6% of respondents as 'European male', was rated by 63.1% as 'nice', by 78.9% as 'friendly', by 73.6% as 'likeable' and by 52.6% as 'would like as a friend'. Therefore indicating that respondents rated non - Indigenous speakers as high as or higher than Indigenous speakers.

In relation to hypothesis 4, the result that feelings of solidarity did not influence evaluation, dispels the stereotype that being 'Black' means belonging to the same culture, sharing the same opinions and generally getting along well with anyone else who is 'Black'. Indeed, while Indigenous people assert their group solidarity from other cultural groups of Australia, it is important to remember that within the 'Indigenous' label itself, there is much cultural diversity, some peoples having completely different cultures e.g. mainland 'Aboriginal' culture and Torres Strait Islander culture. Additionally some Indigenous groups are traditionally hostile to others and to call all Indigenous groups the 'same' is OFFENSIVE.

A study with parallel results in terms of hypothesis 4, is Edwards (1978), study of West Indian speech in Britain. Results indicated that both British and West Indian British respondents rated West Indian speech very negatively. Even though West Indian speakers and respondents belonged to the same cultural group, this did not influence evaluation, (cf. Edwards, 1979).

It can be said that this tendency to downgrade one's speech is typical of all non-standard speakers, in that they appear to have accepted the negative views that standard speakers have imposed upon the way they speak. However, some studies indicate that minority groups do rate themselves higher than the majority group on solidarity - stressing traits. For example, Bradac and Wisegarver (1984), study of Mexican - Americans, and in terms of accent study, in Britain, Giles and Powesland (1975), Cheyne (1970) study of Scottish in England, and Milroy and McClenaghan's (1977) study of Irish and Scottish versus English (cf. Chapter 3 p.57-59).

However, more importantly, it is clear that despite negativity directed at non-standard languages, they continue to exist and continue to be used. In fact, in certain contexts these varieties are cherished by speakers as being markers of solidarity, identity and shared in - groupness. Even though results of speech evaluations like Edwards (1978) and my own (1997), do not support this, simple observation of non-standard speech in a community indicate that this is true.

Therefore, a speech evaluation is a context totally 'irrelevant' to oral cultures such as an Indigenous Australian or West Indian culture and consequently does not reflect real life usage of their variety of speech. As I have already pointed out, a speech evaluation exercise is not an adequate technique, on its own, to judge attitudes on speech. That is, people may negatively downgrade non-standard speech in an exercise, but still use it. For example, in the Riverland, results indicated that Indigenous respondents did downgrade their own speech and felt some negativity about themselves, although this perhaps was unconscious. It was apparent that at least some people had internalised negative attitudes towards them and their speech and had accepted this. However, more importantly, despite this negativity and years of attempts to abolish their varieties of speech through 'education', these varieties continue to be important symbols of identity and continue to be used.

Additional results of the speech evaluation are as follows. Firstly, to observe if and how people react to accent and speech style ie. non-standard speech. Results indicated that all respondents DID react to accent and speech style, in that a voice caused them to associate with a certain social class, nationality, occupation and status. Non-standard sounding speech was almost always judged more negatively on all traits, although not necessarily on all solidarity traits, (cf. Hypothesis 4 p.111). For example, speaker 6 was misidentified by 97.5% of non-Indigenous respondents as 'Indigenous' and was rated by 50% as 'lazy', 70% as 'lower class', and by 65% as 'stupid'.

Speaker 6 misidentified by 63.1% of Indigenous respondents as 'Indigenous' was rated by 31.5% as 'lazy', 36.8% as 'lower class', and by 21% as 'stupid'. A total of 97.5% of non-Indigenous respondents and 89.4% of Indigenous respondents rated speaker 6 as 'Unemployed'. She was described as 'boring', 'slow', 'disinterested' and 'awful'. However, respondents were generally less judgemental of speaker 6 on traits of solidarity. For example, non - Indigenous respondents rated speaker 6 as 35% 'nice', 55% 'friendly', 45% as 'likeable' and by 20% as 'would like as a friend'. Indigenous respondents rated speaker 6 thus, 21% as 'nice', 31.5% as 'friendly', 21% as 'likeable' and 10% as 'would like as a friend'.

Alternatively, speaker 1, an Indigenous male, was misidentified by 90% of non-Indigenous respondents and misidentified by 57.8% of Indigenous respondents as being 'European Australian'. He was rated by non-Indigenous respondents as 87.5% 'active', 95% as 'hard working', 36.8% as 'Upper class' and by 52.6% as 'successful'. A total of 77.5% of non-Indigenous respondents and 52.6% of Indigenous respondents rated speaker 1 as a 'teacher'. His voice was described as 'pleasant', 'educated', 'easy going' and 'knowledgeable'. On solidarity traits, non - Indigenous respondents rated him as 85% 'nice', 82.5% as 'friendly', 90% as 'likeable' and by 65% as 'would like as a friend'. Indigenous respondents rated on solidarity traits 63.1% 'nice', 57.8% as 'friendly', 26.3% as 'likeable', and by 57.8% as 'would like as a friend'.

Second, to determine whether respondents can correctly identify ethnicity/ nationality/cultural group or occupation by voice or speech style alone. Results indicated that with regards to ethnicity, all respondents misidentified to a large extent because they relied on stereotypes of how certain 'ethnic' groups sound. For example, speaker 6, was misidentified by 90% of non-Indigenous respondents as 'Indigenous' because the voice was described as 'slow', 'disinterested', 'awful', 'slurry' and 'uneducated'. A percentage of 63.1% of Indigenous respondents also misidentified speaker 6 as 'Indigenous'. They described her voice as 'slow', 'easy going', but 'boring'.

In contrast, speaker 1 was an Indigenous male who was misidentified by 90% of non-Indigenous respondents as 'European Australian' because his voice was described as 'educated', 'upper class', 'pleasant' and 'knowledgeable'. A percentage of 57.8% of Indigenous respondents misidentified speaker 1 as 'European Australian'. He was described as sounding 'smart', 'relaxed', 'easy going' and 'educated'.

The profiles for the other voices reflect similar stereotyping. Non-Indigenous respondents misidentified speaker, an Anglo-Australian male as 'Indigenous' by %. His voice was described as 'slow', 'uneducated' and 'rough'. Speaker 5, an Indigenous male, was misidentified by 92.5% of non - Indigenous respondents as 'European Australian'. His voice was described as 'pleasant', 'nice', 'smart' and 'educated'.

Speaker 4 a European female was correctly identified by 85% of non-Indigenous respondents, while 15% misidentified her as 'Asian-Australian. Her voice was described as 'nice', 'friendly', 'educated', with a 'funny accent'. The accent was frequently commented on, although some respondents were unable to detect which 'foreign' accent it was.

Speaker 2, an Indigenous female was correctly identified by 77.5% of non-Indigenous respondents as 'Indigenous', while 22.5% misidentified her as 'Anglo-Australian'. Her voice was described as 'boring', 'slow', 'funny accent' and an 'unusual accent'.

In comparison, 84.2% of Indigenous respondents correctly identified speaker 3 as Anglo-Australian male, while only 15.7% misidentified him as 'Indigenous'. His voice was described as 'slow', 'boring' and 'uneducated', but 'easy going'.

Speaker 5, Indigenous male was misidentified by 52.6% of Indigenous respondents as 'European', while 47.3% correctly identified him as 'Indigenous'. His voice was described as 'educated', 'smart', 'good', 'nice' and 'smart'.

Speaker 4 European female was correctly identified by 57.8% of Indigenous respondents as 'European', while 42.1% misidentified her as 'Asian-Australian'. Her voice was described as 'educated', 'fluent', 'smooth', 'nice', 'accented', 'foreign'.

Speaker 2 Indigenous female was misidentified by 89.4% of Indigenous respondents as 'Anglo-Australian', while 10.5% correctly identified her as 'Indigenous'. Her voice was described as 'accented', 'slow', 'boring' and 'educated'.

With regards to occupation, respondents again relied on stereotypes of voices to match the voice or speech style to what they considered a suitable job. A clear example of this is speaker 6 who was rated by 82.5% of non-Indigenous respondents and 89.4% of Indigenous respondents as 'Unemployed'. Her voice was described as 'uneducated', 'slow', 'boring', 'disinterested', 'awful' and 'slurry'.

This speaker was also rated by 40% of non-Indigenous respondents and by 42.1% of Indigenous respondents as 'small' and by 45% of non-Indigenous respondents and 10.5% of Indigenous respondents as 'good looking / attractive'.

The profiles for the other speakers reflect similar stereotyping. Speaker 1 was rated by 77.5% of non-Indigenous respondents and 52.6% of Indigenous respondents as a high prestige job, a 'teacher'. His voice was described as 'pleasant', 'educated', 'upper class', 'knowledgeable', and was thus given a high prestige job. He was also rated by 92.5% of non-Indigenous respondents and 42.1% of Indigenous respondents as 'big' and by 65% of non-Indigenous respondents and by 42.1% of Indigenous respondents as 'good looking/ handsome'.

Speaker 2 was rated by 57.5% of non-Indigenous respondents and by 52.5% of Indigenous respondents as a 'Shop assistant'. Her voice was described as 'slow', 'boring', educated', 'average', thus she was given an average job. She was also rated by 92.5% of non-Indigenous respondents and 68.4% of Indigenous respondents as 'small' and by 60% of non-Indigenous respondents and 47.3% of Indigenous respondents as 'good looking/ attractive'.

Speaker 3 was rated by 82.5% of non-Indigenous respondents as 'Unemployed'. His voice was described as 'slow'; 'rough', 'uneducated' thus rated the lowest status. A percentage of 57.8% of Indigenous respondents rated speaker 3 as 'Block worker'. They described his voice as 'uneducated', 'slow' and 'boring', thus matched him to an 'average' job, typical of the region. He was also rated by 75% of non - Indigenous respondents and 10.5% of Indigenous respondents as 'big' and by 20% of non - Indigenous respondents and 36.8% of Indigenous respondents as 'good looking / handsome'.

Speaker 4 was rated by 85% of non-Indigenous respondents as a 'Blockworker' *. Her voice was described as 'nice, 'friendly', 'educated' and 'accented'. In this case, non-Indigenous respondents appear to have reacted to her accent and given her a stereotyped occupation. That is certain 'ethnic' groups are predominantly 'Block workers'. A percentage of 42.1% of Indigenous respondents rated speaker 4 as a 'Shop assistant'. Her voice was described as 'nice', 'friendly', 'educated' and 'accented' and was matched to an average job. She was also rated by 72.5% of non-Indigenous respondents and 31.5% of Indigenous respondents as 'small' and by 82.5% of non-Indigenous respondents and 36.8% of Indigenous respondents as 'good looking / attractive'.

Speaker 5 was rated by 77.5% of non-Indigenous respondents and by 36.8% of Indigenous respondents as a 'Shop assistant'. His voice was described as 'educated', 'nice', 'good', 'smart', and was matched to an average job. He was also rated by 55% of non - Indigenous respondents and 89.4% of Indigenous respondents as 'big' and by 77.5% of non-Indigenous respondents and 52.6% of Indigenous respondents as 'good looking / handsome'.

Third to discover whether people in the Riverland judge and stereotype people by voice and speech style alone or whether non-linguistic factors such as skin colour are the basis of stereotyping. Frequent comments like 'Aboriginals have an accent all of their own', and 'You can always tell an Aboriginal on the phone' indicate that people DO react to a certain voice or speech style. This is one of the reasons for the speech evaluation, which was undertaken in the Riverland. Results of this evaluation have shown that:

* Footnote: 'Blockworker' is a term used by Riverlanders to refer to someone who works on a 'Block' eg acreage of land upon which a fruit orchard or vineyard is planted, typical of the region.

a) In relation to nationality all respondents relied heavily on stereotypes of certain 'ethnic' groups and how their voices 'sound'. For example, non-Indigenous respondents misidentified speakers 1,3,5,6 and Indigenous respondents misidentified speakers 1,2,5, and 6. 'Uneducated' and, non-standard 'sounding' voices were rated more likely to be 'Indigenous', while 'educated' and 'standard' sounding voices were usually denoted as 'European'.

b) In relation to occupation similar stereotyping occurred where 'educated', unaccented sounding voices were matched to more prestigious jobs and 'uneducated', non-standard sounding voices were matched to average or low prestige jobs. For example, all respondents rated speaker 6 as 'Unemployed' because her voice was described as 'disinterested', 'boring' and 'uneducated'.

c) In relation to personality traits, clearly certain voices and speech styles were associated with as was mentioned above (nationality and occupation), and then further associated with certain traits. For example, Indigenous sounding voices were usually rated lower than non-Indigenous sounding voices on traits relating to status ie. ambition, success, social class and would (not) give a job to. However, this was not necessarily the case in relation to traits of solidarity ie. 'Friendly', 'nice', 'likeable', 'would like as a friend'. Speaker 6 for example, European Australian female was misidentified by 97.5% of non-Indigenous and 63.1% of Indigenous respondents as 'Indigenous'. She was rated by 15% of non-Indigenous respondents and by 10.5% of Indigenous respondents as 'would give a job to'. However, on the solidarity trait 'would like as a friend', 20% of non-Indigenous and 21% of Indigenous respondents rated her as 'would like as a friend'.

d) Additionally, although all respondents stereotyped speakers on nationality and occupation, Indigenous respondents were on the whole less confident on judging personality traits, as can be seen from the high amount of respondents who rated 'in between' on the speech evaluation sheets. Indigenous respondents did not feel comfortable about the selections of traits and often felt the need to verbally explain their selections or apologise for choosing what they considered to be 'negative' traits associated with a speaker. Thus perhaps there is a cultural difference in the way personality traits are associated with voices. Indigenous peoples felt that the kind of personality someone had depended very much on their background, where they were from etc., rather than from voice or speech style alone.

Neither Indigenous nor non-Indigenous informants believed they stereotyped people on the basis of voice or speech. The results of the speech evaluation indicate otherwise. All informants believed personal appearance; especially skin colour played a more important role in the judgement of people. Indigenous informants felt that because of their skin colour they were automatically labelled as 'drunks' and 'bludgers', being 'less intelligent and 'being all the same'. Thus they felt uncomfortable in the presence of non-Indigenous peoples. Some non-Indigenous people felt that regardless of skin colour, appearance was an important factor in whether they gave someone a job or whether they wanted to be associated with that person. Alternatively, some non-Indigenous informants did admit that they saw things like very dark skin and eyes as being features they felt uncomfortable about.

Therefore it appears that both linguistic and non-linguistic factors play a role in the judgement of people. Although physical appearance would probably outweigh the importance of voice or speech style in everyday situations, judging people by their voice or speech style, while a more subtle and indirect method of stereotyping is no less damaging. This is especially so in contexts of applying for a job, interview or information from over the telephone.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION

The aim of this thesis was to illustrate some of the attitudes towards Indigenous peoples and their languages in the Riverland. Various methods were used to do this, including observation, interviewing and discussion, a written speech evaluation, a collection of relevant newspaper articles etc. and inside knowledge from being a member of the community. These methods were based on the work done by academics in this field such as Labov (1972), Milroy (1980), Wundersitz (1979) and Gallois et al. (1984).

This work does not represent the entire Riverland community, but focuses only on the percentage of the community who exhibit negative views towards Indigenous peoples and languages, in order to try to understand them. This work therefore does not claim that the entire Riverland can be labelled with the taboo word, 'racist'. Rather by concentrating on negative attitudes this work tried to uncover the kinds of racist comments existing in the region, what were their origins, why people have these attitudes, what could be learnt from these kinds of attitudes and what could be done to improve racial harmony.

