

PACIFIC LINGUISTICS

Series D - No. 29

QUEENSLAND CANEFIELDS ENGLISH
OF THE LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY
(A RECORD OF INTERVIEW WITH TWO OF THE LAST SURVIVING
KANAKAS IN NORTH QUEENSLAND, 1964)

by

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First published 1980.

The editors are indebted to the Australian National University for help in the production of this series.

This publication was made possible by an initial grant from the Hunter Douglas Fund.

National Library of Australia Card Number and ISBN 0 85883 224 0

TO TOM LAMMON AND PETER SANTO

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

When I first went to North Queensland in 1964 to record varieties of English used there by various Aboriginal communities I had the good fortune of being able to digress slightly from this task to visit Ayr to talk to two very old men living there who were reputed to have been amongst the last survivors of a group of labourers brought to Queensland from the South-West Pacific to work on its sugar plantations in the second half of the last century. With assistance from various people, not least from those closely related to them, I eventually located these two old-timers. One, Tom Lammon, from the island of the same name in the New Hebrides, was said to be ninety-five years old, and the other, Peter Santo, from Espiritu Santo in the same country, was said to be one hundred and three. Tom was very spry although his legs were gradually giving way on him. He lived at home with his son's and grandson's families. Peter, somewhat less spry, was in the old men's ward of the Ayr and District Hospital. We talked about aspects of their lives and I made several recordings which are the *raison d'être* of this publication.

At the time I knew absolutely nothing about the background of these old men and their families nor much about the important part played by them and some 62,000 or so others in helping to establish the pastoral and sugar industries in Queensland, even though I myself come from Bundaberg, one of the most famous plantation towns of the sugar belt where there are still visual reminders everywhere of the former presence of these "helpers". Still my interest and reasons for being in Ayr was Linguistics, and especially at that time, contact Englishes, and so I focussed on the kind of English spoken by these two old men as best I could in the time I had available. I left Ayr reasonably satisfied with the small collection of tapes I had in my possession and turned to my other research work. I put aside the Ayr tapes for the future to do something with them after I had completed other more pressing things.

I have only now arrived at the stage of "doing something with them" and on listening again to them I am, on the one hand, deeply shocked at the approach, attitudes and inexperience I display in dealing with these two centenarians (give or take a few years), while on the other, impressed with just how much the two speakers were able to get across in spite of me. I really regret now, however, that I did not 'do something' with this material much sooner, while both were still alive, so that I could have gone back and fixed up the mistakes and filled in the gaps before it was irrecoverable, as it is now. I regret too not having had the good sense to just sit and listen to these two giving of what they wanted to give instead of thwarting them by constantly trying to direct the conversations.

I would like to take this opportunity then to apologise posthumously to Tom in particular for my poor performance and for the omissions which should have become part of the historical record. At the same time I should like to thank him and Peter for working with me in the way they did and for allowing me to record their voices for posterity.

I should also very much like to thank Tom's daughter and son-in-law, Nora and Ernie Byquar, Nambour, for giving so generously of their time and patience to talk to me about Tom's life and their own; for their assistance in helping me meet others and in tracing sources and supplying photographs and other information; for their pleasant company and hospitality.

Rhoda Lammon, Tom's daughter-in-law also knows a lot about Tom's life and I am grateful to her for sharing some of this and other information with me.

Amongst others who also contributed to this study in similar ways I should especially like to thank the following: Esther Henaway and Olly Darr, Ayr, especially for giving their sides of the picture and for generous hospitality; Peter Santo (Jr), Ayr, for talking about his father's and his own life and times, and for other information; Jack Lynn, Ingham, for helping to reconstruct Tom's life in the Ingham area and for taking me to see relevant historic sites therein; Colin Jacobsen, formerly Secretary, Ayr and District Hospital, for assistance in recording Peter Santo (Sr)'s voice in hospital in 1964; Mrs M. Rule, Bundaberg Historical Museum Society, for assistance in locating sources and in supplying information on former kanakas in the Bundaberg area.

Ms Trish Mercer, History Department, Australian National University, and Mr Clive Moore of the corresponding department at James Cook University of North Queensland have also given generously of their time to discuss aspects of this and related projects with me and have freely made available relevant materials from their own unpublished research.

I have been stimulated by this contact and would like to thank them very sincerely for it.

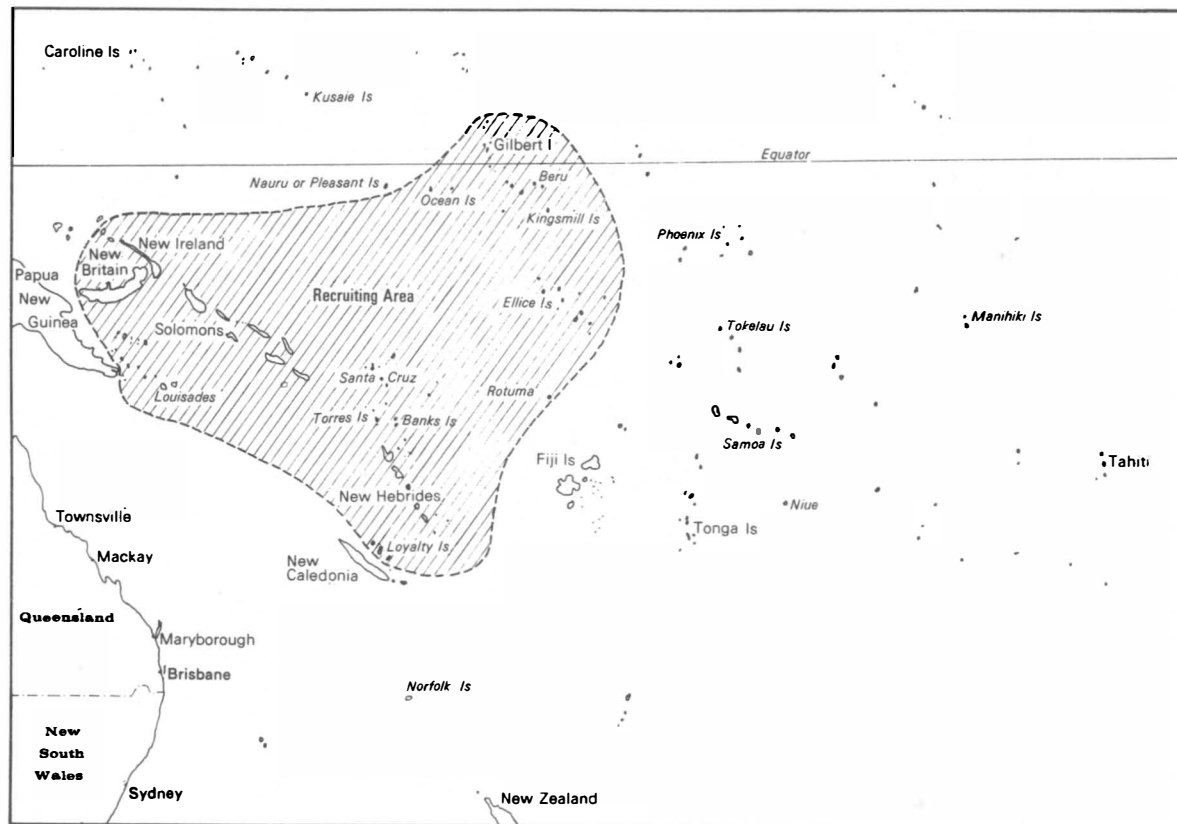
I have also been stimulated and materially assisted in this project by: friend, pidgin expert, and associate in a larger project dealing with pidgin and creole Englishes in the Southwest Pacific, Dr Peter Mühlhäusler, Oxford; fellow linguists and colleagues of the Department of Linguistics, Research School of Pacific Studies, the Australian National University, Professor Stephen Wurm, Drs Don Laycock, Bert Voorhoeve, Darrell Tryon, and Jacques Guy; Professor Bruce Rigsby, Department of Anthropology, University of Queensland, and Mr Gerry Langevad of the same department; Mr Bob Cochrane of the Department of English, University of Queensland and Mr E.H. Flint formerly of the same department; Professor Dalton and staff of the Department of History, James Cook University of North Queensland.

Finally I should like to thank the unfortunately-now-defunct Queensland Speech Survey, Department of English, University of Queensland, for giving me my first linguistics job and for giving me the opportunity and funds to do the research work which included recording Tom Lammon's and Peter Santo's voices in 1964. I am no less thankful to the Australian National University for giving me my second linguistics job and for subsequently funding me to undertake research work part of which underlies this publication.

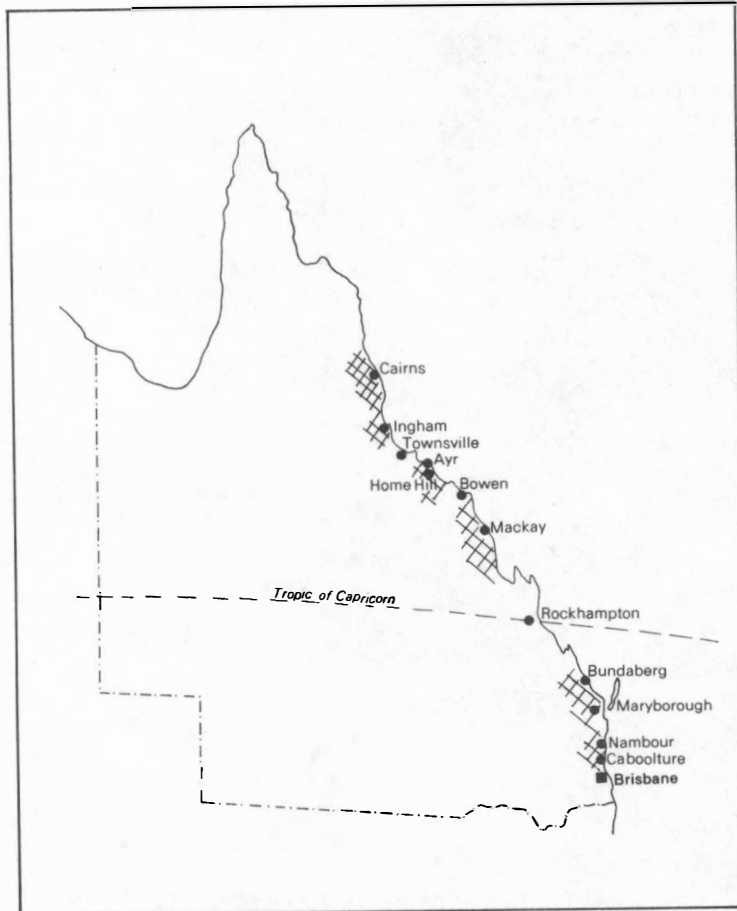
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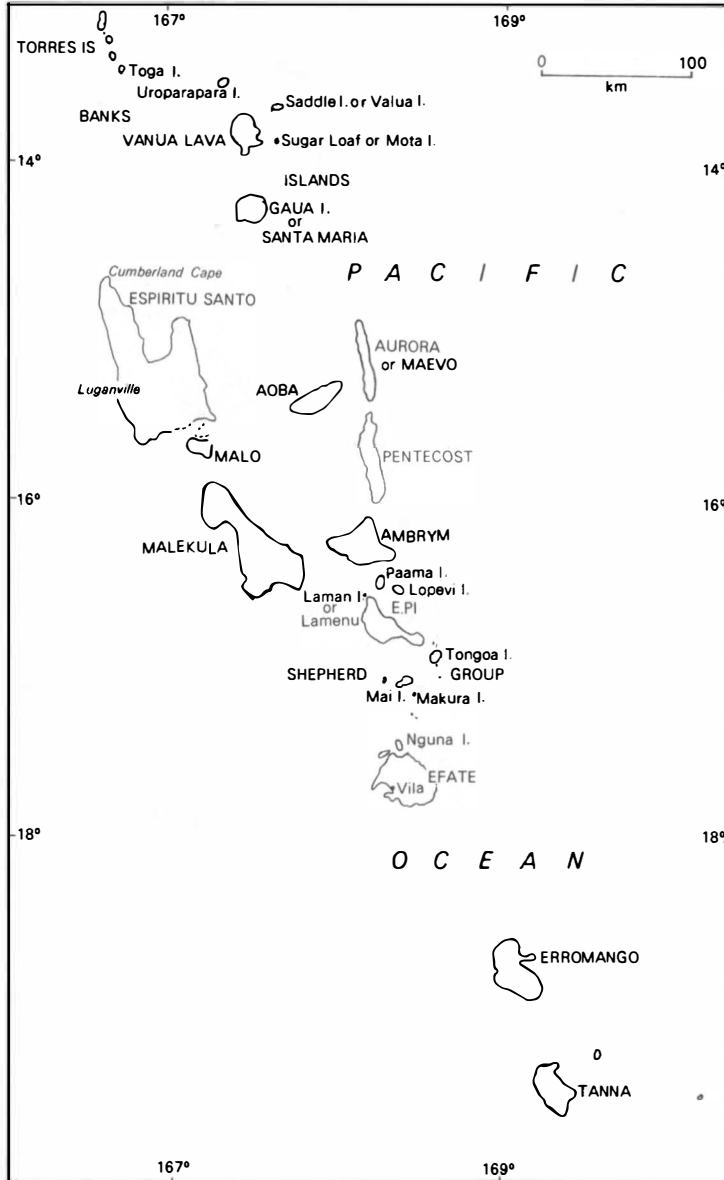
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MAP 1: THE SOUTH-WEST PACIFIC SHOWING PRINCIPAL RECRUITING AREAS FOR THE QUEENSLAND LABOUR TRADE