This thesis has illustrated the following points:

I. General Findings

a) The Riverland's original Indigenous population died out in just 80 years from disease, frontier violence and the loss of the traditional ecological life support system. Behind them they have left no recognisable remnants of their culture or language in either town or family names. Only fragments of their culture can be found in the notes of a few explorers and travellers to the region. Thus the Riverland does not have the kind of 'traditional' lifestyle, culture or language that many non-Indigenous Riverlanders claim that 'real' Indigenous people have.

b) The Riverland today is made up of many different Indigenous groups who have come from diverse regions of Australia, who due to various circumstances have made the Riverland their home. With them these peoples have brought their language, culture, history and identity to create a new unique Indigenous environment. This reflects the many different varieties and ways language is used in the area.

c) Attitudes towards Indigenous peoples have rarely been supportive in this community. Ignorance about cultural differences continues to thrive among all ages. Attitude strengths tend to vary according to certain media events and tend to centre on certain topics like 'work ethics', 'alcohol', 'housing' and 'government funding'. Negative attitudes, stereotypes and ignorance lead to cross cultural conflicts and ultimately end up in violence.

d) Research done by Wundersitz (1979) and Gallois et al. (1984), on attitudes towards Indigenous peoples in Australian communities indicate there is still considerable prejudice and social distance between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians. Additionally, more research needs to be undertaken.

e) Negative attitudes towards Indigenous people are dehumanising in nature ie frequent referral to people as half/quarter/three- quarter castes, full bloods etc. This in turn makes it easier to label them as 'bludgers' 'alcoholics' and blame them for all kinds of 'problems' in Australia today. These attitudes date back to colonial times and the development of theories like 'social Darwinism', over 100 years ago and still have current usage, having been passed down from generation to generation. Indigenous people become easy targets for abuse after being dehumanised through language. Results of this include that Indigenous people and non-Indigenous people feel uncomfortable in the presence of each other, which in turn leads to further segregation and fostering of myths. Reconciliation is also made difficult when non-Indigenous peoples in the 1990's still refer to Indigenous peoples as 'animal like' by using terminology like 'half caste' etc, without realising that this is offensive. Reconciliation must occur on equal footing, it cannot when one culture still believes itself to be 'superior'.

f) Attitude studies around the world indicate that accent, speech style and verbal redundancy can and do affect the way a speaker is perceived and what kind of employment the speaker is likely to receive. A non-standard accent or speech style and low verbal redundancy are most likely matched to a low prestige job which requires friendliness and good humour rather than technical expertise. Attitude studies done on education also reveal that non-standard forms of speech can bias a teacher's judgement of a student's performance and abilities in a negative way. Such non-standardness has been seen as being 'inferior' compared to standard speech and reflects years of attempts of abolishment through 'education'. More importantly all of these studies reveal social judgements of taste and convention and do NOT reflect any inherent linguistic or aesthetic inferiorities.

g) While non-standard and non-Indo-European varieties of English have been neglected in studies, particularly attitude studies, there is some evidence to suggest that English is rapidly taking over as the high prestige language in the Pacific, at the expense of the Indigenous languages. This is especially in terms of status, where peoples appear to have more positive attitudes towards the use of English than their Indigenous languages eg. English language is seen as the key to getting a 'good' job, wealth, power and knowledge.

h) Pre-1970's Government policies tended to reflect negative attitudes towards Indigenous peoples, cultures and languages and have ranged from neglect, assimilation, protection - segregation to outright genocide. Indigenous people were not recognised as a 'people' in their own country until 1967 and Indigenous languages were not officially recognised as being the languages of Australia until May 1987. Policies from the 1970's appear to have begun to redress the neglect Indigenous culture and languages have suffered, although as Fesl (1991p.170) pointed out good intentions can be difficult to put into practise. There is still not enough decision making done by Indigenous peoples about their own welfare and the welfare of their cultures and languages.

II Findings on Language Attitudes

I) People have reactions towards certain voices and speech styles, which they stereotypically associate with a certain social class, ethnic group and occupation. In some cases the voice or speech style can lead a hearer to make further judgements about personality, without actually physically seeing that speaker. For example, 'he sounds smart' or 'she sounds posh'.

j) Analysis of the speech evaluation conducted in the Riverland indicates considerable, although indirect, stereotyping on the basis of speech style and accent. Accents and non-standard speech were stereotyped as belonging to certain 'ethnic' groups, were matched to less prestigious jobs and rated relatively low on traits related to status. Only on some traits related to solidarity, was non-standard speech rated relatively highly.

k) Essentially, making judgements about a person on the basis of their voice or speech style can be just as harmful as blatant stereotyping, in contexts such as applying for a job, a job interview or for information over the telephone. Although this is an indirect form of stereotyping when a person acts upon this negatively, it is still a form of discrimination.

A speech evaluation exercise is not (yet) applicable as a technique, for an Indigenous Australian context. Firstly, it is an alien context for oral cultures. Secondly, as a result of this, the evaluation does not give a fair indication of people's feelings about speech as it relies on a written context and the sheet to be filled out fully. Thirdly, a non-standard speaking community may downgrade their own speech, but still continue to use it, reflecting a quite different attitude towards it in certain contexts.

In conclusion, the Riverland's natural and cultural ecology was totally altered as a result of European contact and settlement. In relation to the Indigenous peoples of this ecology, Fitzgerald (1971p.87) comments:

"Disruption was probably more extreme and rapid in this area than anywhere else in South Australia for even before direct settlement contact was made, death through diseases, and then through physical clash during the period of overlanding, decimated the Aboriginal population..."

Consequently, today the Riverland has a complex and unique socio-historical situation, which reflects a history of only partially successful and sometimes hostile encounters between different peoples.

The Riverland is currently made up of various cultural groups, including many different Indigenous groups. Although the 'new' Indigenous groups are not the 'traditional' owners of the area, they have brought with them their languages and cultures and have begun to give the Riverland a new and unique Indigenous identity.

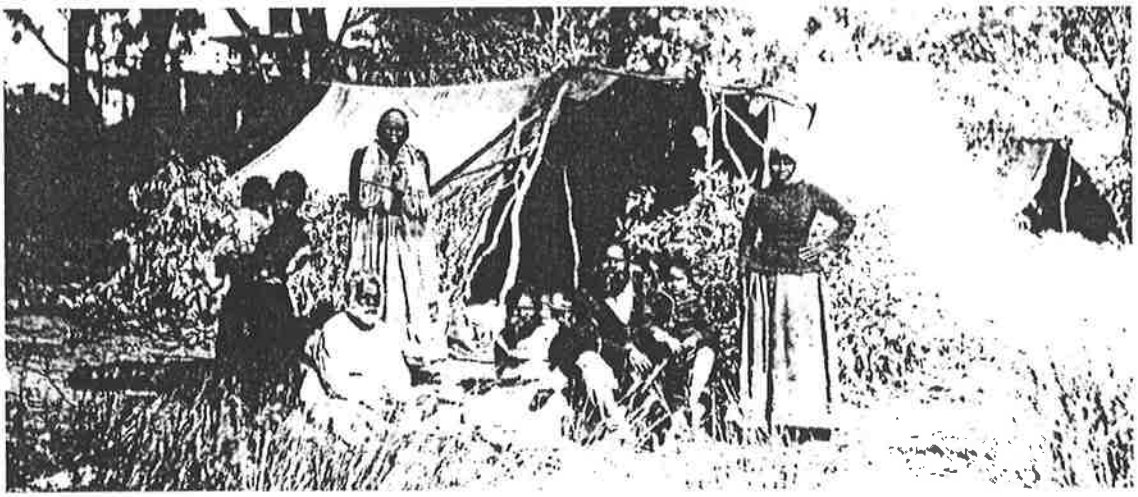
My research suggests, non-Indigenous Riverlanders know little if anything at all about past or present Indigenous culture in the Riverland. Consequently, people are often ignorant of cultural differences, have negative attitudes and foster myths about Indigenous people. Often there is mistaken stereotyping, rather than true knowledge about Indigenous peoples, languages and lifestyles. Stereotyping such as this is both a symptom and a cause of social division.

APPENDICES

A number of newspaper articles have been removed from the digital copy of this thesis due to copyright regulations. They are available in the print copy held in the University of Adelaide Library.

APPENDIX FOR CHAPTER 1

1. 1 Tommy Dodd, (third from right), was a local 'king' of the Chowilla group, who lived in the Chowilla/Renmark area, around 1890, (cf. Storry et al., 1987p.8 *Pictorial History of Renmark*,).

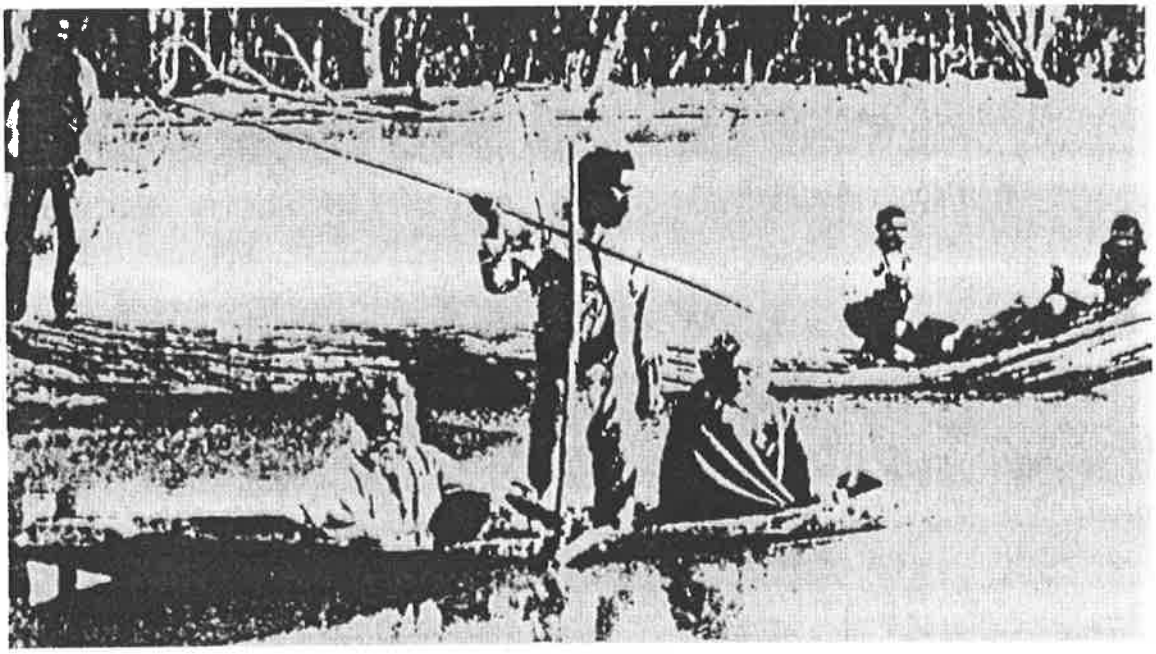


1. 2 The famous **Nanya** group, roamed the Mallee country north of Renmark around the 1860's. Nanya, (far left), was wanted on an alleged murder charge in the Darling country. He was famous for his escape, taking two Indigenous women with him. The chase was called off after several days, apparently, as it was believed the trio could not survive the heat. Thirty years later, in 1892 a family of 30 was 'rounded up' near Oak Vale on the NSW border area, progeny of Nanya and his wives. Nanya was a 'Cathro' man, of the Danggali. Today in Renmark, the Nanya Bistro (part of the Renmark Hotel), bears his family name in his honour, (cf., Grosvenor, 1979p.7 *Red Mud to Green Oasis*).

1. 3 This is Nanya's Wurlie on the Danggali Conservation Park, as it existed over 70 years after he roamed the Renmark region with his family, (cf., Grosvenor, 1979p.9 *Red Mud to Green Oasis*). Today little is left.

1. 4 This is a blind woman famous for her basket work in Renmark. This photo was taken in 1906 when she was in her 90's. The Indigenous group to which she belonged is unknown, (cf. Grosvenor, 1979p.8 *Red mud to Green Oasis*,).

1.5 Fishing from a bark canoe in Chowilla creek in the 1870s. From left, Kulkyne Tommy, Old King Billie, George Monoman, Unknown, Billy Robinson and George Rainer (cf. *River Reflections*, 1986 p.8).

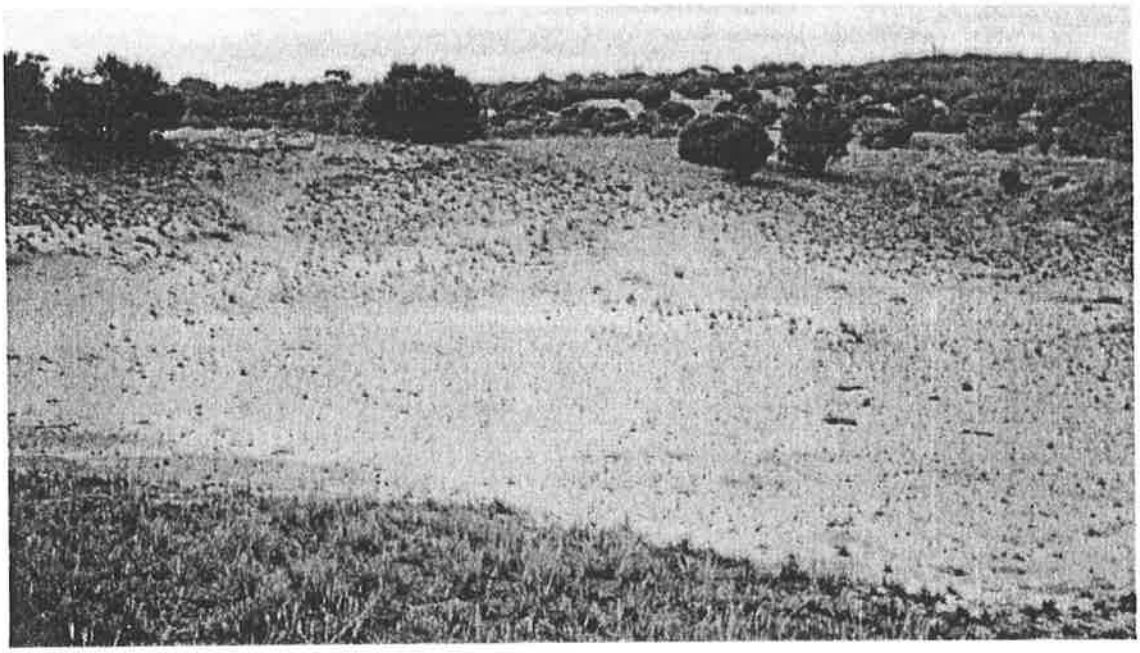


1. 6 George Disher was a well respected local identity in the Renmark area around the 1940's. He was talented in the art of 'writing backwards'. Disher claimed to be 'king' of a local Indigenous group in the area, (cf. Grosvenor, 1979p.4. *Red mud to Green Oasis*). Many Riverlanders still remember George Disher, although there is virtually nothing written about him in newspapers or texts on the Riverland region.

1. 7 This is SUGARLOAF HILL in Loch Luna Reserve (former Ngawait territory), on the horizon, supposedly a place of spiritual significance for the early Indigenous peoples who lived in the Barmera district.

1. 8 A view from one side of SUGARLOAF HILL (Chambers creek), illustrating the rich (protected) wetlands of the area. The reverse side of the hill is a working limestone quarry.

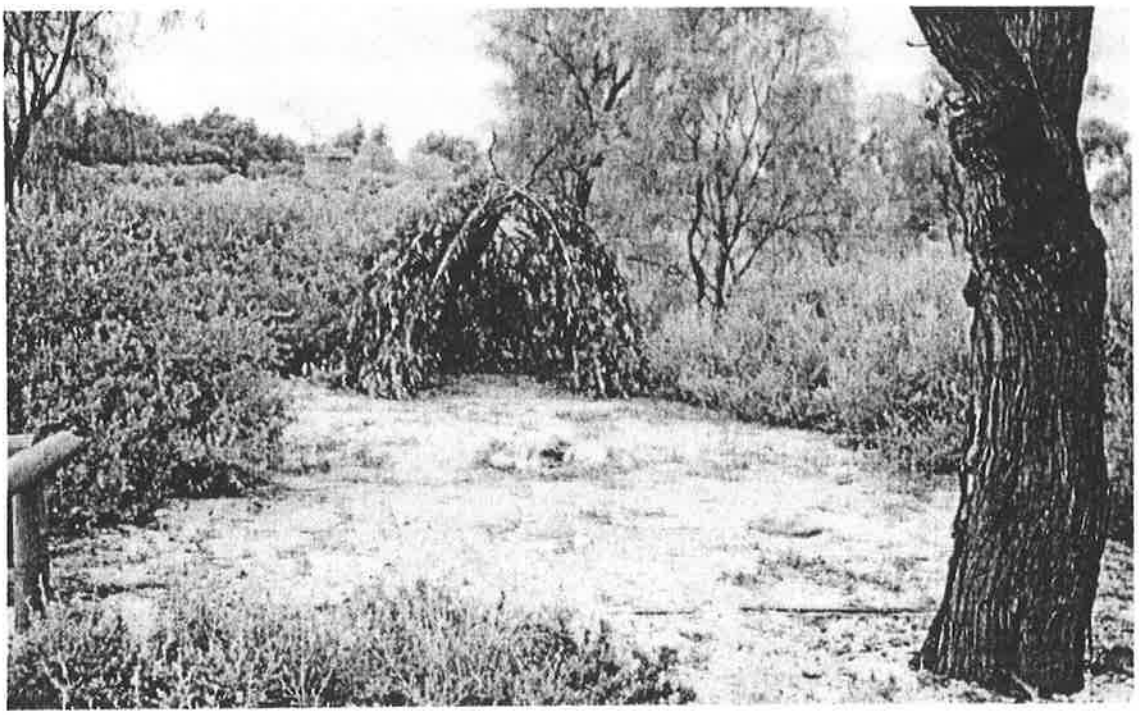
1. 9 Burial sites containing Indigenous skeletal remains, chert, stone deposits and char from old fires can be found easily in various places around the Riverland such as here, the now protected Loch Luna Reserve in Barmera.