MAP 2: PRINCIPAL SUGARCANE-GROWING AREAS OF QUEENSLAND



MAP 3: THE NEW HEBRIDES CONDOMINIUM

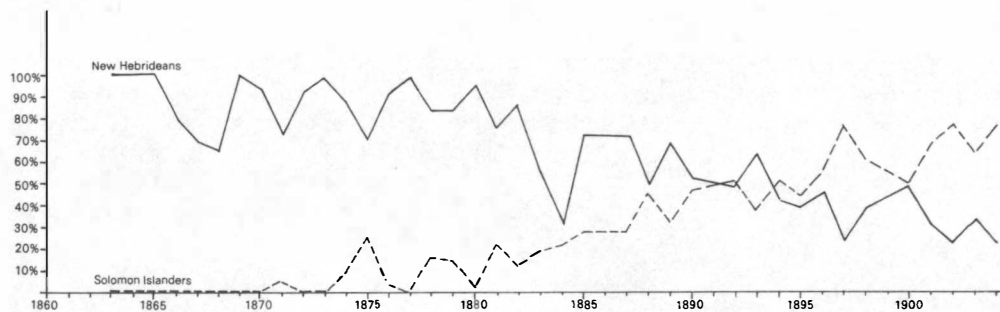


CHART: PERCENTAGES OF NEW HEBRIDEANS AND SOLOMON ISLANDERS IN QUEENSLAND 1863-1904

1. INTRODUCTION

Throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth large numbers of South Sea Islanders were brought to work in Queensland as indentured labourers in the pastoral and sugar industries that were being developed there at that time. These labourers were popularly known as "kanakas", a derivative of a common Hawaiian term for 'man' or 'person' (Tregear 1969),¹ although officially they were referred to as Polynesians (even though all but a handful of them came from Melanesia), and the trade that developed in them as the Queensland Labour Trade.² This trade has been well described in the literature³ although linguists are only now beginning to give the linguistic aspects of it due attention in view of their import for understanding the relationships between the present-day distribution of variously similar pidgin and creole Englishes found in neighbouring areas of the South-West Pacific. We know in general terms what happened socio-linguistically in Queensland between white master and black servant in the enforced work-contact situations on the canefields and pastoral runs there because of the many references to it that have been made by those focussing on other aspects of the trade. But the number, nature, and history of the varieties of English used by "kanakas" in Queensland and their actual connection with the development of different varieties of pidgin and creole Englishes now found in other parts of the South-West Pacific have never been documented nor established, although there has been much speculation and conjecture about them (Clark 1977).⁴

It is not the purpose of this paper to attempt to rectify the present situation by trying to document and trace the varieties and connections that have been suggested - that is premature given present evidence and resources, although some discussion of this question must of course

¹It is not known how the term "kanaka" came to be applied to Queensland labour recruits historically. It is possible, as some have suggested, that the chance similarities between the Hawaiian word and 'cane-hacker' had something to do with it.

²This trade is often erroneously referred to as 'blackbirding'. Recent historians have shown that kidnapping was only relevant to the initial period before tighter controls were placed on recruitment procedures and before "English" became more widely known and islanders learned what indenture really meant (although individual cases of abuse undoubtedly occurred) (Corris 1970; 1973; Saunders 1974). The etymology of the word is uncertain though it appears to have been used in the same sense in reference to African slave trading (OED).

³See in particular Bolton (1963, 1967), Corris (1968, 1970, 1973), Giles (1968), Holthouse (1969), Saunders (1974, 1975), Scarr (1970), and Wawn (1973).

⁴Clark's paper is a first attempt to state "what needs to be done to put the history of Pidgin English in the Pacific on a sound basis of fact" (1977:2).

necessarily be involved. Rather this paper merely seeks to present certain evidence that it is believed is very relevant to such an attempt but which has remained inaccessible to researchers for many years.

This evidence consists of the transcripts of several short tape-recorded interviews conducted with two of the last surviving "kanakas" in Queensland in 1964.¹ As far as is known these recordings are the only taperecordings ever made of the actual speech of such kanakas,² as distinct from written interpretations that appear in other records,³ and as such represent a potentially valuable body of reference material for future comparative work and historical studies. But this potential can only be fully realised if and when this material is placed in its proper historical context, that is, when questions about the nature of the material and what it represents historically have been answered. The remainder of this volume is concerned with these questions the solutions of which involve some analysis of the texts themselves and a comparison of the speech in them with Standard Australian English (SAE)⁴ and other Englishes, together with an attempt to relate similarities and differences between them to features of the lives of the two speakers and of the trade in general. As might be expected given the patchy evidence available the results are not clear-cut. About the best that can be said is that the common core aspects of this speech represent those of Kanaka English (KE) used on the canefields of Queensland late last century and early this.⁵ At worst they raise many other questions which need further investigation.

¹The last survivor in Queensland is thought to have been Robert Tanna who died in Rockhampton on 5th June 1972, and was buried in Bundaberg. He was thought to have been 85 years old at the time of his death (Mrs Rule, personal communication). Others apparently survived beyond this date in the Solomon Islands, however (Corris 1973:4).

²This excludes recordings made in the Solomon Islands by Corris (1973:4) in 1968 for example.

³There are plenty of written records available, both published and unpublished, that include putative transcriptions of Kanaka English, but the true value of many of these cannot be assessed until they have been properly studied because it is not immediately clear how much they have been interfered with by literate, and usually well educated clerks and writers who recorded it, or published it for some particular (often comic) purpose.

⁴SAE has never been defined nor described. For present purposes I take it to be that form of English taught in Queensland's schools of which I am a product. I therefore take my own speech as a model and comparative base.

⁵Kanaka English will be used as a cover term to include all kinds of English used by kanakas in Queensland. Canefields English (CE) will be used as a sub-division of this in contrast to Pastoral English (PE), which is not relevant to the present paper.

2. BACKGROUND INFORMATION

2.1. THE QUEENSLAND LABOUR TRADE AND KANAKA ENGLISH

2.1.1. HISTORICAL OVERVIEW¹

The Queensland Labour Trade is generally regarded as having lasted some forty-three years - from July 1863 to December 1906 - although South Sea Islanders were actually first brought to Australia by Benjamin Boyd in 1847 (Saunders 1974:34) and there were still some of them in Queensland after 1906. During this time the trade passed through various legal and organisational phases as the Government acted to stamp out malpractices such as blackbirding and to improve conditions for labourers within the colony while restricting the use of kanakas to tropical agriculture. It also survived a number of attempts to abandon it until 1901 when the Pacific Island Labourers Act finally prohibited recruiting beyond 31st March 1904, and required the repatriation of all South Sea Islanders by 31st December 1906, except for those classified as 'exempt' for various reasons.²

In the early days of the trade most islanders came from the Loyalties and Southern New Hebrides areas but as the trade developed in response to increasing demand, the exhaustion of supplies of able-bodied men in these areas, and the fear of reprisals against recruiters in areas previously contacted, its focus gradually shifted northwards so that by 1904 all of the New Hebrides, the Banks, Torres and Santa Cruz Islands, most of the Solomon Islands and the islands off the eastern end of the mainland of what is now Papua New Guinea, and even the Gilbert and Ellis Islands had been contacted and encompassed within it - see Map 1. In all a total of approximately 62,500 recruits were brought to Queensland between 1863 and 1904³ of whom approximately 50% came from the New Hebrides (mostly from the centre and north), and approximately 30% from the Solomon Islands (mostly from the southern areas)⁴ in a changing ratio

¹This account is based on the sources already referred to above together with other relevant sources listed in the References section below.

²These reasons include consideration of how long applicants had been in Queensland, how old and healthy they were, whether they were married and had children at school in Australia, and whether they owned land or not.

³Estimates of the exact number of recruits brought to Queensland vary for reasons discussed in Price and Baker (1976:106-8) but the best available ones are those given by those authors where the total given (in Table 1) is 62,475. Note, however, that the number of persons who actually set foot in Queensland is much lower than that since, as is indicated later, large numbers of recruits were actually "returnees" who had been in Queensland before and were coming back for their second, third, or even more contract.