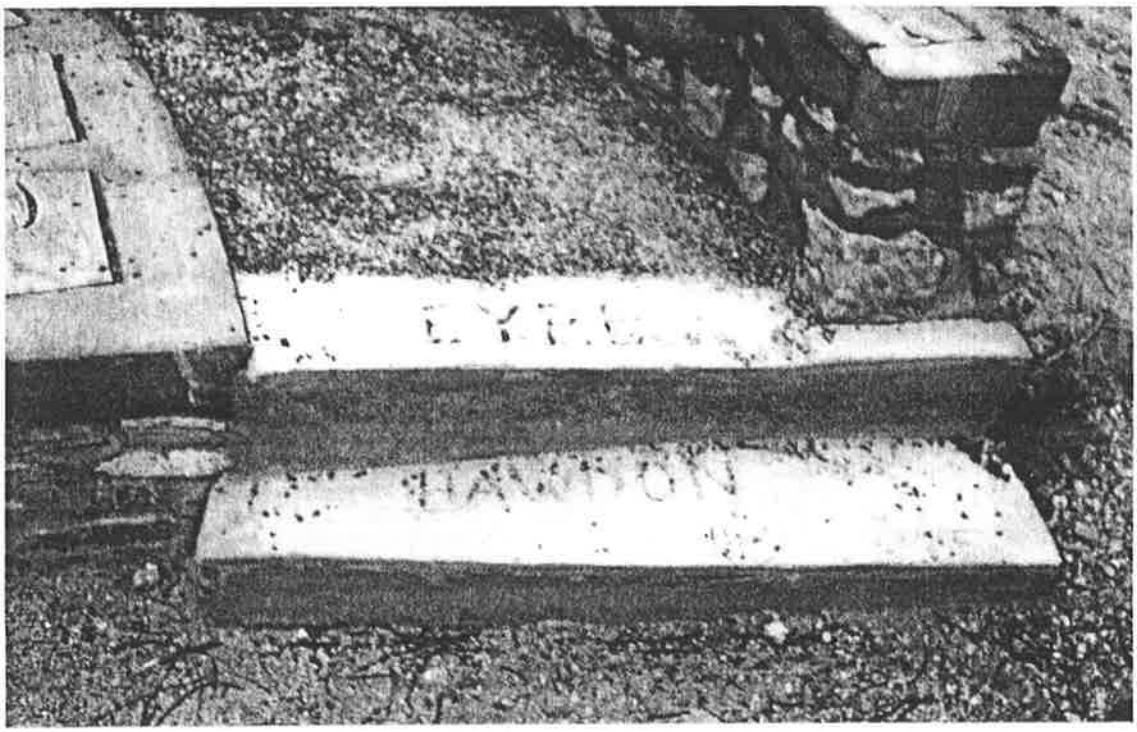
1.10 Some areas around the Riverland such as Spectacle Lakes, Loveday, in the Barmera district remain unprotected. This site contains burial grounds of former Ngawait peoples. Today it is used as a cattle station and the area's fragile ecology is rapidly being destroyed.

1. 11 This park is dedicated to the Ngawait peoples who first lived in the Barmera area. The park is adjacent to Lake Bonney or Nookampka as it was called by Indigenous groups. The park is named after Captain Charles Sturt, overlander and notable explorer.

1. 12 Within the park a Wurlie with campfire and various traditional food/ Wildlife structures have been erected to reflect how the traditional lifestyle might have been.



1. 13 An outdoor classroom/ arena has been constructed within the park. The steps of the arena have been honoured with the names of two of the early Indigenous groups to live in the Barmera area, the Narwij - jerook and Barmera Maru. There is some argument about how many groups lived here and what their names were, (cf. Appendix 1.No.1.26). The other two steps have been named after Joseph Hawdon (1838), whose party was the first of the overlanders in the Riverland and directly after, Edward John Eyre (1838) came with his overlanding party.



1. 14 Nookampka (Lake Bonney) in Ngawait territory.

1.15 Blackfellows Creek in the Loveday area of former Ngawait territory. According to Woolmer (1973 p. 7), on the 31st of January 1830, Captain Charles Sturt's whaleboat expedition first encountered the Riverland's Indigenous peoples. Sturt, cited in Woolmer (1973 p. 7) wrote:

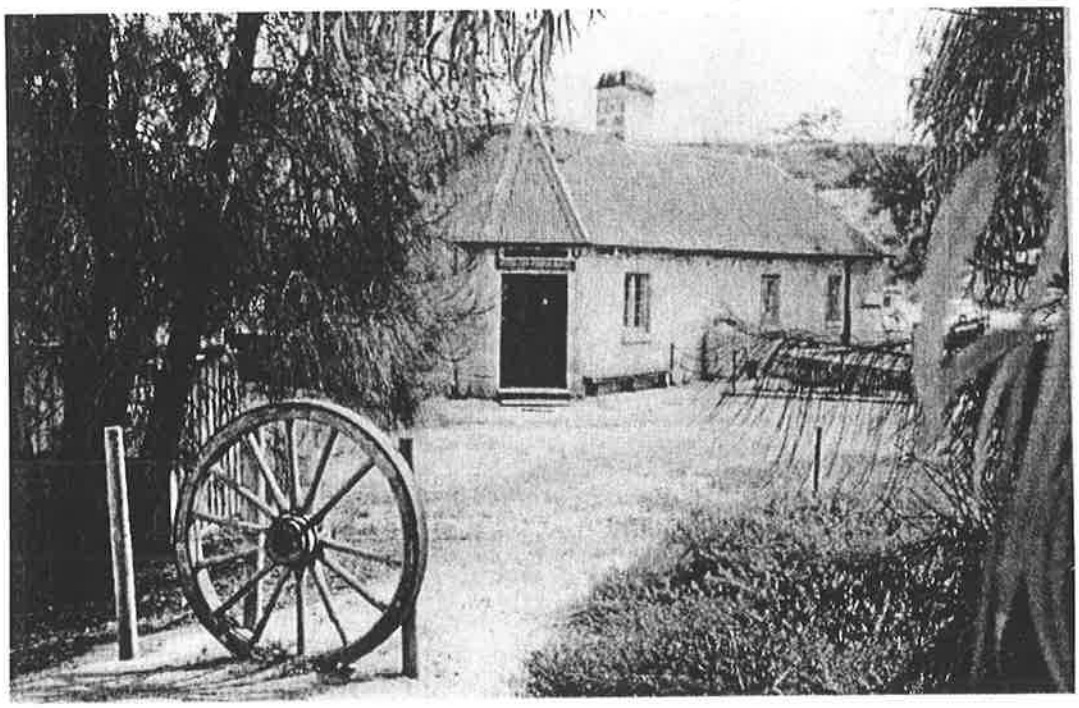
"After our usual distribution of presents, we pushed away from the bank; though not without some difficulty, in the consequence of the obstinacy of the natives in wishing to detain us: and I was exceedingly vexed to find, while we were yet in sight of them, that we had proceeded down a shallow channel on one side of an inland instead of the further and deeper one; so that the boat ultimately grounded. A crowd of blacks rushed into the water, and surrounded us on every side. Some came to assist, others, under a pretence of assisting, pulled against us, and I was at length obliged to repel them by threats."

Sturt named the spot of this encounter Blackfellows Creek.

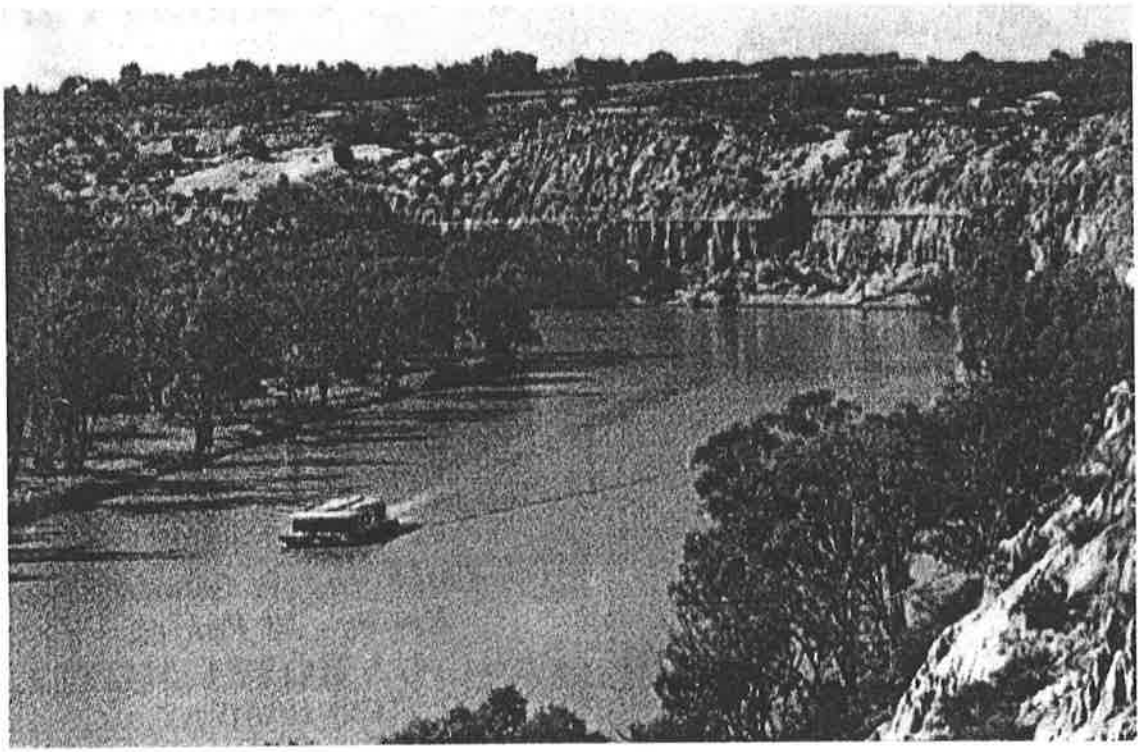
1.16 At Overland Corner, within former Ngawait territory, the character of the river valley changes dramatically. As Woolmer (1986 p. 1) comments:

> "It is here that the River Murray flows from its 8 or so kilometre wide flood plains into sandstone country to its 1½ kilometre wide gorge in the limestone country. This striking geological disparity occurs on a north-east trending fault which cuts through Overland Corner."

1. 17 The Overland Corner Hotel, established in 1859 is a valuable historical establishment with a rich history. The hotel is built on camping and burial grounds, the site being an alluvial fan. Layers of bones, firestones, mussels and chips can be found in this area, (Woolmer, 1973p.9). The area's Indigenous place names, place stories, sacred and special sites are lost. Parcoola, the name of an old station and a lagoon a few miles downstream and later a hundred, is a surviving name. Praite and Tolly, cited in Woolmer, (1973p.9), say it is a 'native' name meaning 'three', although as Woolmer points out, even this may not be of the local dialect. He adds "There are no known carvings or rock markings in the district, although caves below Overland Corner once held markings: the soft limestone has destroyed any traces....", (cf. Woolmer, *The Barmera Story*).



1.17 A view of the sandstone cliffs bordering the River Murray at Waikerie in former Ngawait territory.



1.18 Katarapko is part of the Murray River National Park in former Erawirung territory.

1. 19 One of the important Park/ Reserves in the Riverland is the Katatapko National Park, supposedly a spiritually important area for early Indigenous peoples of the Riverland. Within the Park is an island, which was used exclusively for the burial of their dead. Dowling, (1990), in his thesis **Violent Epidemics**, comments that Katarapko has one of the few remaining burial sites left able to be investigated, as commercial and farming activities have largely damaged other burial sites in the Riverland. Katarapko remains protected today but suffers from processes of natural erosion. However, Dowling, (1990), (with the permission of local Indigenous peoples), was able to take samples from the burials and found that radiocarbon dating indicated this burial site to reach back almost 5, 000 years and had continued to be used up to about 150 years ago. For more information (cf. Dowling, 1990p.42-45).

1. 20 Mallee country at Katarapko.

1.21 The Kai Kai Nature Trail.

Enjoying the peace and tranquillity of Katarapko

Calling birds are the only sound which disturbs the peace at Katarapko National Park, near Loxton.

More than 140 species have been identified in the park.

Katarapko contains a large proportion of the Murray-Darling floodplain environment in SA.

About 75% of the park is a floodplain, including some of the best riverine floodplain areas.

Most of southern Australia's waterbirds breed on the Murray-Darling floodplain, making it an important area for conservation.

Thick lignum bushes protect billabongs and lagoons, creating an undisturbed waterfowl habitat.

An attractive walking path has been established by Winkie Primary School in Katarapko.

The Kai Kai Nature Trail is located in the middle of the park.

Kai Kai is the Ngarrindjeri word for 'plain', an accurate description of the walk, which meanders amongst the Redgums at Katarapko creek bank, and then into the Black Box trees of the surrounding floodplain.

There are markers along the trail identifying and explaining points of interest such as fallen redgums, gutters and galls on trees.

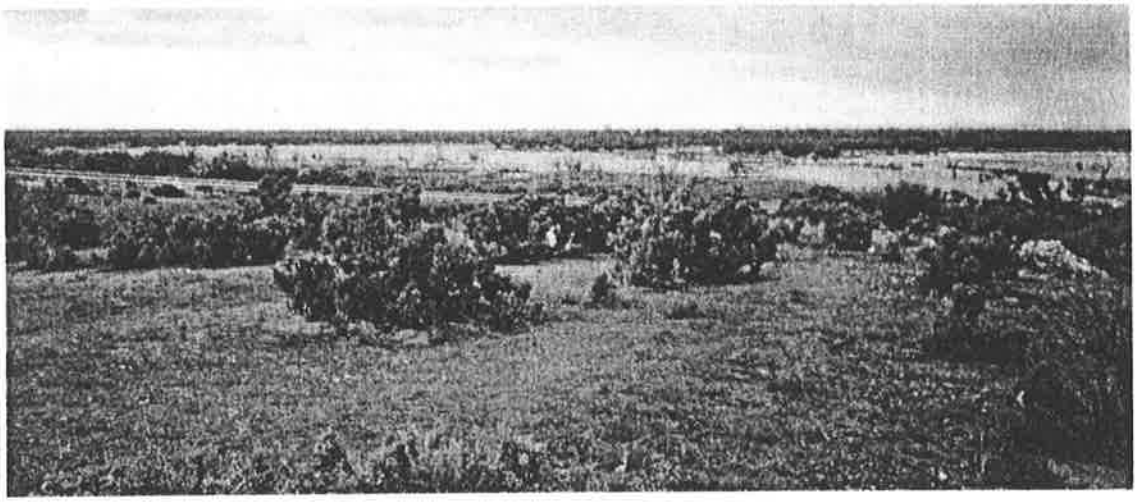
This makes the trail ideal for families, as adults will find the information just as interesting as children.

The walk lasts about 30 minutes.

Maps and information about Katarapko or Kai Kai are available from the Loxton Tourist Information Centre, at 45 East Terrace (847919 or 846390), or Berri Tourist and Travel Centre, at 24 Vaughan Terrace, Berri (82 1655).

"The Riverland Sun", Winter 1996

1.22 The floodplains of Lyrup are part of the Murray River National Park in former Erawirung territory.



1.23 Images of a minute part of Dishers Creek evaporation basin, part of the Lyrup floodplains.

1. 24 This is supposedly the only remaining place-name story pertaining to an Indigenous group which lived at Barmera, recounted by a settler to The Murray Pioneer 1918, cited in Woolmer, (1973p.16).

The Punyelroo Cave

"Chatting to an old Black in 1890 about the cave in the big bend below Swan Reach, he told me that in the earlier days, long time ago, the Lake Bonney tribe of natives came down the river and raided the wurlies of the Cowirra Blacks killing some of the males and carrying off the best looking of the girls. One young warrior of the Cowirra tribe, followed up the victors, and when they were near Overland Corner killed both his bride - to - be and the native who had carried her off. Taking to the river, with the enemy in close pursuit, he swam across to the cliffs (from his description I would say it was Heinecke's Cliff) and entered a cave. Knowing it was useless to return, he crawled and crawled along, hoping to find another outlet. In three days he reached the open air again coming out at the well known Punyelroo Cave, only too pleased to find himself well away from his pursuers. White folks have penetrated this cave and crawled through it for hours. In some places it opens out into large rooms and dead trees are lying in some of the large caverns...."

1.25 The following passages contain the few words, (apart from town names), recorded for the local Indigenous languages. These words may not be true representations of the originals having been anglicised and distorted over time. These passages do reflect, however, how little is known about the language of early Indigenous Riverlanders.

In 1838, overlander Joseph Hawdon, cited in Woolmer, (1973p.16), recorded in his journal, on his way past Overland Corner, dated 13 March:

"Three Blacks on their way to acquaint the next tribe of our approach. They carried a small net full of mussels slung across their shoulders on a spear. As they passed me, trotting along their native path, they saluted to me with a laugh and their native "**Memera**": 'We are Friends'..."

There is at least one mention in settler's accounts of the existence of a Pidgin English used between Indigenous peoples and Europeans. This reflected how quickly the Indigenous peoples of the region adapted to and began using English with the Europeans. In November 1855, woodcutters including Mr W.Napper, arrived at Cobdogla by steamer. The daughter of one of these men later wrote a family history and in one incident, cited in Woolmer, (1973p.16), she recalled :

"Another time while mother was getting breakfast ready, after father had left home to look for work, the pieces of blanket that was hung in the doorway to serve as a door was thrown aside and a Black fellow stepped in. Mother jumped up and grabbed the gun that stood in the corner of the room (thinking to frighten him), but he only smiled and said: **"Puttem down that one gun Missus, that one no good him no carry cap. What for you frightened?".** He was only making a friendly call....."

A 1919 Murray Pioneer article on the lives of early settlers Mrs.W.Brand (born 1840) and Mr G.Schell (born 1841), quoted them as saying:

"The natives called the water '**Barmera**' and when the lake was dry, an edible root known as '**Pullilla**' by the natives and much valued as food, grew in its bed...."

"The young men were tatooed for the first time, and sent away into the bush for a week. They reddened their faces with ochre and had to camp out without even a **mia - mia** for shelter...."

Elizabeth and Anne Napper daughter of woodcutter William Napper had their reminiscences published in a 1929 Pioneer article. They said talking about the 1860's:

"We used to watch the Blacks coming in their **Mungoes** up Chambers Creek...."

1. 26 There are varying stories about town names of the Riverland and their origins. I have listed all Riverland town names I could find, which are supposedly of Indigenous origin.

Alawoona - 'Place of hot winds', (cf.Casson, 1972p.127).

Barmera - According to Cockburn, (1984p.27), 'Barmera is a corruption of Barmeedjie, the name of the peoples who lived on the northern bank in this region, Nookam(p)ka was the name of the tribe who lived on the Southern bank…'.

Early settlers to the Riverland, Mrs W.Brand and Mr G.Schell, cited in Woolmer (1973p.79), wrote that present day Barmera was named after : "The Barmedki tribe of Blacks, who lived between the river and the lakes. Barmedki was possibly a later form of the lake clan's name…."

The first party of overlanders in the region was led by Joseph Hawdon, (1838). He noted in his diary, cited in Woolmer, (1973p.79), a group at the lake called 'Nookampka'. Shortly after Hawdon's overlanding party came Eyre. Eyre (1838), cited in Woolmer, (1973p.79), noted that a 'group' living at the lake called 'Barmera', were called Barmerara Maru, -Maru could meaning frequenters or men of that place. Other clans were not listed. According to Woolmer, (1973p.79), the first known name recorded for the present day Barmera area by Eyre (1845) was Nar - wij - jerook or Narwij - jerook.

S.McIntosh who was director of Irrigation in Renmark in 1891, was quoted in an Advertiser of 1925, cited in Woolmer, (1973p.79), as saying : "The Black on the Eastern side of the lake knew it (the lake) as Nookampka, while the natives on the Western side called it Barmera…."

Berri - (Initially named Berry Berry then Beri Beri/Berri Berri) 'Type of local bush, illness or bend in the river', (cf. *River Reflections*, 1986p.10).

Chowilla - 'Place of spirits and ghosts', (cf. Grosvenor, 1979p.79).

Cobdogla - According to Woolmer, (1973p.15), this originates from 'Land of Plenty'. The name was originally spelt with a 'p' as in 'Copdogla'. He explains that when the owner's first came to fence the station a mob of Blacks came down the river which was in flood at the time. Birds and fish were plentiful and in abundance and the Blacks repeatedly exclaimed 'Copdogla Copdogla', so the story goes, (cf. Woolmer 1973p.15).

Alternatively, as Priate and Tolley cited in Woolmer, (1973p.15), explain Cobdogla was 'An Aboriginal name of the king of the Overland Corner tribe'.

The Murray Pioneer 20.12.1929, cited in Woolmer, (1973p.16), refers to an occurrence in 1870, where a daughter of early settler family, the Nappers, explained : "One day 'scrubber', 'Fisherman Jimmy' and others came to the [Lake Bonney] hotel leading a very old Black who was quite blind. The young fellows all wanted to go hunting and asked father to take care of the old black for the day. Father told the old fellow, who had white hair, to sit down in the sun. He fed him and the Black dozed most of the day. At night the hunters returned and as they walked past the hotel one behind the other a voice called 'Cobdogla, Cobdogla'. The old Black got up and joined his tribe….".

Early settlers in the Riverland, Mrs W.Brand and G.Schell, quoted in a 1919 Murray Pioneer , cited in Woolmer, (1973p.16), explained : "Cobdogla was named after 'King Cobdogla' of the Barmedki tribe of Blacks, who lived between the river and the lakes".

Gurra Gurra - Named after the Gurra Gurra paddock of Bookpurnong station. The native meaning of this word is lost, (cf. *River Reflections*, 1986 p.8)

Ingalta - 'A portion of the River Murray', (cf. Casson, (1972 p.127).

Katarapko - 'Bark of the gum tree' (cf. Casson, 1972 p.127).

Koowa - 'Plentiful', (cf. Casson, 1972 p.127).

Mantung - 'At the camping place', (cf. Casson, 1972 p.127).

Moorook - is said to be derived from either :

Maru - collective name for a group of tribes in the area, Tindale (1974), cited in (Mack, 1994 p.44);

Moolyoolko- name for a lagoon near Moorook, Eyre, (1838), (cf. Mack, 1994 p.44);

Mooroo - 'fine dust or powdery matter', (cf. Mack, 1994 p.44);

Moorook - 'Big Bend in the river', (Wachtel, 1982 p.7);

Muroomuroo - name for a black waterhen (Gallinula tenebrosa), common bird of the local lagoon and swamps, Gason, (1879), (cf. Mack, 1994 p.44);

Namaruku - local Indigenous group mentioned in the Journal of the Royal Anthropological institute of 1918, (cf. Mack, 1994 p.44);

Narwij-jerook - Name of a local group recorded by Eyre (1845), (cf. Mack, 1994 p.44).

Neerook - 'wood', Murray Pioneer 6.5.1904, stated by a local Indigenous man to a pastoralist, (cf. Mack, 1994 p.44);

Moorook - supposed to be renamed 'Tookurra' on 7.11.1916 because of confusion with the town name Moorak near Mt.Gambier, 'Tookurra' meaning 'muddy swamps, moving swampy water', (Wyatt, 1879). The change never occurred, (cf. Mack, 1994 p.44);

Moorookun - According to B.Rigney(pers.comm.), this is a Ngarrindjeri word for 'Yabbie'.

Murtho - 'Corruption of the native word 'Murthoo' or native word for 'good' or 'stumps of trees' (E.E. Birks, 1895) cited in Mack (1994 p. 10).

According to Cockburn (1984) it is an 'obscene Aboriginal expression'

According to Taplin (1879) and Tindale cited in Mack (1994 p. 10) this meant 'good' or 'good smell/scent.

Nadda - 'A camp', (cf. Casson, 1972 p.126).

Nangari - 'A shelter', (cf. Casson, 1972 p.127).

Noora - 'A camp' , (cf. Casson, 1972 p.126).

Paringa - 'Land near or about the river', (cf. Cockburn, 1984 p.169).

According to Mack, (1994 p.44), 'An anglicised version of the Indigenous word 'Perringa', Para (perre) - ing - ga, (para meaning water, ing meaning land and ga meaning going to toward'.

According to B. Rigney (pers. Comm.) Paringa is the word for 'whirlpool'.

Paruna - 'Stopping place', (cf. Cockburn,1984 p.170), 'Stopping place', (cf. Casson, 1972 p.127).

Pata - 'Gum tree', (cf. Casson, 1972 p.126).

Pungonda - 'Tribal fight' (cf. Casson, 1972 p.127).

Ramco - Cockburn, (1984 p.11), claims 'Ramco came from Aboriginal 'Bogorampko', 'rampko' referring to the 'track' and 'Bogo' to the gigantic invisible natives who lived in the scrub to the south and who came to the river at night for water. These Indigenous people were believed to have wonderful powers and were much feared.'

Settler Mr G.Manning, cited in Arnold, (1984 p.58), says this name was: "taken from Cobdogla Rampko, chief of the Overland corner tribe. The suffix 'rampko' being 'Aboriginal' for 'going towards''.

Renmark - 'Indigenous word for red mud', (cf. Cockburn, 1984 p.169).

According to The Renmark Pioneer, (1896), Renmark was the Indigenous word for 'Bend of the Murray', (cf.Grosvenor, 1979p.vii). Grosvenor, (1979p.vii), says "Having encountered the grey clay off the beaten track of the land skirting the river, I doubted whether our original settlers could have been so hopelessly colour blind...However, G.Taylor told me that before the advent of the locks the high spot at the upstream end of the town had soil with a definite red tinge...."

Taldra - 'A Kangaroo', (cf. Casson, 1972 p.127).

Taplan - 'A grass tree', (cf. Casson, 1972 p.127).

Thurk - (Tharko), 'The mouth' which may relate to some configuration of the stream, (cf. Casson, 1972 p.126).

Waikerie - According to Casson, (1972 p.127), 'It is the word for 'Ghost moth' plentiful at times and a valuable food source'. Alternatively, round flat in consequence of the semi circular appearance of the settlement, due to the winding of the Murray.

Indigenous word for 'anything that flies' or a word indicating a favourite spot for 'wildfowl', (cf. Cockburn, 1984 p.230).

According to Arnold, (1984 p.11), 'Weikari' is an Indigenous word for the giant swift moth (Trictena argentata), or 'ghost moth', found here after the late autumn rains.

According to B. Rigney (pers. Comm.) Waikerie is an Indigenous word for 'place of winds'.

Wappilka - 'Hot', (cf. Casson, 1972 p.127).

Wilpy - 'A camp', (cf. Casson, 1972 p.127).

Winkie - Indigenous word meaning 'flat', (cf. ockburn, 1984 p.242).

Alternatively, is named after the Winkwink paddock of Cobdogla station, (cf. *River Reflections*, 1986 p.11).

Wonuarra - (once Koora), 'Wait a bit', (cf. Cockburn, 1984 p.243).

Wunkar - Indigenous word for 'grass', (cf. Casson, 1972 p.127).

B. Rigney (pers. Comm.) advises Wunkar is the word for 'green grass'.

Yalumba - 'All the country around', (cf. Cockburn, 1972 p.247).

Yamba - 'Camp', (cf, Cockburn, 1984 p.247).

Yinkanie - 'Giving', (cf. Casson, 1972 p.127).

WHEN	WHAT	WHO	COST
Friday 7th Approved / March.	NAIDOC Opening March to oval 2 with police support	Robert A Sherrell, share, community people	 $50
Sunday 9th	Church Service at Gerard. Hungi	Arnold Muriel, Arnold, Vivien	- $200.00 at hall.
Monday 10th	Purcahse of Islander flags Flag Raising (Berri) Morning Tea damper Busking (3hrs x HPI Ab.Ed.)	Muriel Oscar and guest Vivi, Maria, Muriel. Betty	$100 material $50 donation to the aged Barmera Day Care Centre. $60. coffee, tea, milk, sweetners flour, margarine, cream, jam.
Tuesday 11th	10-12 Busking at plaza 12.30 - 3 Busking	Betty	
Wednesday 12th	10-12.30 Busking 12.30 Soup luncheon & damper 1.30-3.30 Busking	Betty / Monty Vivi, Sherrell, Maria, Leanne, Lizzy, Arnold.	 Hire soup warmer Donation
Thursday 13th	10-12 Busking 4-7/8pm busking at plaza	Betty/Monty Betty/Monty	
Friday 14th	10-12 Busking 12.30 - 3 Busking	Betty/Monty Betty/Monty	
Saturday 15th	10-1pm Busking	Betty/Monty	
Sunday 16th	10-12 Church Service at Berri	Arnold	

2. 7 Program of some events for NAIDOC Week, 1995.

2. 8 A major event at NAIDOC Week 1995 was the public staging of a play about racism done by the Glossop High School.

TEENAGE DREAMING

Presented by
Students of Glossop High School
Arranged by Betty sumner, Monty Lovett, Shirley Jones

Page 1

THE PLAY

1. Teenage Dreaming

All people are equal so they say
Bring all colours together today
Don't judge people by their colour or race
Look inside not at their face
Don't be afraid just try to understand
We all live in this great southern land
This is not the end this is just the start
Don't let racism tear this world apart

Cause it's our teenage dreaming
And we're gonna make some changes
Integration not segregation

We got to learn to live together
Not one colour's better than the other
You're my sister, you're my brother
We should love one another
We all walk on the same earth
We all breathe the same air
This situation is so unfair
Is there freedom anywhere

Integration not segregation
We can change this situation
We are one big happy family
We live in one big nation
We have got to get an education
To keep racism out of our nation
Kornis and miminis lewun at the station
Yannun to the kringkri's while they're waiting

To keep that dirty word out of our nation
We need integration not segregation
It's our teenage dreaming
And we are going to make some changes
Integration not segregation

Page 2

2. .BREAK DOWN THE BARRIERS

A: Hi
B: Hi

A: She wouldn't want to talk to me because I'm black.
B: She wouldn't want to talk to me because I'm white.

A: She probably thinks I'm stupid.
B: Probably thinks I'm dumb.

A: She probably thinks I won't like her.
B: She probably thinks I won't like her.

A: Probably thinks I'm not interesting.
B: Probably thinks I'm not interesting.

A: Probably hates my clothes.
B: Probably hates my clothes.

A: My hair
B: My hair

A: Me
B: Me

A: What would I say? What if I offended her? What if she hit me?
Better not say anything. Better not do anything.

Everyone "No you'd better do something - let's break down the barriers."

Everyone "Break Down The Barriers" (Repeat getting louder)

Narration - Michelaine Yasserie

RACISM IS A DIRTY WORD!

Now this is a song about a word I heard
A dirty little word that's mean and absurd
Talking about racism is a dirty dirty word
If you practice it, then you're a nerd.

We're the new generation of the future.
We're the great young people of the nation.
We don't want no hangups, we don't want no crap.

If you're not gonna listen
Then we're all gonna shout
Racism is a dirty dirty word
If you practice it, then you're a nerd.

Stimulate your minds.
Stimulate your views.
Go and make a friend
With anyone you choose
Don't worry about their race
Don't worry about their colour.
You just never know they could be a good fella.

Crusty, rotten, dirty, worangi, mudla, jubidi
Mujznoon,
It's downright disgusting.
Talking about racism is a dirty, dirty word
If you practise it then you're a nerd.
So what do you do with a dirty, dirty word?
So what do you do with a dirty, dirty word?
You put it in a bin.
Keep the scene clean, put it in a bin.
Keep the scene clean (fade)

Finale: "War War A Nor" sung with
students from Glossop and
other Primary Schools

2. 10 One of the courses offered in 1995, specifically aimed at Non - Indigenous peoples. The course was cancelled due to lack of interest.

MURRAY INSTITUTE BERRI CAMPUS

Vocational Education in Tourism Certificate

Vacancies exist in this subject:

Aboriginal History, Culture & Art

Commencing:
Monday, July 31, 1995
Subject Time:
1 p.m. - 4 p.m., 18 weeks

Enrolments can be made at your nearest campus.

For further information phone Margaret Lampard on 820713, Annie Wilden on 820 735 or Robyn on 820 714.