⁴Saunders (1974:332) gives figures that are about 10% lower.

consistent with the changing focus of the trade - see Chart.¹ Of all these somewhere between 1500 and 2000 were allowed to remain in Queensland (Mercer and Moore 1978:90) after 1906,² where they survived as best they could on small plots of land on or near farms on which they had worked as former indentured labourers³ or in squatter settlements on the edge of nearby towns. Here they lived a segregated life as Mercer and Moore (1978:93) point out "in social and cultural as well as geographical sense". Today there are estimated to be over 8000 Australian-born descendants living in Queensland.⁴ Most of these are to be found concentrated in areas around and in the coastal towns of Mackay, Bowen, Ayr/Home Hill, Ingham, Rockhampton, and Nambour.⁵

2.1.2. THE DEVELOPMENT OF KANAKA ENGLISH

It would be begging the question to say that we know precisely what happened communications-wise on the canefields of Queensland. All that can be said at the moment is very general and lacks precision for want of relevant evidence. But given the complex and changing social situation on the canefields described by historians we presume that the history of development of viable and stable forms of communication based on English between white English-speaking masters and their black non-English-speaking servants was equally as complex and fluid. There is some linguistic evidence to support this but insufficient yet to fill out the details. The general picture would appear to be, however, a rapid development from a heterogenous collection of ad hoc varieties of unstable pidgins as individual and small group solutions to the communication problem across the English language boundary through ever-increasing convergence to fewer varieties and stability as individual and small group solutions became larger group ones, as the structure and nature of the labour trade, the sugar industry, and of canefields society in general changed in different ways.

¹This chart is derived from the figures presented in Appendix 1, which in turn are derived from those in Price and Baker (1976:Tables 1 and 2).

²The number of Islanders allowed to remain in Queensland is also difficult to determine for reasons outlined in Mercer and Moore (1978:90, fn.1).

³Many farmers seem to have been very helpful to former labourers they knew by giving them small pieces of land on which to live and by helping them sell cane illegally to local mills. By the same token there were probably many who abused them.

⁴Actual estimates range between 8000 and 30000 but Mercer and Moore (1978:91) conclude that 8000 is probably nearer the mark. This conclusion is based on their extensive fieldwork amongst South Sea Island communities in North Queensland.

⁵There is also believed to be quite a large community living in the Tweed River district of northern New South Wales where sugarcane growing is an important industry.

Thus in the beginning the vast majority of recruits could not speak "English" and there were, in consequence, few competent interpreters. During this stage when practically everyone was a non-English-speaking "new chum" there was presumably a rapid development of different and ad hoc, but not unrelated, varieties of contact Englishes to meet the needs of the work situations into which these "new chums" were thrust. Presumably these varieties owed their similarities and differences to two factors: (a) to the knowledge of "English" that the few of them that had any brought with them from some previous contact with traders of various kinds (e.g. whalers, sandalwood collectors, beche-de-mer fishermen) and/or from contact with missions established or active in various parts of Melanesia at the time (e.g. Loyalties, Banks and some New Hebridean islands (Saunders 1974:349)); and (b) to the similarities and differences between the social situations in which they were employed, that is, to such things as whether they were employed on pastoral stations or on sugar fields where they worked in gangs rather than in smaller numbers as in the former industry; whether they worked with labour of other ethnic origins such as Chinese and Aborigines who most probably had their own varieties of contact Englishes; the experience and nature of their white overseers;¹ their home language etc. During this phase the numbers of recruits coming to Queensland gradually increased - though with considerable fluctuations from year to year as indicated graphically on the Chart (see p.xiii).

Presumably this initial situation soon gave way to a new one in which growing numbers of those who had been through the system in Queensland

¹Little is known about the composition of the white society on the Queensland cane fields during the period of the Labour Trade. Various references indicate that this was of mixed origin and of a variety of backgrounds but including some (perhaps many) who had had experience in handling coloured labour in other plantation areas of the world. Thus Corris (1970:50) notes that "some overseers and managers had come to Queensland from Jamaica, Trinidad, or Mauritius where they had gained experience in sugar growing and in the management of an indentured labour force." Other references (e.g. Mercer and Moore 1978:92) indicate that others had come from Kenya and England. Clearly if there were sufficient of these they would have had a considerable influence on the way KE developed since having worked in areas where some pidgin or creole was used as the plantation language they would have presumably approached the kanaka situation in Queensland with certain (perhaps fixed) ideas of what a contact language should be like. Similar ideas were probably also held by the recruiting ships captains, government agents and inspectors who made up the other major elements in the trade because these came from all parts of the world where they also had generally had some previous experience in handling coloured labour. For example, Caulfield the local labour inspector in Bundaberg had had more than a dozen years experience in Ceylon before coming to Bundaberg.

and elsewhere¹ returned home after their period of indenture abroad and began to "educate" their kinsmen about the trade and to spread a knowledge of the contact English they had learned.² Presumably also many of the differences between the early ad hoc varieties disappeared as varieties converged with one another as communication between different plantation areas improved and as labourers grew wiser in the way of things in Queensland and even set up their own informal communication systems and moved about the country on "walkabout" (Saunders 1974).³ By this time too recruiters had to employ Government Agents whose job it was to ensure that recruits knew what they were letting themselves in for before they left their homes and to generally see to fair play. Since they had much to do with initial contact these agents were well placed to influence the kind of English transmitted to recruits initially. Missions also presumably played a part in the levelling process since at least the largest one, the Queensland Kanaka Mission, which was established in 1882, used "Pidgin English" as its lingua franca and language of instruction.⁴

By the 1880s then, which was the hey-day of the trade when in any one year from 3000 to 5000 recruits were being brought in, the number of

¹There was some cross-fertilisation between plantation areas of Queensland, Fiji, New Caledonia and even Samoa and Hawaii as well as between the indentured labourers in Queensland and other islanders (mostly from the Loyalties and Rotuma) working in the Torres Straits as divers and ship hands on luggers engaged in pearling and other marine industries. Thus it is to be noted that:

(a) between 1863 and 1914 some 100,000 Islanders from the New Hebrides, Solomon Islands, Banks, Torres and Gilbert Islands were taken (willingly or otherwise) as indentured labourers to these plantation areas. Consequently these islands must have resembled a large pool into which several currents were constantly flowing and mixing. One current was provided by those coming and going to the individual plantation areas, the others by those passing between one system and another. Some idea of this cross-fertilisation is given by Saunders (1974:77) who notes that "in 1893 of the 1130 recruits [in Queensland] 244 had previously been in Queensland, 20 in Fiji, 35 in Samoa, 11 in Noumea, and 17 to other Melanesian islands."

(b) according to Price and Baker (1976:107) there was also "appreciable movement from pearling to tropical agriculture and vice versa" thus providing a levelling influence on the languages used on the mainland and in the Torres Straits. This movement was later joined by a few unrepatriated kanakas from Queensland who went to live in the Torres Straits and remained there (Dutton 1970:140-1).

²Similar things have been observed in Papua New Guinea with respect to the spread of New Guinea Pidgin, as Salisbury (1962:5) relates how Siane speakers learnt that language in a "school" conducted by "labourers returned from indenture on the coast".

³Throughout the 1870s Islanders were employed in about equal numbers on pastoral stations and in tropical agriculture (Corris 1970:45). After 1877, however, when kanakas could no longer legally be employed in the pastoral industry the numbers employed there gradually declined from some 545 employed therein in 1881 to 338 in 1891 (Saunders 1974:220-1).