TAFE SA

Department for Employment Training and Further Education

2.49

INTERVIEWING TOPICS

a) Family Group/ Background;

b) Cultural practises, e.g Do you use hand signals much? Does your family still speak your (Indigenous) language? Do you speak half/ half or only in English? Who do you speak (your lingo) with? What kinds of words are still used today…?

c) Knowledge of the Riverland's indigenous history and feelings about this;

d) Should Indigenous culture/ history and Language be taught more at school? What years? To all children?

e) Feelings about differences or similarities between the English of Indigenous and non-Indigenous speakers. E.g. faster/ slower, heavier/ lighter, more slang, 'rough' etc.. Can you tell what nationality or what job a person has by just listening to their voice on the phone?

f) Are people treated differently because of the way they speak, or is it more to do with appearance, behaviour…?

g) Does Racism exist in the Riverland…? (optional). What kinds (name calling, institutional, physical abuse etc…). Have you/you friends/ family experienced…? Solutions…?

2. 50

READING PASSAGES

a) Status - stressing passage, taken from **Riverland Official Visitors Guide**, Riverland Tourism Association, Berri, (1995p.3-5).

The Riverland is less than three hours drive from Adelaide and extends from Blanchetown in the West, to Paringa in the East.

Most of the main towns of the Riverland are situated along the banks of the River Murray.

The River Murray is the longest and most significant river system in Australia. The river begins life in the Snowy Mountains and from its headwaters to its mouth at Goolwa, flows for a distance of over 3000km.

Long before Captain Charles Sturt navigated his boat through the waters of the Murray in 1830, Australia's Indigenous peoples fished from its banks and lived on the flat plains that followed the river to the Southern Ocean. To this day many fossils can still be found on the sandy ridges and limestone cliffs bordering the River Murray.

At Blanchetown you'll discover the first of the River Murray's South Australian locks. At Waikerie, the 'citrus centre of Australia', you will discover rich green orchards of citrus, vine and market gardens.

Discover the unique wildlife of Wachtel's Lagoon near Kingston - On - Murray and stop at Cobdogla where you will discover the world's only working Humphrey Pump.

At Barmera you can discover Lake Bonney, the scene of Sir Donald Campbell's 1964 attempt at the world water speed record.

At Berri you will discover Berri Estates, the largest winery in the Southern Hemisphere, while at Loxton you'll discover the award winning Historical Village.

In Renmark, you'll discover the Riverland's first winery built by Angoves in 1910 and Renmark also has the distinction of being the first centre of irrigation in Australia.

b) Solidarity - stressing passage, taken from Alan Seymour, **The One Day of the Year**, (19—p.28-9).

ALF : Who's that?
MUM : me
ALF : Frighten hell out of a man!. She bangs that door every time she goes through it, you wonder why I'm grey!.
MUM : Are you on it again?...Hallo Wacka..
ALF : You want one?
MUM : No, I just had a cup of tea at Mabel's
ALF : Have one, go on
MUM : I'm not having beer on top of tea. It's too cold for beer anyway!
ALF : It's never too cold for the old amber love!
MUM : How much have you had?
ALF : Oh, get off my back
MUM : I'm cold. I think I'll make myself a cup of cocoa
ALF : Cocoa, I feel sick!
MUM : Give me a look at you
ALF : You put your jug on
MUM : Give me a look at your tongue
ALF : I will not give you a look at my bloody tongue
MUM : Don't you swear at me. Anyway, I don't need to look at your bloody tongue, I can see your bloodshot eyes
ALF : Very funny, Wacka have another drink
WACKA : He's alright Dot, he's been as good as gold
MUM : Oh yes, I believe you
WACKA : He has, we have just been sitting here waiting for you to get home
MUM : Don't crawl to me. You'd stick up for him if he was paralytic
WACKA : You look real nice tonight Dot, you look real nice in that get up
MUM : You shut up, you old cow. Thought you were going to do all them dishes for me after tea Alfie
ALF : Oh leave them, leave them...

2. 51 The following pages illustrate the Speech Evaluation Sheet used in the Riverland, with examples of stereotyping and misidentified voices.

Speaker 3 - Anglo Australian male as evaluated by an Indigenous respondent.

From listening to this person's voice do you think she/he is most probably an....

Aboriginal Australian	
Anglo Australian	✓
Asian Australian	
European Australian	
Other	

DO you think this person is most probably a ....

Blockworker	✓
Doctor	
Shop assistant	
Teacher	
Unemployed	

From listening to this person's voice, what do you think he/she is like?...

Tick a box for each number

1.	Active	✓	Passive
2.	Ambitious	✓	Easy going
3.	Awful	✓	Nice
4.	Boring	✓	Interesting
5.	Confident	✓	Unsure

6. Cooperative	✓	Aggressive
7. Good	✓	Bad
8. Generous	✓	Selfish
9. Happy	✓	sad
10. Honest	✓	Liar
11. Impolite	✓	Polite
12. Lazy	✓	Hardworking
13. Likeable	✓	not Likeable
14. Loud	✓	Soft
15. Lower class	✓	Upper class
16. Narrow minded	✓	Tolerant
17. Poor	✓	Rich
18. Pushy	✓	Relaxed
19. Reliable	✓	Unreliable
20. Shy	✓	Talkative
21. Small	✓	Big
22. Smart	✓	Stupid
23. Successful	✓	Unsuccessful
24. Ugly	✓	Good looking

25.	Unfriendly	✓	Friendly
26.	Unhelpful	✓	Helpful
27.	Weak	✓	Strong
28.	Would like to have as a friend	✓	would not like to have as a friend
29.	Would not give a job to	✓	would give a job to

comments?

THANKYOU

Speaker 3 – Anglo Australian male as evaluated by a non-Indigenous respondent.

From listening to this person's voice do you think she/he is most probably an....

Aboriginal Australian	✓
Anglo Australian	
Asian Australian	
European Australian	
Other	

Do you think this person is most probably a .....

Blockworker	
Doctor	
Shop assistant	
Teacher	
Unemployed	✓

From listening to this person's voice, what do you think he/she is like?...

Tick a box for each number

1.	Active	✓	Passive
2.	Ambitious	✓	Easy going
3.	Awful	✓	Nice
4.	Boring ✓		Interesting
5	Confident	✓	Unsure

6.	Cooperative	✓	Aggressive
7.	Good	✓	Bad
8.	Generous	✓	Selfish
9.	Happy	✓	Sad
10.	Honest	✓	Liar
11.	Impolite	✓	Polite
12.	Lazy	✓	Hardworking
13.	Likeable	✓	Not Likeable
14.	Loud	✓	Soft
15.	Lower class	✓	Upper class
16.	Narrow minded	✓	Tolerant
17.	Poor	✓	Rich
18.	Pushy	✓	Relaxed
19.	Reliable	✓	Unreliable
20.	Shy	✓	Talkative
21.	Small	✓	Big
22.	Smart	✓	Stupid
23.	Successful	✓	Unsuccessful
24.	Ugly	✓	Good looking

25.	Unfriendly	✓	Friendly
26.	Unhelpful	✓	Helpful
27.	Weak ✓		Strong
28.	Would like to have as a friend	✓	would not like to have as a friend
29.	Would not give a job to ✓		would give a job to

comments?

THANKYOU

Speaker 6 – European female as evaluated by an Indigenous respondent.

From listening to this person's voice do you think she/he is most probably an....

Aboriginal Australian	✓
Anglo Australian	
Asian Australian	
European Australian	
Other	

DO you think this person is most probably a ....

Blockworker	
Doctor	
Shop assistant	
Teacher	
Unemployed	✓

From listening to this person's voice, what do you think he/she is like?...

Tick a box for each number

1.	Active	✓	Passive
2.	Ambitious	✓	Easy going
3.	Awful	✓	Nice
4.	Boring ✓	✓	Interesting
5	Confident		✓ Unsure

6.	Cooperative	Aggressive
7.	Good	Bad
8.	Generous	selfish
9.	Happy	sad
10.	Honest	Liar
11.	Impolite	Polite
12.	Lazy	Hardworking
13.	Likeable	not Likeable
14.	Loud	Soft
15.	Lower class	Upper class
16.	Narrow minded	Tolerant
17.	Poor	Rich
18.	Pushy	Relaxed
19.	Reliable	Unreliable
20.	Shy	Talkative
21.	Small	Big
22.	Smart	Stupid
23.	Successful	Unsuccessful
24.	Ugly	Good looking

25. Unfriendly	✓	Friendly
26. Unhelpful	✓	Helpful
27. Weak	✓	Strong
28. Would like to have as a friend	✓	would not like to have as a friend
29. Would not give a job to	✓	would give a job to

comments?

THANKYOU

Speaker 6 – European female as evaluated by a non-Indigenous respondent.

From listening to this person's voice do you think she/he is most probably an....

Aboriginal Australian	✓
Anglo Australian	
Asian Australian	
European Australian	
Other	

Do you think this person is most probably a .....

Blockworker	
Doctor	
Shop assistant	
Teacher	
Unemployed	

From listening to this person's voice, what do you think he/she is like?...

Tick a box for each number

1.	Active	Passive
2.	Ambitious	Easy going
3.	Awful ✓	Nice
4.	Boring ✓	Interesting
5.	Confident	✓ Unsure

6. Cooperative	Aggressive
7. Good	Bad
8. Generous	selfish
9. Happy	sad
10. Honest	Liar
11. Impolite	Polite
12. Lazy	Hardworking
13. Likeable	not Likeable
14. Loud	Soft
15. Lower class	Upper class
16. Narrow minded	Tolerant
17. Poor	Rich
18. Pushy	Relaxed
19. Reliable	Unreliable
20. Shy	Talkative
21. Small	Big
22. Smart	Stupid
23. Successful	Unsuccessful
24. Ugly	Good looking

25.	Unfriendly	Friendly
26.	Unhelpful	Helpful
27.	Weak	Strong
28.	Would like to have as a friend	would not lilce to have as a friend
29.	Would not give a job to	would give a job to

comments?

THANKYOU

APPENDIX FOR CHAPTER FOUR

4. 1 An example of the poor amount of material on Pidgins and Creoles in Australia up to 1975, cited in J.E.Reinecke, S.M.Tsuzaki, D.Decamp, J.F.Hancock, R.E.Wood, (1975). *A Bibliography of Pidgin and Creole languages*, The University Press of Hawaii, Honolulu.

88. Torres Straits Pidgin

The Torres Straits Islands belong culturally with New Guinea, politically to Queensland, Australia. The native population is about 8000. Torres Straits English is intermediate linguistically, as well as geographically, between New Guinea Pidgin and Aboriginal Australian Pidgin English. It was first sketched by Ray (1907) using material collected ca. 1888 by Haddon. Dutton gives a good but brief contemporary description and Laade (1967, 1971) adds some information.

DUTTON, T[homas] E[dward]. 1970. 'Informal English in the Torres Straits', in Ramson (1970, p. 137–160. **[1.**

Historical, geographical and social background; connections of Torres Straits Pidgin English with Aboriginal English and New Guinea Pidgin; sketch of principal linguistic features, with reference to Ray's data; texts, p. 155–159.

LAADE, W[olfgang]. 1967. 'A brief guide to Island Pidgin', unpub. MS in files of Australian Institute for Aboriginal Studies, Canberra. 12 p. typescript. **[2.**

Chiefly lexical. Deals with the PE of both Western and Eastern islands of Torres Straits.

LAADE, Wolfgang (collector and ed.). 1971. *Oral traditions and written documents on the history and ethnography of the northern Torres Straits Islands, Saibai—Dauan—Boigu.* Vol. 1. *Adimyths, legends, fairy tales.* Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag. xxviii, 128 p. **[3.**

'The Islanders' Jargon English,' p. 115–116; 'A Glossary of Pidgin English Words,' 117–121; 'Glossary of Native Words,' 122–123. The tales are told in a combination of SE and reduced but not really pidgin English, but some conversation comes close to being PE.

RAY, Sidney H[erbert]. 1907. *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits.* Vol. III. *Linguistics.* Cambridge: University Press. 527 p. **[4.**

'The Jargon English of the Torres Straits,' p. 251–254, material collected by Alfred C. Haddon in 1888 or later. It appears to be closer to Aboriginal Australian than to New Guinea PE. In the Eastern Islands it appeared to be going out of use.

89. Australian Aboriginal English

From the beginning of British settlement in Australia in 1788, some form or other of pidgin English has been used between the whites and the small but linguistically very diverse Aboriginal population. (Aborigines now number about 44,600, part-Aborigines 77,500.) Baker (1945, 1966) and Ramson (1966) provide some data on early PE. Although examples of PE appeared in several books, it was only in 1939 that Sayer published a badly organized account of the pidgin. In 1943 Hall demonstrated that Aboriginal PE is not a variant of Melanesian PE despite their points of similarity. From 1961 a beginning has been made in specialized studies, mostly of educational orientation: Alexander (1965, 1968), Douglas (1968), Dutton (1964 to 1969), Flint (1968), Jernudd (1971*a*), Readdy (1961), Sharpe (1971), and Sutton (1969). Margaret C. Sharpe has unpublished material on PE of the Roper River region, and John Sandefur of the SIL has made a survey of Aboriginal PE.

So-called Australian Pidgin English does not fall into a single pattern, but the term is applied to a number of dialects ranging from true pidgin (approaching extinction) through forms of creole English to slightly nonstandard Australian English with some Aboriginal words and 'accent.'

A number of novelists and writers of travel books and anthropological studies have employed PE. Probably a search of newspapers in the Northern Territory and other areas of relatively heavy Aboriginal population would supply other examples.

ALEXANDER, Diane Helen. 1965. *Yarrabah Aboriginal English: a study of the salient linguistic differences between Aboriginal English and Australian English as revealed in the speech of four Aboriginal children on Yarrabah Aboriginal Settlement in North Queensland.* Univ. of Queensland, unpub. B.A. honours thesis. xiv, 149 p. [1.

———. 1968. *Woorabinda Aboriginal Australian English; a study of the salient linguistic differences between the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Australian English speech of informants on Woorabinda Aboriginal Settlement in Central Queensland.* Univ. of Queensland, unpub. M.A. thesis. xiii, 188 p., tables, maps. [2.

Both studies are based on a few informants; they stress phonology, morphology, and vocabulary. A situation of diglossia obtains, Aboriginals speaking among themselves a partially creolized (or decreolized) dialect largely unintelligible to white Australians.

AUSTRALIA. Dept. of Territories. 1967. *The Australian Aborigines.* [Canberra] iii, 111 p. [3.

Location and number of Aborigines, p. 50–51.

BAKER, Sidney J[ohn]. 1945. *The Australian language: an examination of the English language and English speech as used in Australia, from convict days to the present, with special reference to the growth of indigenous idiom and its use by Australian writers.* Sydney & London: Angus & Robertson. xii, 425 p. [4.

Aboriginal PE. p. 218–231, with quotations from early writers.

———. 1966. ——— 2d ed. Sydney: Currowong Publishing Co.; San Francisco: Tri-Ocean Books. xiv, 517 p. [5.

Aboriginal PE, p. 309–320.

BANFIELD, E[dmund] J[ames] 1908. *The confessions of a beachcomber; scenes and incidents in the career of an unprofessional beachcomber in tropical Queensland.* London: T. Fisher & Unwin. xii, 336 p. Also 1910 and 1923 eds. [6.

———. 1968. ——— [Sydney] Angus & Robertson. xxi, 321 p. [7.

Much dialog, especially in Part II, illustrating PE spoken at Dunk Island.

DOUGLAS, Wilfrid H[enry]. °1959. 'The vernacular approach to the Australian Aborigines', paper read at ANZAAS Conference, Perth, 1959. [8.

Young Aboriginals brought up in children's homes did not acquire a good command of English but spoke a 'trade language' of restricted vocabulary, including some Aboriginal words.

———. 1968. *The Aboriginal languages of South-West Australia: speech forms in current use and a technical description of Njunar.* Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies. vii, 105 p. (Australian Aboriginal Studies no. 14) [9.

Aboriginals speak (1) dialects of Nyungar, now going out of use; (2) ordinary Australian English; (3) partially creolized English somewhat intermixed with Nyungar (called Neo-Nyungar by the author); (4) Yeraka, a 'pig latin' English used only by women. Neo-Nyungar is sketchily described and illustrated.

DOUGLAS, Wilfrid H., assisted by **H. HOWELL** and **G. HARRISON.** °1968. Tape transcription of 'Neo-Nyungar', MS deposited with United Aborigines Mission Language Dept. 44 p. typescript. [10.