⁴See Corris (1970:60-3) for a survey of mission activity on the canefields.

varieties should have gradually been reduced and the structure of each stabilised. This position is likely to have continued on into the final stage of the trade (from about 1890 onwards) as the emphasis in the trade changed from dependence on large numbers of non-English-speaking "new chums" to larger numbers of "old chums" staying on to serve further contracts before being repatriated. Here the general consensus of sources seems to be that the number of "returnees" increased to about 25% of the annual intake at this time so that, as Corris (1970:54) estimates, by 1901 "about 50% of the 9,327 Melanesians in Queensland (at that time) were time expired men". Presumably this practice had the effect of further stabilising the established varieties as "old chums" acted as inducers for "new chums" and as they generally occupied positions of power because of their experience and ability to communicate with the White Man (even though they were not officially elevated to such positions).¹ Presumably it also had the effect of expanding the language as this was called on to serve new and wider functions (such as yarning, story-telling, expressing emotions, etc.) between the labourers themselves so that it became more a kanaka-to-kanaka language and less a master-to-servant and vice versa one. At the same time new forces which would eventually have lead to instability and creolisation were beginning to enter the picture in the form of children born to kanaka parents. But these were cut short by the sudden cessation of the trade and the repatriation of most labourers. For those that stayed on in Queensland their pidgin English presumably became either fossilised or developed towards SAE depending on their life styles, needs and aspirations. For their children the use of any form of pidgin or creole English appears not to have lasted long as these children were encouraged to acquire SAE as quickly as possible as a necessary prerequisite for survival in the white English-speaking society into which they had been born.

¹Although the sugar industry was based initially on the plantation system to which kanakas were drafted in large numbers to work in gangs under white overseers there was a shift in 1890 to small yeoman farmer holdings organised around central mills (Moore 1974). This means that although plantations still existed kanaka labourers came increasingly into more intimate contact with their white overlords, thus providing for increased instability in KE through increased contact with SAE. Whether the numbers involved were sufficiently large to do this and whether in fact this contact with SAE occurred because of the prevailing attitudes towards coloured labour embodying concepts of how they ought to be addressed are questions that cannot be answered at this time but are obviously ones that are important to understanding what happened in the development of CE. On the other hand there were other forces in the industry which presumably worked towards stability and standardisation. Thus labourers came from different areas and those from the same area were generally kept apart in the barracks and work gangs for security and control reasons (Corris 1970:51).

In review then about the best that can be said with confidence is that there probably never was at any stage a single clearly defined variety of canefields English (CE), as a sub-type of KE, but rather a collection or continuum of varieties which varied along socio-geographical and temporal dimensions. What these varieties were like and how many there were at any particular time, if they were discrete, and how they related to one another and other varieties used with other ethnic groups in Queensland (e.g. Chinese, Aboriginal) are, as I have already indicated, still outstanding questions that can only be answered by further research. A move in this direction has begun (Dutton and Mühlhäusler 1978; Mühlhäusler 1979) but it will be some time before the full picture is pieced together.

2.2. THE TEXTS

Six short texts were obtained from two former New Hebrideans, Mr Tom Lammon (TL) and Mr Peter (or Jimmy) Santo (PS). As already acknowledged these texts were recorded by me in Ayr in 1964 as part of a survey of variation in Queensland English being conducted at the time by the Queensland Speech Survey of the Department of English, University of Queensland.¹

Five of these texts were obtained from TL and one from PS. Except for two of the texts all were interviews conducted by me in company with someone else whom the speaker already knew or with whom he was a close friend. The two exceptions were one duologue involving TL and his friend Billy Darr, and one interview with TL in which he was asked to mimic SAE words and phrases produced for him by me. The purpose of the former was to see whether TL varied his speech appreciably when not talking to an unfamiliar white English-speaker, and that of the second to see whether TL was physically capable of producing SAE vowels so that this could be used later in interpreting variability in his more casual speech. The other interviews were designed to obtain historical as well as linguistic information.

The interviews with TL were conducted at his usual place of residence and that with PS at the Ayr and District Hospital where he was an in-patient at the time. All interviews were conducted in SAE although

¹For a description of the aims and methods of this Survey which effectively came to an end in 1975 see Flint 1965. The following studies and publications were produced under the auspices of this Survey: Alexander (1965, 1968), Crawshaw (1963), Dutton (1964, 1965, 1969, 1970), Flint (1965, 1967, 1970a, 1970b, 1972, 1976), Hardcastle (1964), Readdy (1961), Sharwood (1965), and Tarnawski (1961, 1965). Other studies have been made by Hall (1943), Sayer (1948), Sharpe (1970), Jernudd (1969), Clark (1977), Ray (1907), Laade (1968), Crowley and Rigsby (1979).

I sometimes reacted to the situation and modified my speech towards that of the speakers or in the direction of New Guinea Pidgin (or Neo-Melanesian) in order to try to get better rapport with them. The same will be noticed in the interview with PS when the Hospital Secretary, Mr Jacobsen, was doing most of the talking.

2.3. THE SPEAKERS

The two speakers were both men who had come to Queensland at different times and independently of each other as indentured labourers somewhere between about mid-1880 and 1890.¹ At that time both were apparently little more than youths in their very early teens who knew no English, and who, in keeping with the general tradition of the labour system of the time had been named after islands in the South Seas from which they were known, or were believed to have come, and given common European Christian names. Thus TL was named after tiny Lamenu (or Laman) Island off the north-west tip of Epi island in the central New Hebrides and PS after the largest island in the New Hebrides, Espiritu Santo - see Map 3.

Both men came to Queensland as "new chums" and worked on different plantations and in different mills throughout the sugar belt, and, except for a brief sojourn by TL in his own village after his first period of indenture, both remained in Queensland for their entire working lives. After the repatriation period of 1906-09 both worked as labourers and small block holders growing some sugarcane but mainly vegetables (including traditional yams, taro, and sweet potato) and bananas, and supplementing their diet with whatever could be afforded in stores in local towns or otherwise with wild game and fish caught nearby. Cash was obtained by doing (sometimes illegally and clandestinely because of trade union regulations at the time which discriminated against them in the sugar industry) casual labouring jobs when they could get them from nearby white farmers and/or townsfolk, and selling vegetables and bananas in local towns. Both men married in Queensland, TL a woman from Toga in the Torres Islands, New Hebrides, and PS a part-Aboriginal-part South Sea Island widow from Townsville, and raised families in the Ingham and Ayr districts where they eventually met and became friends. Neither had received any formal education although TL could sign his name and was a catechist-cum-lay preacher in his church. At the time of interview in 1964 TL was said to be 95 years old and PS 103 (although it has not been possible to substantiate these ages with documentary evidence as yet) and both spoke the kind of English that is recorded

¹This sketch is based on details given in Appendices 2 and 3.

herein as their everyday language until their deaths on 11.8.65 and 27.3.66 respectively. Descendants of both today live in Nambour, Ayr, Ingham and other (mainly) North Queensland towns.

3. THE TEXTS PRESENTED

3.1. INTRODUCTORY COMMENTS

In this section transcripts of the six texts collected are presented. TL's and PS's speech is transcribed in a broad phonetic script in which the following symbols are used to approximate SAE and some other vowel sounds:

Symbol	SAE Reference
i	bit
e	bet
æ	bat
a	but
ə	bosses (last syllable)
o	boss
u	book
i:	beat
e:	bear
a:	bath
o:	ball
u:	boot
ə:	bird

Glides are represented by combinations of these.

Consonant sounds are as in SAE except that f and v may be bilabial fricatives from time to time, th represents both voiceless and voiced interdental fricatives as in SAE orthography, p is unaspirated, ng is a velar nasal, ' represents glottal stop, and p̃/ɸ represents a bilabial trill.

Other speech is written in SAE orthography as necessary to keep the flavour of the speech styles being used. Intonation and stress are not marked.

In addition the following conventions are used to indicate other features of the texts or of context which are not otherwise self-explanatory:

- ... speech continues but interrupted by someone else
- faltering; false starts
- (?) what precedes is thought to be as indicated but cannot be vouched for

BD: E:

TL: ⁴Long aus. ⁵Mi kan tu nahting.
in house I can't do nothing
⁶Namo sapim paiawut. ⁷Namo ho
no.more chop firewood no.more hoe

In the house. I can't do anything --
no more chopping firewood; no more
hoeing.

BD: Yu no mekim gaden?

TL: ⁸Namo. ⁹Mi kan stæn dap. ¹⁰O:
no.more I can't stand up oh
mi pol daun, mi mis wokabaut --
I fall down I miss(?) walk.about
¹¹samtaim mi wokabaut o:, go
some.times I walk.about oh go
leitli yu no dat we:: ni:
lately(?) you know that where knee

No! I can't stand up. Oh, I fall
down. I miss being able to walk about
(?) -- sometimes I walk about but oh
lately (?) you know that knee (of mine)

BD: Yair.

TL: ¹²Yu si:. ¹³Yu luk wi i, i
you see you look where it it
nomo ...
no.more

You see. You look where it's no more ...

BD: Yair, I see. It's swell up.

TL: ¹⁴I no beli -- i no beli swol
it not very it not very swell
ap bat i--i--i-- ¹⁵ai dano
up but i--i--i-- I don't.know
wish wei i stan(?) laik dat ...
which way it stays(?) like that

It's not very -- it's not very swollen
but i-- I don't know why it's like
that ...

BD: Oh ...

TL: ¹⁶Mi kani stæn dap. ¹⁷Mi kani stæn
I can't stand up I can't stand
dap. ¹⁸Mi woni stæn dap samtaim
up I want.to stand up some.times
mi go: fo:l daun. ¹⁹O: man (unintellig-
I go fall down oh man
ible) dis wan i-- dis wan tu. ²⁰Tu.
this one it this one too two
²¹Nou wanfala, tu (mumble) ²²Dat
no one two that
mekim mi kan wokabaut.
makes me can't walk.about

I can't stand up. I can't stand up.
I want to stand up sometimes but (if I
do) I fall down. Oh man ... this one
it -- this one too. Two (of them).
Not one, two. That's what stops me
from walking about.

BD: How old are you now?

TL: ²³A:, naintipaif.
ah ninety-five

Ah, ninety-five.

BD: Ninety-five.

TL: ²⁴Naintipaif nau yu si:, a: -- mə --
 ninety-five now you see ah me
 a: ai dano. ²⁵o: mi telim yu
 ah I don't.know oh I tell you
 o:lgete: waitmən askim mi lukaut longa
 all/every whitemen ask mi see in
 taun (mumble) ²⁶səmpela waitmən askem,
 town some whitemen ask
 "A:, hau hol?" Mi telim "Naintipaiv."
 Hen how old I say ninety-five
²⁷Thei sei, "O yu baimbai yu -- yu
 they say Oh you future you you
 stap long(?) nada paiv yia yəd
 live for another five years you'd
 be a handed." ²⁸an then i ei wo --
 be a hundred and then they
 plenti e -- e -- marika ²⁹wan marika
 plenty Americans one American
 laik dat. ³⁰I stap lo:(?) -- yu go
 like that he lived at you go
 go go go a handed. ³¹De yə a."
 go go go a hundred there you are
³²Ai se, "O, ai dano."
 I said oh I don't.know

Ninety-five now you see. Ah -- I
 don't know. Oh I'm telling you that
 every European that sees me in town
 asks me -- some ask me, "How old are
 you?" and I say, "Ninety-five". They
 say, "Oh if you live another five years
 you'll be a hundred." And then they
 -- plenty of Americans -- One American
 was like that. He lived at(?) --
 "you'll reach a hundred. There you
 are." I say, "Oh, I don't know."

CL: Ask him how long he's been in this country.

BD: How long you been here?

CL: In this country.

TL: ³³E: --

BD: How long you been in this country?

TL: ³⁴Au lo:ng?

How long?

BD: Yair!

TL: ³⁵O:, teti a -- wa(?) -- mi kant
 oh that.is ah I can't
 rimemba hau long mi bin tis kantri.
 remember how long I been this country

Oh, that is w-- I can't remember how
 long I've been in this country.

BD: Eighty years?

TL: ³⁶Ai ting -- ai ting e: -- eiti
 I think I think yes eighty
 yia o samting laik thət. ³⁷O,
 years or something like that oh
 ai dano.
 I don't.know

I think -- I think yes(?) eighty years
 or something like that. Oh, I don't
 know.

CL: Ask him how old was he when he came out from the islands.

BD: You ...

TL: ³⁸Yu no ... You know ...
you know

BD: How old were you when you come out this country?

TL: ³⁹0, wen mi kam aut dis kantri e: -- Oh when I came out to this country I
oh when I came out this country was only a young fellow. I don't know
mi -- mi onli am -- yangfala. ⁴⁰Mi how old (I was). You see at home they
I I only young.fellow I don't keep (records) of that kind of
no no hau hol. ⁴¹Yu si thing.
don't.know how old you see
(talking in background) long -- long
at at
houm thei no givəm that kain
home they don't.keep/give(?) that kind
a thing.
of thing

(Background: ... don't know)

TL: ⁴²Ai dano hau hol e: -- mi I don't know how old I am. Oh I don't
I don't.know how old I know.
⁴³0: ai
kæ riim -- mi kæriim. oh I
am I am
dano.
don't.know

CL: Ask him how many children he has.

BD: How many children you got?

TL: ⁴⁴0: hau meni tshilrn? ⁴⁵Faif. Oh, how many children? Five. Five
oh how many children five children. Now they're all dying.
⁴⁶Faiv tshilrn. ⁴⁷Nau olgetha i There's only one left. Only one is
five children now all left. Nora. No! Two!
dai, dai, dai. ⁴⁸Onli wanfala i stap
die die die only one lives
(laugh). ⁴⁹Wanfala i stap. ⁵⁰Nora.
one lives Nora
⁵¹Nou! ⁵²Tufala!
no two

BD: Harry. Harry. Ah Henry!

TL: ⁵³Henri. ⁵⁴Ye, tufala. Henry. Yes, two!
Henry yes, two

BD (softly in background): This thing gets everything you say.

CL: Ask him how long has his wife died.

BD: How long your wife died?

TL: ⁵⁵0 mai waif dai ai thingking about Oh my wife died I think ah -- over
oh my wife died I think about

a -- ova siks yia nau ai think.
ah over six years now I think

six years ago now I think.

BD (softly): It's more than that isn't it?

TL: ⁵⁶E -- yu no givim a --
(Faltering) you didn't give ah
ating -- meibi ova siks yia ai
perhaps perhaps over six years I
think, o maita mo. ⁵⁷Askem Nora.
think or may.be more ask Nora
⁵⁸Ai thinkk Nora i no. ⁵⁹Nora i sei
I think Nora know Nora said
i kamap, kamap, i no -- i neva
come.up come.up not never
kam. ⁶⁰Ei mai wad no gut hia.
came heh my word not good here
⁶¹That mæn i ...
that man

Er -- you didn't give ah -- perhaps
-- it's probably over six years now I
think, or perhaps even more. Ask Nora.
I think Nora knows. Nora said she was
coming up but she didn't ever come.
Heh, my word, this is terrible. That
man ...

CL: ... soon as that record's finished.

TL: ⁶²Ei wa ...

Heh what ...

BD: (Unintelligible)

TL: ⁶³Yu mekim wanfala bredpuḍn ...
you make a bread.pudding

Did you make a bread pudding ...

CL: A'a'a

TL: ⁶⁴A?
heh/what

What?

BD: Yairs.