DUTTON, Thomas Edward. °1964. *Some phonological aspects of Palm Island Aboriginal English: a study of the free conversational speech of four Aboriginal children on Palm Island Aboriginal Settlement in North Queensland.* Univ. of Queensland, unpub. M.A. qualifying thesis, xxiv, 550 p. [11.

———. °1965. *The informal English speech of Palm Island Aboriginal children, North Queensland.* Univ. of Queensland, unpub. M.A. diss. [12.

———. 1969. 'The informal English speech of Palm Island Aboriginal children, north Queensland', *JEngL* 3:18–36. [13.

A summary of his 1964 and 1965 theses. Detribalized Aboriginals on Palm Island, especially the children, among themselves speak an English basically Australian but almost unintelligible to whites because of phonological differences. The dialect contains some PE features such as *bin* for past tense marker, loss of copula, and loss of *-s* ending of verbs and nouns.

FLINT, E[lwyn] H[enry]. °1964. 'Theoretical and descriptive problems of linguistic variation: a report on research in progress under the Queensland speech survey', unpub. paper delivered at A.U.L.L.A. congress, Melbourne, Aug. 1964. Mimeo. [14.

———. 1965. *The question of language, idiolect and style in Queensland English.* Canberra. 28 p. (Linguistic Circle of Canberra Publications, Bulletin no. 2) [15.

Preliminary remarks on findings, in terms of a continuum running from extreme forms of Aboriginal English to normal Queensland English.

———. 1968. 'Aboriginal English; linguistic description as an aid to teaching', *English in Australia* 6:3–21. [16.

community of Cherbourg. Univ. of Queensland, unpub. B.A. honours diss. xii, 317 p. [31.

Covers phonology (with special care), lexicology, morphology, and syntax. 'Phonetic transcription of . . . recorded speech submitted to detailed analysis,' p. 180–215. A careful and detailed study. Boys' communalect is about 50% unintelligible to whites at first hearing, indicating considerable creolization.

RORABACHER, Louise E. (ed.). 1968 [1945]. *Aliens in their land; the Aborigine in the Australian short story*. Melbourne [etc]: F. W. Cheshire. 242 p. [32.

Several short stories contain Pidgin. 'No gammon!', by Stan Parkes, is a narrative in Pidgin as recounted by Diminin, an Aborigine, telling of the massacre of a crew of Japanese fishermen; first published in *Australian New Writing*, No. 3, Feb. 1945.

RYAN, John S[prott]. 1967/68. 'Austral English and the native languages. Problems confronting the modern researcher', in *Verhandlungen des Zweiten Internationalen Dialektologenkongresses* . . ., p. 743–760. [33.

Crude PE of the first Australian settlements, p. 744, 760; interchange of pidgin words between Australia and New Zealand, 1780–1840, p. 752.

SAYER, Edgar Sheappard. 1948. *Pidgin English; a text book, history, and vocabulary of Pidgin English for writers, travellers, students of the English language and philologists*. 4th ed. Toronto: the author. 117 p. mimeo. (1st ed. 1939) [34.

The most useful parts of this haphazard book deal with Aboriginal PE, which the author knew at first hand. A psalm in PE is Sayer's own translation.

SHARPE, Margaret. °1970. 'Cognitive studies with Aboriginal subjects', Linguistic Field Report no. 17 presented at AIAS general meeting, May 1970. 5 p. processed. [35.

Compares the PE of Roper River with English spoken by Queensland school children.

SIMPSON, Colin. 1953. *Adam in ochre; inside Aboriginal Australia*. New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 221 p. [36.

PE passim.

SOMMER, Bruce A., and James MARSH. 1969. 'Vernacular and English: language comprehension by some North Queensland Aborigines', *AnL* 11(2): 48–57. [37.

Based on a survey of Mitchell River Community. Young adults usually communicate in English, middle-aged adults are bilingual. Students speak 'an English which reflects the stress patterns, phoneme inventory, and syntax of the tribal vernaculars to such a degree that the naive [white Australian] has little receptive control of it.'

SPENCER, *Sir* [Walter] Baldwin. 1928. *Wanderings in wild Australia*. London: Macmillan & Co. 2 vols. [38.

Examples of Northern Territory PE, mostly in Vol. II.

STANNER, W. E. H. 1937. 'Aboriginal modes of address and reference in the north-west of the Northern Territory', *Oceania* 7:300–315. [39.

Mentions PE as a lingua franca among different tribes, p. 311.

STREHLOW, T[heodor] G[eorg] H[einrich]. 1947. *Aranda traditions*. Melbourne: Melbourne Univ. Press. xxii, 181 p. Pages xvi-xxi reprinted under heading 'On Aranda traditions', in Hymes (1964), p. 79–82. [40.

Summarizes the story of Macbeth in PE to illustrate the utter incapacity of PE for recording Aboriginal ideas.

SUTTON, Peter. 1969. 'Cape Barren English', unpub. MS deposited with Australian Institute for Aboriginal Studies. [53], 23 p., typescript, plates, diagram, map. [41.

Deals with sub-dialect of Tasmanian Australian English with some Aboriginal traces spoken by a mixed-blood, isolated community: phonology, vocabulary, brief treatment of morphology.

TURNER, G[eorge] W. 1966. *The English language in Australia and New Zealand*. London: Longmans. xi, 236 p. [42.

Describes the linguistic situation in Aboriginal centers of Queensland and gives in some detail differences in Aboriginal English from general Queensland English in phonology, prosodic features, and grammar. Proposes that an integrated description of AE can supply information useful for teaching English as a second language to Aboriginal children. A valuable article.

GRIBBLE, E[rnest] R[ichard Bulmer]. 1930. *Forty years with the Aborigines*. Sydney: Angus & Robertson. 228 p. [17.

Aboriginal PE, Queensland and northwestern Australia, ca. 1850–1910, passim.

HALL, Robert A., Jr. 1943. 'Notes on Australian Pidgin-English', *Language* 19: 263–267. [18.

From PE sentences in Kaberry (1939) Hall demonstrates that Australian PE is quite distinct from Melanesian PE.

———. 1966. *Pidgin and creole languages*. [19.

Sentences in PE dictated in 1954 by Judge Norman Bell of Northern Territory, p. 151–152.

HERBERT, Xavier. 1943. *Capricornia*. New York & London: D. Appleton-Century Co. xv, 649 p. [20.

A novel about race relations in Northern Territory, with much PE dialog of various grades.

HILL, Ernestine. 1937. *Australian frontier*. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, Doran. xiii, 330 p. [21.

PE passim, e.g., p. 143–145.

———. 1951. *The Territory*. Sydney & London: Angus & Robertson. viii, 454 p. [22.

PE passim, e.g., p. 359, 378–379. Some PE words among 'Territory phrases,' p. 443–446.

IDRIESS, Ion L[lewellyn]. 1937. *Over the range; sunshine and shadow in the Kimberleys*. Sydney & London: Angus & Robertson. ix, 316 p. Reprinted several times. [23.

Much PE, passim.

———. 1949. *One wet season*. Sydney & London: Angus & Robertson. xiv, 272 p. Several reprintings. [24.

PE of the Kimberleys, passim.

JERNUDD, Björn H. 1969. 'Social change and Aboriginal speech variation in Australia', *WPLUH* 4:145–168. [25.

A perceptive sociolinguistic survey of the variations and nuances of language accommodations in Northern Territory and Queensland, the interrelationship between Aboriginal vernaculars, Pidgin, more or less creolized English, and normal Australian English in various communities. Brief mention of Aboriginal-white linguistic accommodations in other parts of Australia.

———. 1971*a*. ———. *AnL* 13(1):16–32. [26.

Slightly revised from the preceding. Texts from Bagot reservation, p. 29–31. Works cited, 25–27.

———. 1971*b*. 'English in Australia', *Kivung* 4:50–63. [27.

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4. 2 The following pages illustrate the recent materials available for the learning of Pidgins and Creoles.

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Series B Volume 5

AN INTRODUCTION TO CONVERSATIONAL KRIOL

by John R. and Joy L. Sandefur

illustrated by Don Drew Canonge

Summer Institute of Linguistics
Australian Aborigines Branch
Darwin
February 1981

2

PRONUNCIATION **hawus**

The *h* sound may be 'deleted' or be silent (37, 44).

Try drilling these words that can be pronounced two ways:

hawus	~	*awus*	building, house
hospil	~	*ospil*	clinic, hospital, dispensary
hadbala	~	*adbala*	hard, tough; loudly
holdim	~	*oldim*	hold
honim	~	*onim*	butt, gore, horn
hanggri	~	*anggri*	hungry

USEFUL EXPRESSIONS

Try to learn these useful expressions:

Gudei! Greetings. Good day.

Gudnait! Greetings. Good evening. (N.B. This is used upon arrival, not upon departure. It is especially common in greeting someone on the street after dark.

Alo! Hello; Hey what's this?

SUPPLEMENTARY

Vocabulary

Here are some additional words that can be practised in the key sentence:

audim	put out, turn off (a light)
duit	do, obey
endulim	cope with; control
lenim	teach
wirrimon	put on (clothes)
wodrum	to water
bako	vomit
gumbu	urinate, urine
guna	defecate, faeces
misteik	to make a mistake, be mistaken
eksadint	to have an accident
gidsok	to be surprised, to be shocked

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Set of 12 cassettes (optional). $80.
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The cassettes are distributed by *Pacific Linguistics.*

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4. 3 An entire Website on the Internet is devoted to Ebonics.

EBONICS

Pseudo-Intellectualis for the masses

The cancer of Afro-centrism has once again reached a new low. Its latest malignancy has taken shape in Oakland California. The school system there, instead of educating its children, has essentially "given up" and voted to institutionalize the legitimacy of gutter language and slang.

Everything you never wanted to know about ebonics...

What is the origin of the word Ebonics?

Although the exact origin is unclear, it appears to come from two main roots. "ebo" comes from the term "ebony" referring to the color of black. "onics" comes from "phonics" which refers to phonetic, the representation of sounds with symbols. Literally ebonics means "Black English" or "Black Sounds". In other words it's a more politically correct term for jive, gutter-language, etc...

What happened in Oakland California?

The stated goal of the School board in Oakland is to educate teachers in the district on how to speak ebonic so that they may better communicate to their students how to speak proper english.

Is Oakland going to be teaching Ebonics?

This is a common fallacy which is not altogether inaccurate. The school board says that it just wants to educate teachers in Ebonics so that they can more effectively communicate with their students. In the long term this fits in with the plans of the liberal black Intelligentsia to eventually legitimize Ebonics as its own distinct language. It also fits into the separatist and racist agenda of many black liberals.

What are the underlying reasons behind the Oakland School Board decision?

Although unspoken, on the surface in announcing that their constituency is actually bilingual the school board hoped to become eligible for federal funds. The underlying assumptions and motivations are far ranging, largely based upon the typical paranoid delusions which self-proclaimed black community leaders have claimed before. Specifically it appears to come from a resentment towards asian immigrants in California who learn English from federally funded programs such as English As a Second Language. The typical thought here is that they must engage in a battle for money rather than deal with the modern anti-achievement, anti-self mentality in poor black communities

Other ebonics related sites

Oakland Unified School District Web Page

This is it, the heart of ignorance and stupidity in the modern world. This will give you "the official

APPENDIX FOR CHAPTER SIX

Results of Speech Evaluation

The respondents of the speech evaluation totalled 59, 19 of these respondents were Indigenous and 40 were non-Indigenous.

It is important to note that percentages of ratings are so high because of the design of the speech evaluation sheet, (cf. Ch.2.p 46). That is there were two columns of traits listed and no 'in between'. Thus respondents were more likely to tick one trait or the other spontaneously rather than consider their judgement, whether the speaker was for example, strongly 'unhelpful' or only slightly 'unhelpful'. Respondents, who weren't sure of how to answer, tended to tick between the boxes of traits and I have called this 'In between'.

a) In traits dealing with NATIONALITY, non -Indigenous respondents rated speakers thus :

Voice 1 : 36/ 40 (90%),misidentified him as European or Anglo - Australian, while 4/ 40 (10%), identified him correctly as Indigenous.

Voice 2 : 31/ 40 (77.5%), correctly identified her as Indigenous, while 9/ 40 (22.5%), misidentified her as Anglo - Australian.

Voice 3 : 37/ 40 (92.5%), misidentified him as Indigenous, while 3/ 40 (7.5%), correctly identified him as Anglo - Australian.

Voice 4 : 34/ 40 (85%), correctly identified her as European, while 6/ 40(15%), misidentified her as Asian - Australian.

Voice 5 : 37/ 40(92.5%), misidentified him as European, while 3/ 40 (7.5%), correctly identified him as Indigenous.

Voice 6 : 39/ 40 (97.5%), misidentified her as Indigenous, while 1/ 40 (2.5%), correctly identified her as Indigenous.

Indigenous respondents rated speakers on NATIONALITY thus:

Voice 1 : 8/ 19 (42.1%), correctly identified him as Indigenous, while 11/ 19 (57.8%), misidentified him as European.

Voice 2 : 17/ 19 (89.4%), misidentified her as Anglo - Australian, while 2/ 19 (10.5%), correctly identified her as Indigenous.

Voice 3 : 16/ 19 (84.2%), correctly identified him as Anglo - Australian, while 3/ 19 (15.7%), misidentified him as Indigenous.

Voice 4 : 8/ 19 (42.1%), misidentified her as Asian - Australian, while 11/ 19 (57.8%), correctly identified her as European.

Voice 5 : 9/ 19 (47.3%), correctly identified him as Indigenous, while 10/19 (52.6%), misidentified him as European.
Voice 6 : 12/ 19(63.1%), misidentified her as Indigenous, while 7/ 19 (36.8%), correctly identified her as European.

b) On traits related to OCCUPATION, non - Indigenous respondents rated speakers thus :

Voice 1 : 31/ 40 (77.5%), correctly rated him a 'Teacher', while 9/ 40 (22.5%), rated him 'other'.

Voice 2 : 23/ 40 (57.5%), rated her incorrectly as 'Shop Assistant', while 17/ 40 (42.5%), rated her 'other'.

Voice 3 : 33/ 40 (82.5%), rated him 'unemployed', while 7/ 40 (17.5%), rated 'other'.

Voice 4 : 34/ 40 (85%), rated her 'Block Worker', while 6/ 40 (15%), rated 'other'.

Voice 5 : 31/ 40 (77.5%), rated him 'Shop Assistant', while 9/ 40 (22.5%), rated 'other'.

Voice 6 : 39/ 40 (97.5%), rated her 'unemployed', while 1/ 40 (2.5%), rated 'other'.

Indigenous respondents rated speakers on traits of OCCUPATION thus :

Voice 1 : 10/ 19(52.6%), rated him 'Teacher', while 9/ 19 (47.3%), rated him 'other'.

Voice 2 : 10/ 19 (52.6%), rated her 'Shop Assistant', while 9/ 19 (47.3%), rated her 'Other'.

Voice 3 : 11/ 19 (57.8%), rated him 'Block Worker', while 8/ 19 (42.1%), rated him 'Other'.

Voice 4 : 8/ 19 (42.1%), rated her 'Shop Assistant', while 11/ 19 (57.8%), rated her 'Other'.

Voice 5 : 7/ 19 (36.8%), rated him 'Shop Assistant', while 12/ 19 (63.1%), rated him 'Other'.

Voice 6 : 17/ 19 (89.4%), rated her 'Unemployed', while 2/ 19 (10.5%), rated her 'Other'.

Individual speakers were judged by Indigenous respondents (Out of 40), and Non -Indigenous respondents,(out of 19) as such :

Speaker 1

TRAITS

1. 35/ 40 (87.5%) rated 'Active', 3/ 40(7.5%) rated 'Passive', 2/ 40 (5%) rated 'In between/ don't know'. 4/ 19 rated 'Passive', 6/ 19 rated 'Active', 9/ 19 rated 'In between'.
2. 12/ 40 rated 'Ambitious', 28/ 40 rated 'Easy going'. 2/ 19 rated 'Ambitious', 6/ 19 'Easy Going', 11/ 19 'In between'.
3. 6/ 40 rated 'Awful', 34/ 40 rated 'Nice'. 1/ 19 rated 'Awful', 11/ 19 rated 'Nice', 8/19 rated 'In Between'.
4. 7/40 rated 'Boring', 21/ 40 rated 'Interesting', 12/40 rated 'In Between'. 2/19 rated 'Boring', 12/19 rated 'Interesting', 5/19 rated 'In between'.
5. 4/40 rated' Unsure', 36/40 rated 'Confident'. 1/19 rated 'Unsure', 15/19 rated 'Confident', 3/19 rated 'In between'.
6. 0/40 rated 'Aggressive', 40/40 rated 'Cooperative'. 0/19 rated 'Aggressive', 12/19 rated 'Cooperative', 7/19 rated 'In between'.
7. 2/40 rated 'Bad', 38/40 rated 'Good'. 0/19 rated 'Bad', 17/19 rated 'Good', 2/19 rated 'In between'.