TL: ⁶⁵Wan bred puḍn fə mi. ⁶⁶Ai
a bread.pudding for me I
thinkk Mæḍln i mekim ai thinkk
think Madelin make/do I think

A bread pudding for me. I think
Madelin is making one I think.

BD: (Indistinct) Look! He catchim what you say. Go in there.

TL: ⁶⁷I nou to:k yet.
it/he(?) not talk yet.

It hasn't said anything yet.

BD: No, this thing here. Am. What am I going to say now?

CL: ... let him talk about bread pudding.

BD: (softly) No, I don't want to know about bread pudding ...

CL: Ask him has he been to church lately.

BD: Eh?

CL: Ask him if he's been to the meeting lately.

BD: You been to the meeting lately? You go church?

TL: ⁶⁸No, no, no, no, no! ⁶⁹Ai laik gou, I'd like to go
 no no no no no I'd like to go (or I want to go) to church but nobody
 tshə:tsh. ⁷⁰Noubodi ei teikim mi go. will take me. There's no car. When
 church nobody they take me go the car is running it lives at the pub
⁷¹No ka. ⁷²Wen hi ka gut hi day and night. Then when he (=Henry)'s
 no car when it car okay it/he(?) sick he come home. It's terrible.
 stap pablik haus o:l dei o:l
 lives/stays public house all day all
 nait. ⁷³Nau i -- wen i sik i kam
 night then he when he sick he comes
 houn. ⁷⁴No gud.
 home not good

BD: This bloke he -- he want to know language, your language, or Ambrym or all them places, you see.

TL: ⁷⁵Yes. Yes.
 yes

BD: When he come back I don't know what he going to do. That's why they bring you here.

TL: ⁷⁶O (laugh). Gosh.
 oh

BD: He wants me to talk to you.

TL: ⁷⁷O, thats orait, thats ol mi Oh that's all right. But I am better
 oh that's all right that's all I than you (?)/I know plenty (?)
 mo(?)/no(?) beta.
 more(?)/know(?) better

Background: Unintelligible.

TL: ⁷⁸Yes, mi wani telim ye -- that Yes, I want to talk er -- about that
 yes I want to tell er that there bread pudding. Well, whom are
 dea a -- bredpuhn. ⁷⁹Wei hu you giving ...
 there ah bread.pudding well who
 yu givəm ...
 you give.it

BD: No, don't talk about bread pudding.

CL: You going to talk for that man. I'm not going to talk about bread pudding.

BD: He go in there you see.

CL: ... ask him did he get a letter from Nora.

BD: You get a letter from Nora?

TL: ⁸⁰Ei? What?
 heh/what

BD: You get a letter from Nora?

- TL: ⁸¹No, no, no, no!
no no no no
- BD: O where's Henry? Henry work?
- TL: ⁸²Henri, Henri i kam houm
Henry Henry he come home
finish?
finish/completive aspect
- BD: No. He work meat-works.
- TL: ⁸³O, ma -- ma -- mai Henri?
oh my Henry
- BD: Yes.
- TL: ⁸⁴Ai thingk so. ⁸⁵Ai thing i
I think so I think he
bin go.
past.tense go
- BD: (Softly) He called him Henry not Harry.
- CL: (Unintelligible).
- TL: ⁸⁶Mi ting yu telim mi Henri Da
I thought you telling me Henry Darr
- BD: No.
- TL: ⁸⁷A -- yes. ⁸⁸Henri i go las wi:k.
Ah yes Henry he went last week
⁸⁹Yes, thats rait, las wi:k.
yes that's right last week
- TED (in background coming).

TEXT 2
(Interview - Origin and Work)
Tape R289(3)

TED: Where did you come from Tom?

TL: ¹Ai kam prm Epi. I come from Epi.
I come from Epi

TED: Ibi. (Pause) Where? Where? What time was this?

TL: E -- ma -- mai -- ²mai kantri i kolim Er -- my country is called Lammon.
er my country it called
a -- Lamən.
ah Lammon

TED: Lammon. What time was this? 1800? Was this 1860 or 1900? When did you come into Australia?

TL: ³O: ai -- ai -- no -- ai dano. Oh I don't know. I don't know that.
oh I I don't I don't.know
⁴Ai dano dət.
I don't.know that

TED: Yes. Were you a big man or a small man or ...

TL: O Oh
oh

TED: or young boy or?

TL: ⁵O:, yes, mi -- mi wə ma -- Oh yes, I was(?) a big man. Er -- I
oh yes I I was/were(?) arrived here and the man kept me in
big mən. ⁶E -- mi onli kamap hia the house. It wasn't work/I didn't
big man er I only arrived here work.
a -- ⁷mən i kibm mi long haus. ⁸I
ah man he kept me in house it
no -- i no wok.
not it not work

TED: Yes.

TL: ⁹Olgetha bigbla mən i go aut, All the big men went out to work. I
all big men they went out stayed around the house and looked
wok. ¹⁰Mi stap houn. ¹¹A -- mi after the cows and horses. I'd bring
to.work I stayed home ah I them up to the house and then after
onli lukaut kau, hosis. ¹²Mi they'd been milked I'd take them back
only look.after cows horses I again to ...
bringim ap lo haus. ¹³An den ...
bring.them up to house and then
milkim pinish orait mi tekim
milk.them completed okay I take.them
bek gen long ...
back again to

CL (in background): paddock.

- TL: ¹⁴badik. paddock.
paddock
- TED: Ah yes.
- TL: ¹⁵A -- leitam(?) baimbai ai tingk i wen Ah -- later(?) I think when it was
ah ? future I think when crushing time he'd put me to work to
i krasən taim orait i putim mi light up the fires in the place where
it.is crushing time okay he put me they make sugar.
go wokəm en -- ¹⁶mi wokən en mi
go to.work and I work and I
pairap long wanfala ples i
prepare.fires in one place
mekim shuga.
make sugar
- TED: What's this pairapim? What's this?
- CL (in background): In the mill.
- BD: In the mill.
- TED: In the middle?
- BD and CL (in background): In the mill.
- TED: Oh, in the sugar mill. Oh yes. You make the boiler boil did you? You make
the water boil or you make the ah --
- TL: ¹⁷No, no, no poila. ¹⁸Samting yu No, no, not a boiler. Something you
no no not boiler something you open like that which is outside in(?)
opənim laik dat i stap ausaid ən the clean(?) mill. It's not a big
open like that it stays outside and mill; not a big mill.
i klinəpəla(?) mil, ¹⁹i no big mil.
it clean(?) mill it not big mill
²⁰No big mil.
not big mill
- TED: Yair.
- TL: ²¹Samwe klosap a -- Painia. (It was) somewhere near Pioneer Mill.
somewhere close.to ah Pioneer Billy, what's that mill?
²²Bili, klosap Paiania wot dat
Billy close.to Pioneer what's that
mil?
mill
- BD: Nn.
- TL: ²³A -- len im a -- dis thing yu Ah -- then -- this thing that you open
ah then it ah this thing you is there. So I lit the fire that was
open i stap. ²⁴Orait mi pairap associated with that to boil the sugar.
open it stays okay I prepare.fire When it boiled it steamed and then I'd
belong hia, boiləm shuga. ²⁵Wen let it go into a tank and it'd go and
of that.one to.boil sugar when cool in another place.
i boil i sim orait nau i
it boils it steams okay then it

letim go in tangk then i go kəl
 is.let.go in tank then it goes to.cool
 long nada ples.
 in another place