8. 3/40 rated selfish, 37/40 rated 'Generous'. 0/19-rated 'Selfish', 7/19 rated 'Generous', 12/19 rated 'In between'.

9. 0/40 rated 'Sad', 40/40 rated 'Happy'. 0/19-rated 'Sad', 9/19 rated 'Happy', 10/19 rated 'In between'.

10. 1/40 rated 'Liar', 39/40 rated 'Honest'. 0/10 rated 'Liar', 5/19 rated 'Honest', 14/19 rated 'In between.

11. 0/40 rated 'Impolite', 40/40 rated 'Polite'. 0/19-rated 'Impolite', 19/19 rated 'Polite'.

12. 0/40 rated 'Lazy', 38/40 rated 'Hard working', 2/40 rated 'In between'. 0/19 rated 'Lazy', 10/19 rated 'Hard working', 9/19 rated 'In between'.

13. 3/40 rated 'Not likeable, 36/40 rated 'Likeable', 1/40 rated 'In between'. 0/19 rated 'Not likeable', 10/19 rated 'Likeable', 9/19 rated 'In between'.

14. 3/40 rated 'Loud', 37/40 rated 'Soft'. 0/19 rated 'Loud', 9/19 rated 'Soft', 10/19 rated 'In between'.

15. 7/40 rated 'Lower class', 23/40 rated 'Upper class', 7/40 rated 'In between'. 0/19 rated 'Lower class', 7/19 rated 'Upper class', 12/19 rated 'In between'.

16. 1/40 rated 'Narrow minded, 36/40 rated 'Tolerant', 3/40 rated 'In between'. 0/19 rated 'Narrow minded, 8/19 rated 'Tolerant', 11/19 rated 'In between'.

17. 8/40 rated 'Poor', 10/40 rated 'Rich', 22/40 rated 'In between'. 2/19 rated 'Poor', 7/19 rated 'Rich', 10/19 rated 'In between'.

18. 2/40 rated 'Pushy', 38/40 rated 'Relaxed'. 0/19 rated 'Pushy', 5/19 rated 'Relaxed', 14/19 rated 'In between'.

19. 2/40 rated 'Unreliable', 21/40 rated 'Reliable', 17/40 rated 'In between'. 0/19 rated 'Unreliable', 5/19 rated 'Reliable', 14/19 rated 'In between'.

20. 7/40 rated 'Shy', 33/40 rated 'Talkative'. 3/19 rated 'Shy', 10/19 rated 'Talkative', 6/19 rated 'In between'.

21. 3/40 rated 'Big', 37/40 rated 'Small'. 1/19 rated 'Big', 8/19 rated 'Small', 10/19 rated 'In between'.

22. 3/40 rated 'Stupid', 30/40 rated 'Smart', 7/40 rated 'In between'. 0/19 rated 'Stupid', 11/19 rated 'Smart', 8/19 rated 'In between'.

23. 1/40 rated 'Unsuccessful', 29/40 rated 'Successful', 10/40 rated 'In between'. 0/19 rated 'Unsuccessful', 10/19 rated 'Successful', 9/19 rated 'In between'.

24. 12/40 rated 'Ugly', 26/40 rated 'Good looking', 2/40 rated 'In between'. 0/19 rated 'Ugly', 8/19 rated 'Good looking', 11/19 rated 'In between'.

25. 1/40 rated 'Unfriendly', 33/40 rated 'Friendly', 6/40 rated 'In between'. 0/19 rated 'Unfriendly', 11/19 rated 'Friendly', 8/19 rated 'In between'.

26. 3/40 rated 'Unhelpful', 28/40 rated 'Helpful', 9/40 rated 'In between'. 0/19 rated 'Unhelpful', 13/19 rated 'Helpful', 6/19 rated 'In between'.

27. 8/40 rated 'Weak', 29/40 rated 'Strong', 3/40 rated 'In between'. 0/19 rated 'Weak', 5/19 rated 'Strong', 14/19 rated 'In between'.

28. 11/40 rated 'Would not like as a friend', 26/40 rated 'Would like as a friend', 3/40 rated 'In between/ don't know'. 0/19 rated 'Would not like as a friend', 11/19 rated 'Would like as a friend', 8/19 rated 'In between/ don't know'.

29. 30/40 rated 'Would give a job to', 4/40 rated 'Would not give a job to', 10/40 rated 'In between/don't know'. 11/19 rated 'Would give a job to', 0/10 rated 'Would not give a job to', 8/19 rated 'In between/don't know'.

Speaker 2

1. 4/40 rated 'Active', 32/40 rated 'Passive', 4/40 rated 'In between'. 6/19 rated 'Active', 5/19 rated 'Passive', 8/19 rated 'In between'.

2. 2/40 rated 'Ambitious', 38/40 rated 'Easy going'. 0/19 rated 'Ambitious', 17/19 rated 'Easy going', 2/19 rated 'In between'.

3. 10/40 rated 'Awful', 30/40 rated 'Nice'. 0/19 rated 'Awful', 11/19 rated 'Nice', 8/19 rated 'In between'.

4. 12/40 rated 'Interesting', 28/40 rated 'Boring'. 5/19 rated 'Interesting', 3/19 rated 'Boring', 11/19 rated 'In between'.

5. 2/40 rated 'Confident', 38/40 rated 'Unsure'. 4/19 rated 'Confident', 7/19 rated 'Unsure', 8/19 rated 'In between'.

6. 3/40 rated 'Aggressive', 37/40 rated 'Cooperative', 0/19 rated 'Aggressive', 6/19 rated 'Cooperative', 13/19 rated 'In between'.

7. 4/40 rated 'Bad', 33/40 rated 'Good', 3/40 rated 'In between'. 2/19 rated 'Bad', 7/19 rated 'Good', 10/19 rated 'In between'.

8. 7/40 rated 'Selfish', 29/40 rated 'Generous', 4/40 rated 'In between'. 5/19 rated 'Selfish', 5/19 rated 'Generous', 9/19 rated 'In between'.

9. 1/40 rated 'Sad', 22/40 rated 'Happy', 17/40 rated 'In between'. 6/19 rated 'Sad', 9/19 rated 'Happy', 4/19 rated 'In between'.

10. 3/40 rated 'Liar', 28/40 rated 'Honest', 9/40 rated 'In between'. 0/19 rated 'Liar', 8/19 rated 'Honest', 11/19 rated 'In between'.

11. 4/40 rated 'Impolite', 36/40 rated 'Polite', 0/19 rated 'Impolite', 15/19 rated 'Polite', 4/19 rated 'In between'.

12. 18/40 rated 'Lazy', 16/40 rated 'Hard working', 6/40 rated 'In between'. 0/19 rated 'Lazy', 9/19 rated 'Hard working', 10/19 rated 'In between'.

13. 11/40 rated 'Not likeable', 29/40 rated 'Likeable'. 0/19 rated 'Not likeable', 12/19 rated 'Likeable', 7/19 rated 'In between'.

14. 1/40 rated 'Loud', 36/40 rated 'Soft', 3/40 rated 'In between'. 0/19 rated 'Loud', 17/19 rated 'Soft', 2/19 rated 'In between'.

15. 28/40 rated 'Lower class', 8/40 rated 'Upper class', 4/40 rated 'In between'. 0/19 rated 'Lower class', 8/19 rated 'Upper class', 11/19 rated 'In between'.

16. 5/40 rated 'Narrow minded', 32/40 rated 'Tolerant', 3/40 rated 'In between'. 0/19 rated 'Narrow minded', 10/19 rated 'Tolerant', 9/19 rated 'In between'.

17. 28/40 rated 'Poor', 8/40 rated 'Rich', 4/40 rated 'In between'. 2/19 rated 'Poor', 4/19 rated 'Rich', 13/19 rated 'In between'.

18. 2/40 rated 'Pushy', 38/40 rated 'Relaxed'. 4/19 rated 'Pushy', 12/19 rated 'Relaxed', 3/19 rated 'In between'.

19. 28/40 rated 'Reliable', 10/40 rated 'Unreliable', 2/40 rated 'In between'. 4/19 rated 'Reliable', 2/19 rated 'Unreliable', 13/19 rated 'In between'.

20. 6/40 rated 'Talkative', 31/40 rated 'Shy', 3/40 rated 'In between'. 4/19 rated 'Talkative', 12/19 rated 'Shy', 3/19 rated 'In between'.

21. 2/40 rated 'Big', 37/40 rated 'Small', 1/40 rated 'In between'. 0/19 rated 'Big', 13/19 rated 'Small', 6/19 rated 'In between'.

22. 7/40 rated 'Stupid', 26/40 rated 'Smart', 7/40 rated 'In between'. 3/19 rated 'Stupid', 10/19 rated 'Smart', 6/19 rated 'In between'.

23. 20/40 rated 'Unsuccessful', 18/40 rated 'Successful', 2/40 rated 'In between'. 1/19 rated 'Unsuccessful', 6/19 rated 'Successful', 13/19 rated 'In between'.

24. 16/40 rated 'Ugly', 24/40 rated 'Good looking'. 3/19 rated 'Ugly', 9/19 rated 'Good looking', 7/19 rated 'In between'.

25. 10/40 rated 'Unfriendly', 21/40 rated 'Friendly', 9/40 rated 'In between'. 0/19 rated 'Unfriendly', 10/19 rated 'Friendly', 9/19 rated 'In between'.

26. 6/40 rated 'Unhelpful', 27/40 rated 'Helpful', 7/40 rated 'In between'. 0/19 rated 'Unhelpful, 6/19 rated 'Helpful', 13/19 rated 'In between'.

27. 2/40 rated 'Strong', 36/40 rated 'Weak', 2/40 rated 'In between'. 2/19 rated 'Strong', 9/19 rated 'Weak', 8/19 rated 'In between'.

28. 19/40 rated 'Would like to have as a friend', 12/40 rated 'Would not like to have as a friend', 9/40 rated 'In between/don't know'. 8/19 rated 'Would like as a friend', 0/19 rated 'Would not like as a friend', 11/19 rated 'In between/ don't know'.

29. 25/40 rated 'Would give a job to', 6/40 rated 'Would not give a job to', 9/40 rated 'In between/ don't know'. 9/19 'Would give a job to', 1/19 'Would not give a job to', 9/19 rated 'In between/ don't know'.

Speaker 3

1. 0/40 rated 'Active', 30/40 rated 'Passive', 10/40 rated 'In between'. 9/19 rated 'Active', 3/19 rated /Passive', 7/19 rated 'In between'.

2. 2/40 rated 'Ambitious', 38/40 rated 'Easy going', 0/40 rated 'In between'. 0/19 rated 'Ambitious', 8/19 rated 'Easy going', 11/19 rated 'In between'.

3. 8/40 rated 'Awful', 30/40 rated 'Nice', 2/40 rated 'In between'. 0/19 rated 'Awful', 12/19 rated 'Nice', 7/19 rated 'In between'.

4. 32/40 rated 'Boring', 8/40 rated 'Interesting'. 8/19 rated 'Boring', 11/19 rated 'Interesting'.

5. 0/40 rated 'Confident', 35/40 rated 'Unsure', 5/40 rated 'In between'. 5/19 rated 'Confident', 7/19 rated 'Unsure', 8/19 rated 'In between'.

6. 24/40 rated 'Cooperative', 10/40 rated 'Aggressive', 6/40 rated 'In between'. 8/19 rated 'Cooperative', 2/19 rated 'Aggressive', 9/19 rated 'In between'.

7. 22/40 rated 'Good', 9/40 rated 'Bad', 9/40 rated 'In between'. 8/19 rated 'Good', 4/19 rated 'Bad', 7/19 rated 'In between'.

8. 6/40 rated 'Selfish', 24/40 rated 'Generous', 10/40 rated 'In between'. 0/19 rated 'Selfish', 15/19 rated 'Generous', 4/19 rated 'In between'.

9. 24/40 rated 'Happy', 12/40 rated 'Sad', 4/40 rated 'In between'. 2/19 rated 'Happy', 0/19 rated 'Sad', 17/19 rated 'In between'.

10. 28/40 rated 'Honest', 4/40 rated 'Liar', 8/40 rated 'In between'. 8/19 rated 'Honest', 0/19 rated 'Liar', 11/19 rated 'In between'.

11. 24/40 rated 'Polite', 6/40 rated 'Impolite, 10/40 rated 'In between'. 15/19 rated 'Polite', 2/19 rated 'Impolite', 2/19 rated 'In between'.

12. 24/40 rated 'Lazy', 14/40 rated 'Hard working', 2/40 rated 'In between'. 2/19 rated 'Lazy', 8/19 rated 'Hard working', 9/19 rated 'In between'.

13. 6/40 rated 'Not likeable', 30/40 rated 'Likeable', 4/40 rated 'In between'. 4/19 rated 'Not likeable', 6/19 rated 'Likeable', 9/19 rated 'In between'.

14. 28/40 rated 'Loud', 9/40 rated 'Soft', 3/40 rated 'In between'. 10/19 rated 'Loud', 2/19 rated 'Soft', 7/19 rated 'In between'.

15. 0/40 rated 'Upper class', 28/40 rated 'Lower Class', 12/40 rated 'In between'. 7/19 rated 'Lower class', 8/19 rated 'Upper class', 4/19 rated 'In between'.

16. 12/40 rated 'Narrow minded', 22/40 rated 'Tolerant', 6/40 rated 'In between'. 5/19 rated 'Narrow minded', 4/19 rated 'Tolerant', 10/19 rated 'In between'.

17. 27/40 rated 'Poor', 0/40 rated 'Rich', 13/40 rated 'In between'. 7/19 rated 'Poor', 0/19 rated 'Rich', 12/19 rated 'In between'.

18. 6/40 rated 'Pushy', 30/40 rated 'Relaxed', 13/40 rated 'In between'. 4/19 rated 'Pushy', 6/19 rated 'Relaxed', 9/19 rated 'In between'.

19. 18/40 rated 'Reliable', 16/40 rated 'Unreliable', 6/40 rated 'In between'. 3/19 rated 'Reliable', 5/19 rated 'Unreliable', 11/19 rated 'In between'.

20. 18/40 rated 'Shy', 8/40 rated 'Talkative', 14/40 rated 'In between'. 4/19 rated 'Shy', 9/19 rated 'Talkative', 6/19 rated 'In between'.

21. 4/40 rated 'Small', 30/40 rated 'Big', 6/40 rated 'In between'. 4/19 rated 'Small', 2/19 rated 'Big', 13/19 rated 'In between'.

22. 4/40 rated 'Smart', 20/40 rated 'Stupid', 16/40 rated 'In between'. 5/19 rated 'Smart', 4/19 rated 'Stupid', 10/ 19 rated 'In between'.

23. 7/40 rated 'Successful', 25/40 rated 'Unsuccessful', 8/40 rated 'In between'. 8/19 rated 'Successful', 2/19 rated 'Unsuccessful', 9/19 rated 'In between'.

24. 20/40 rated 'Ugly', 8/40 rated 'Good looking', 12/40 rated 'In between'. 2/19 rated 'Ugly', 7/19 rated 'Good looking', 10/19 rated 'In between'.

25. 24/40 rated 'Friendly', 10/40 rated 'Unfriendly', 6/40 rated 'In between'. 11/19 rated 'Friendly', 1/19 rated 'Unfriendly', 7/19 rated 'In between'.

26. 33/40 rated 'Helpful', 5/40 rated 'Unhelpful', 2/40 rated 'In between'. 13/19 rated 'Helpful', 2/19 rated 'Unhelpful', 4/19 rated 'In between'.

27. 12/40 rated 'Weak', 26/40 rated 'Strong', 2/40 rated 'In between'. 6/19 rated 'Weak', 7/19 rated 'Strong', 6/19 rated 'In between'.

28. 23/40 rated 'Would like as a friend', 10/40 rated 'Would not like as a friend', 7/40 rated 'In between'. 6/19 rated 'Would like as a friend', 4/19 'Would not like as a friend', 9/19 rated 'In between'.

29. 10/40 rated 'Would give a job to', 26/40 rated 'Would not give a job to', 4/40 rated 'In between'. 6/19 rated 'Would give a job to', 4/19 rated 'Would not give a job to', 9/19 rated 'In between'.

Speaker 4

1. 33/40 rated 'Active', 7/40 rated 'Passive'. 8/19 rated 'Active', 2/19 rated 'Passive', 9/19 rated 'In between'.

2. 27/40 rated 'Ambitious', 13/40 rated 'Easy going'. 13/19 rated 'Ambitious', 3/19 rated 'Easy going', 3/19 rated 'In between'.

3. 2/40 rated 'Awful', 28/40 rated 'Nice', 10/40 rated 'In between'. 1/19 rated 'Awful', 11/19 rated 'Nice', 7/19 rated 'In between'.

4. 12/40 rated 'Boring', 28/40 rated 'Interesting'. 3/19 rated 'Boring', 9/19 rated 'Interesting', 7/19 rated 'In between'.

5. 20/40 rated 'Confident', 14/40 rated 'Unsure', 6/40 rated 'In between'. 16/19 rated 'Confident', 0/19 rated 'Unsure', 3/19 rated 'In between'.

6. 35/40 rated 'Cooperative', 2/40 rated 'Aggressive', 3/40 rated 'In between'. 10/19 rated 'Cooperative', 0/19 rated 'Aggressive', 9/19 rated 'In between'.

7. 33/40 rated 'Good', 2/40 rated 'Bad', 5/40 rated 'In between'. 13/19 rated 'Good', 1/19 rated 'Bad', 5/19 rated 'In between'.

8. 35/40 rated 'Generous', 1/40 rated 'Selfish', 4/40 rated 'In between'. 12/19 rated 'generous', 4/19 rated 'Selfish', 3/19 rated 'In between'.

9. 25/40 rated 'Happy', 10/40 rated 'Sad', 5/40 rated 'In between'. 8/19 rated 'Happy', 5/19 rated 'Sad', 6/19 rated 'In between'.

10. 27/40 rated 'Honest', 3/40 rated 'Liar', 10/40 rated 'In between'. 6/19 rated 'Honest', 4/19 rated 'Liar', 9/19 rated 'In between'.

11. 3/40 rated 'Impolite', 37/40 rated 'Polite'. 0/19 rated 'Impolite', 17/19 rated 'Polite', 2/19 rated 'In between'.

12. 2/19 rated 'Lazy', 36/40 rated 'Hard working', 2/40 rated 'In between'. 17/19 rated 'Hard working', 2/19 rated 'In between'.

13. 32/40 rated 'Likeable', 0/40 rated 'Not likeable', 8/40 rated 'In between'. 14/19 rated 'Likeable', 5/19 rated 'In between'.

14. 6/40 rated 'Loud', 26/40 rated 'Soft', 8/40 rated 'In between'. 5/19 rated 'Loud', 4/19 rated 'Soft', 10/19 rated 'In between'.

15. 5/40 rated 'Lower class', 21/40 rated 'Upper class', 14/40 rated 'In between'. 2/19 rated 'Lower class', 4/19 rated 'Upper class', 13/19 rated 'In between'.

16. 7/40 rated 'Narrow minded', 29/40 rated 'Tolerant', 4/40 rated 'In between'. 8/19 rated 'Narrow minded', 3/19 rated 'Tolerant', 8/19 rated 'In between'.

17. 8/40 rated 'Poor', 22/40 rated 'Rich', 10/40 rated 'In between'. 4/19 rated 'Poor', 7/19 rated 'Rich', 8/19 rated 'In between'.

18. 3/40 rated 'Pushy', 33/40 rated 'Relaxed', 4/40 rated 'In between'. 7/19 rated 'Pushy', 4/19 rated 'Relaxed', 8/19 rated 'In between'.

19. 30/40 rated 'Reliable', 3/40 rated 'Unreliable', 7/40 rated 'In between'. 7/19 rated 'Reliable', 0/19 rated 'Unreliable', 12/19 rated 'In between'.

20. 8/40 rated 'Shy', 25/40 rated 'Talkative', 7/40 rated 'In between'. 0/19 rated 'Shy', 11/19 rated 'Talkative', 8/19 rated 'In between'.

21. 29/40 rated 'Small', 5/40 rated 'Big', 6/40 rated 'In between'. 6/19 rated 'Small', 3/19 rated 'Big', 10/19 rated 'In between'.

22. 31/40 rated 'Smart', 2/40 rated 'Stupid', 7/40 rated 'In between'. 10/19 rated 'Smart', 0/19 rated 'Stupid', 9/19 rated 'In between'.

23. 30/40 rated 'Successful', 4/40 rated 'Unsuccessful', 6/40 rated 'In between'. 10/19 rated 'Successful', 0/19 rated 'Unsuccessful', 9/19 rated 'In between'.

24. 2/40 rated 'Ugly', 33/40 rated 'Good looking', 4/40 rated 'In between'. 0/19 rated 'Ugly', 7/19 rated 'Good looking', 12/19 rated 'In between'.

25. 4/40 rated 'Unfriendly', 29/40 rated 'Friendly', 7/40 rated 'In between'. 0/19 rated 'Unfriendly', 14/19 rated 'Friendly', 5/19 rated 'In between'.

26. 2/40 rated 'Unhelpful, 27/40 rated 'Helpful', 11/40 rated 'In between'. 2/19 rated 'Unhelpful', 4/19 rated 'Helpful', 13/19 rated 'In between'.

27. 10/40 rated 'Weak', 23/40 rated 'Strong', 7/40 rated 'In between'. 0/19 rated 'Weak', 13/19 rated 'Strong', 6/19 rated 'In between'.

28. 36/40 rated 'Would like as a friend', 1/40 rated 'Would not like as a friend', 3/40 rated 'In between/don't know'. 11/19 rated 'Would like as a friend', 2/19 rated 'Would not like as a friend', 6/19 rated 'In between/don't know'.

29. 37/40 rated 'Would give a job to', 3/40 rated 'Would not give a job to', 12/19 rated 'Would give a job to', 4/19 rated 'Would not give a job to', 3/19 rated 'In between/don't know'.

Speaker 5

1. 28/40 rated 'Active', 12/40 rated 'Passive'. 11/19 rated 'Active', 3/19 rated 'Passive', 5/19 rated 'In between'.

2. 19/40 rated 'Ambitious', 11/40 rated 'Easy going'. 16/19 rated 'Ambitious', 2/19 rated 'Easy going'. 1/19 rated 'In between'.

3. 0/40 rated 'Awful', 33/40 rated 'Nice', 7/40 rated 'In between'. 0/19 rated 'Awful', 12/19 rated 'Nice', 7/19 rated 'In between'.

4. 6/40 rated 'Boring', 30/40 rated 'Interesting', 4/40 rated 'In between'. 3/19 rated 'Boring', 8/19 rated 'Interesting', 8/19 rated 'In between'.

5. 30/40 rated 'Confident', 10/40 rated 'Unsure'. 13/19 rated 'Confident', 0/19 rated 'Unsure', 6/19 rated 'In between'.

6. 34/40 rated 'Cooperative', 6/40 rated 'Aggressive'. 8/19 rated 'Cooperative', 11/19 rated 'In between'.

7. 29/40 rated 'Good', 11/40 rated 'In between'. 11/19 rated 'Good', 8/19 rated 'In between'.

8. 29/40 rated 'Generous', 4/40 rated 'Selfish', 7/40 rated 'In between'. 13/19 rated 'Generous', 6/19 rated 'In between'.

9.35/40 'Happy', 5/40 rated 'In between'. 9/19 rated 'Happy', 10/19 rated 'In between'.

10. 38/40 rated 'Honest', 2/40 rated 'In between'. 9/19 rated 'Honest', 4/19 rated 'Liar', 6/19 rated 'In between'.

11. 2/40 rated 'Impolite', 37/40 rated 'Polite', 1/40 rated 'In between'. 6/19 rated 'Impolite', 8/19 rated 'Polite', 5/19 rated 'In between'.

12. 1/40 rated 'Lazy', 36/40 rated 'Hard working', 3/40 rated 'In between'. 1/19 rated 'Lazy', 12/19 rated 'Hard working', 6/19 rated 'In between'.

13. 33/40 rated 'Likeable', 7/40 rated 'In between'. 14/19 rated 'Likeable', 5/19 rated 'In between'.

14. 22/40 rated 'Loud', 16/40 rated 'Soft', 3/40 rated 'In between'. 9/19 rated 'Loud', 4/19 rated 'Soft', 6/19 rated 'In between'.

15. 4/40 rated 'Lower class', 26/40 'Upper class', 10/40 'In between'. 8/19 rated 'Upper class', 11/19 rated 'In between'.

16. 6/40 rated 'Narrow minded', 32/40 rated 'Tolerant', 2/40 rated 'In between'. 6/19 rated 'Narrow minded', 4/19 rated 'Tolerant', 9/19 rated 'In between'.

17.4/40 rated 'Poor',26/40 rated 'Rich', 10/40 rated 'In between'. 2/19 rated 'Poor', 7/19 rated 'Rich', 10/19 rated 'In between'.

18. 2/40 rated 'Pushy', 31/40 rated 'Relaxed, 7/40 rated 'In between'. 7/19 rated 'Pushy', 4/19 rated 'Relaxed', 8/19 rated 'In between'.

19. 32/40 rated 'Reliable', 4/40 rated 'Unreliable', 4/40 rated 'In between'. 10/19 rated 'Reliable', 2/19 rated 'Unreliable', 7/19 rated 'In between'.

20. 5/40 rated 'Shy', 35/40 rated 'Talkative'. 2/19 rated 'Shy', 15/19 rated 'Talkative', 2/19 rated 'In between'.

21. 12/40 rated 'Small', 22/40 rated 'Big', 6/40 rated 'In between'. 17/19 rated 'Big', 2/19 rated 'In between'.

22. 20/40 rated 'Smart', 8/40 rated 'Stupid', 12/40 rated 'In between'. 11/19 rated 'Smart', 8/19 rated 'In between'.

23. 30/40 rated 'Successful', 8/40 rated 'Unsuccessful', 2/40 rated 'In between'. 13/19 rated 'Successful', 6/19 rated 'In between'.

24. 4/40 rated 'Ugly', 31/40 rated 'Good looking', 5/40 rated 'In between'. 1/19 rated 'Ugly', 10/19 rated 'Good looking', 8/19 rated 'In between'.

25. 38/40 rated 'Friendly', 2/40 rated 'Unfriendly'. 15/19 rated 'Friendly', 4/19 rated 'In between'.

26. 36/40 rated 'Helpful', 4/40 rated 'In between'. 11/19 rated 'Helpful', 8/19 rated 'In between'.

27. 10/40 rated 'Weak', 26/40 rated 'Strong', 4/40 rated 'In between'. 11/19 rated 'Strong', 8/19 rated 'In between'.

28. 33/40 rated 'Would like as a friend', 2/40 rated 'Would not like as a friend', 5/40 rated 'In between'. 10/19 rated 'Would like as a friend', 1/19 rated 'Would not like as a friend', 8/19 rated 'In between'.

29. 5/40 rated 'Would not give a job to', 27/40 rated 'Would give a job to', 8/40 rated 'In between'. 2/19 rated 'Would not give a job to', 10/19 rated 'Would give a job to', 7/19 rated 'In between'.

Speaker 6

1. 1/40 rated 'Active', 39/40 rated 'Passive'. 10/19 rated 'Passive', 9/19 rated 'In between'.

2. 38/40 rated 'Easy going', 2/40 rated 'In between'. 12/19 rated 'Easy going', 7/19 rated 'In between'.

3. 24/40 rated 'Awful', 14/40 rated 'Nice', 4/40 rated 'In between'. 7/19 rated 'Awful', 4/19 rated 'Nice', 8/19 rated 'In between'.

4. 34/40 rated 'Boring', 6/40 rated 'Interesting'. 10/19 rated 'Boring', 2/19 rated 'Interesting', 7/19 rated 'In between'.

5. 2/40 rated 'Confident', 37/40 rated 'Unsure', 1/40 rated 'In between'. 8/19 rated 'Unsure', 11/19 rated 'In between'.

6. 26/40 rated 'Cooperative', 12/40 rated 'Aggressive', 2/40 rated 'In between'. 4/19 rated 'Cooperative', 6/19 rated 'Aggressive', 9/19 rated 'In between'.

7. 18/40 rated 'Good', 20/40 rated 'Bad', 2/40 rated 'In between'. 6/19 rated 'Bad', 13/19 rated 'In between'.

8. 14/40 rated 'Generous', 14/40 rated 'Selfish', 12/40 rated 'In between'. 6/19 rated 'Selfish', 13/19 rated 'In between'.

9. 14/40 rated 'Happy', 20/40 rated 'Sad', 6/40 rated 'In between'. 4/19 rated 'Happy', 2/19 rated 'Sad', 13/19 rated 'In between'.

10. 18/40 rated 'Honest', 12/40 rated 'Liar', 10/40 rated 'In between'. 3/19 rated 'Honest', 4/19 rated 'Liar', 12/19 rated 'In between'.

11. 6/40 rated 'Impolite', 26/40 rated 'Polite', 8/40 rated 'In between'. 2/19 rated 'Impolite', 4/19 rated 'Polite', 13/19 rated 'In between'.

12. 20/40 rated 'Lazy', 14/40 rated 'Hard working', 6/40 rated 'In between'. 6/19 rated 'Lazy', 13/19 'In between'.

13. 16/40 rated 'Likeable', 18/40 rated 'Not likeable', 6/40 rated 'In between'. 4/19 rated 'Likeable', 6/19 rated 'Not likeable', 9/19 rated 'In between'.

14. 12/40 rated 'Loud', 28/40 rated 'Soft'. 2/19 rated 'Loud', 6/19 rated 'Soft', 11/19 rated 'In between'.

15. 28/40 rated 'Lower class', 1/40 rated 'Upper class', 11/40 rated 'In between'. 7/19 rated 'Lower class', 12/19 rated 'In between'.

16. 10/40 rated 'Narrow minded', 28/40 rated 'Tolerant', 2/40 rated 'In between'. 4/19 rated 'Narrow minded', 2/19 rated 'Tolerant', 13/19 rated 'In between'.

17. 33/40 rated 'Poor', 1/40 rated 'Rich', 6/40 rated 'In between'. 8/19 rated 'Poor', 11/19 rated 'In between'.

18. 8/40 rated 'Pushy', 26/40 rated 'Relaxed', 6/40 rated 'In between'. 5/19 rated 'Pushy', 6/19 rated 'Relaxed', 8/19 rated 'In between'.

19. 16/40 rated 'Reliable', 22/40 rated 'Unreliable', 2/40 rated 'In between'. 6/19 rated 'Unreliable', 13/19 rated 'In between'.

20. 26/40 rated 'Shy', 14/40 rated 'Talkative'. 4/19 rated 'Shy', 4/19 rated 'Talkative', 11/19 rated 'In between'.

21. 16/40 rated 'Small', 14/40 rated 'Big', 10/40 rated 'In between'. 8/19 rated 'Small', 11/19 rated ' In between'.

22. 10/40 rated 'Smart', 26/40 rated 'Stupid', 4/40 rated 'In between'. 4/19 rated 'Stupid', 4/19 rated 'smart', 11/19 rated 'In between'.

23. 10/40 rated 'Successful', 26/40 rated 'Unsuccessful', 4/40 rated 'In between'. 4/19 rated 'Unsuccessful', 15/19 rated 'In between'.

24. 22/40 rated 'Ugly', 18/40 rated 'Good looking'. 4/19 rated 'Ugly', 2/19 rated 'Good looking', 13/19 rated 'In between'.

25. 12/40 rated 'Unfriendly', 22/40 rated 'Friendly', 6/40 rated 'In between'. 2/19 rated 'Unfriendly', 6/19 rated 'Friendly', 11/19 rated 'In between'.

26. 9/40 rated 'Unhelpful', 22/40 rated 'Helpful', 9/40 rated 'In between'. 2/19 rated 'Unhelpful', 3/19 rated 'helpful', 14/19 rated 'In between'.

27. 20/40 rated 'Weak', 18/40 rated 'Strong', 2/40 rated 'In between'. 4/19 rated 'Weak', 4/19 rated 'Strong', 11/19 rated 'In between'.

28. 8/40 rated 'Would like as a friend', 26/40 rated 'Would not like as a friend', 6/40 rated 'In between/don't know'. 4/19 rated 'Would like as a friend', 2/19 rated 'Would not like as a friend', 13/19 rated 'In between'.

29. 6/40 rated 'Would give a job to', 27/40 rated 'Would not give a job to', 7/40 rated 'In between'. 2/19 rated 'Would give a job to', 4/19 rated 'Would not give a job to', 13/19 rated 'In between'.

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