TED: Ah yes and a --

TL: ²⁶I letim go long big tangk len
 it let.it go into big tank then
 baimbai i kære -- ²⁷dis mən i
 later it carry(?) this man he
 boiləm nau, yə no, bigpla ting,
 boiled.it then you know big thing
 laik shuga bol ən leni baimbai i
 like sugar bowl and then future it
 pinish i po go long shuga bola
 finishes it pours goes into sugar boiler
 i e -- ²⁸i boiləm leni kam daun
 er it boils then.it comes down
 nau long tangk i pinish. ²⁹A --
 then into tank it was.finished ah
 mi kəriu(?) pairapomagas,
 I carry(?) prepared.fired.with.magass
 purum wut pastaim len yu putum
 put wood first then you put
 (background talking) magas (more
 magass
 background talking). ³⁰Then e -- o --
 then er
 we -- we -- mi stap de wan yia
 I stayed there one year
 dat smal mil yu no i no bele
 that small mill you know it not very
 big mil, smol wan, ə then e -- wan
 big mill small one and then er one
 yia pinish. ³¹Orait yumi go -- ³²yu
 year finished okay we went you
 go Kleimia. ³³Mi go Kleimia nau an
 go Kalamia I go Kalamia then and
 stop ə tu yia.
 stayed there two years

TED: Where's that?

CL (in background): Kalamia Mill. See there's two mills. Two mills here. Pioneer,
 and the one he went to, Kalamia.

TED: Ah yes.

CL (in background): Two mills.

TED: How long did you stay there Tom?

It was let go into a big tank then
 later it -- then this man boiled it,
 you know, in this big thing, like a
 sugar bowl, and then when it was fin-
 ished he poured it into the sugar boiler
 -- it boiled then it came down into
 (this) tank and that was it. Ah -- I
 carry(?) burn the magass, you put wood
 first then the magass. Then er -- I
 stayed there for one year at that small
 mill, you know, it wasn't a very big
 mill, (just) a small one, and then er
 -- at the end of one year we went --
 I was told to go to Kalamia. I was at
 Kalamia then and stayed for two years.

- TL: E?
heh
- BD: Two years.
- TED: How long did you stay there?
- TL: ³⁴Hau long stei we?
how long stayed where
- TED: Kleimia. Kalamia.
- TL: ³⁵Kleimia. Tu yia.
Kalaima two years
- TED: Ah. And what did you do there?
- TL: ³⁶Mi wokim blaksmith. ³⁷Mi
I worked.as blacksmith I
- halapim blaksmith ploim dat pala.
helped blacksmith blow that fire
- TED: Ah yes.
- TL: ³⁸Den i -- wen i poilam pig alen
then when he boiled pig iron
rere orait i singaut mi. ³⁹Mi
ready okay he called.out to.me I
- liptimap big hama, o:, o: bang,
lifted.up big hammer oh oh bang
- bang, bang
bang bang
- BD: Sledge hammer.
- TED: Bending the iron.
- BD: Yair.
- CL: Blacksmith.
- TED: Yes. Ah, now can you go back to the time when you first came over here. When
- when you lived on Lammon Island or Ipi Island ...
- TL: Yair
- Yes.
- TED: Did you speak English there or did you speak ah -- Pidgin English or did you
speak ...
- TL: ⁴⁰O, mi tok e -- mai kantri
oh I spoke er my country's
- langwish.
language
- TED: What do you call that?
- TL: Ei?
heh
- TED: What do you call that one?
- Oh I spoke er -- my native language.
- What?

BD: Yair, the boss.

CL: He takes them out to the canefield.

TED: Yair.

BD: Nn.

TL: ⁶⁴I lukaut len i kam i se, He watches then comes and says, "Now
 he watches then he comes he says cut the cane here. Don't cut it too
 "Nau karim kein hia. ⁶⁵Yu no high! Cut it low, low down and then
 now cut cane here you don't it will grow again (rooster crows).
 karim tu hai. ⁶⁶Yu katim lou, lou "Oh, okay, okay." Everyone understands
 cut.it too high you cut.it low low then and cuts the cane.
 daun baimbai i -- i gro aegen (rooster
 down later it it grows again
 crows). ⁶⁷o:lrait i, o:lrait" o --
 oh okay it okay
 o:lgetha andastan nau n karim
 everyone understands then and cuts
 kein.
 cane

TED: Did one of your -- one of the boys -- could one of the boys speak English or did ...

TL: ⁶⁸o, yes, sam bois i tok English. Oh yes, some of the boys could speak
 oh yes some boys they spoke English English.

TED: Where did they learn English?

TL: Ei? What?
 heh

TED: Where did they learn English? (Silence) Where did these boys learn English?

CL: ... what to understand.

BD: Where they learn English. Here or ...

TL: ⁶⁹o, lan i dis kantri. Oh, they learnt it in this country.
 oh learn this country

BD: They learn here.

TED: I see. They -- did the master talk half English or -- and half your language or did he talk ah --

TL: ⁷⁰No, i tok ... No, he spoke ...
 no he spoke

TED: English or

TL: ⁷¹I tok English (rooster crows) He spoke English.
 he spoke English

BD: They didn't understand their language.

TED: No they didn't understand, no. Um --

CL: Most have been mixed up with some of them ...

TED: Do you ...

BD: Some of them had been out here before.

CL: Some of them were out here before him you see and they understand more sort of English.

TED: And they picked it up from ...

CL: Yair, yair. Picked it up from the other one that was here before him you see.

TED: I see.

BD: What they want the boss, like tell him, to do they speak ...

TED: In this language.

CL: Yair.

BD: In the language he understands.

TED: He gradually picks it up then.

CL: Yes.

TED: Yes, I see.

TEXT 3

(Interview - Kanaka English and Mother Tongue)

Tape R289(3)

- TL: ¹Wos dat? What's that?
what's that
- CL (in background): New Guinea.
- TL: ²Wish lanwish dat Bili? Which language is that, Billy?
which language that Billy
- BD: New Guinea.
- TL: ³Niu Gini. No, wi dano. ⁴We New Guinea. No, we don't know that.
New Guinea no we don't know we We don't understand the New Guinea
no -- wə no andastən a -- Niu language.
don't we don't understand ah New
Gini.
Guinea
- TED: Yu no save?
- TL: ⁵No. No.
no
- TED: Yu no save long dispela samting?
- TL: ⁶Wi a -- wi a -- that wil(?) We ah -- that's very (?) different.
we ah we ah that's real(?)
diprn. (Children talking and
different
rooster crowing in background)
- TED: That's what?
- BD: Yes.
- TED: That's pebrian?
- TL: ⁷diprn lanwish. Different language.
different language
- BD: Different
- TED: Ah, yes.
- CL: ... can understand that.
- TED: Can he?
- CL: Nn.
- TED: Oh yes. Where did he pick it up from?
- CL: He's from Murray Island.
- TED: Oh, I see, up near New Guinea there.

CL: (Unintelligible).

TED: Oh, that's very good. What's his name?

CL (in background): ... Te Pau.

TED: Ugel ke pao.

CL: Tə Pau.

TED: Tə Pau. How long was he living ...

CL: Murray Island language.

TED: Now Tom, am -- I want you to tell me how you say where is -- where's Billy?

TL: O, se -- Oh, say --
oh say

BD: In your language.

TED: No, no. No in English. What would you say for "Where's Billy?"

TL: E -- Er --
er

TED: Not in your language.

CL: In English.

TED: In English.

CL: Talk English.

TL: ⁸O, to:k English. Oh, speak English.
oh speak English

TED: Yes.

CL: Where's Billy?

TL: ⁹Yes, we -- you -- thets ret -- Yes, where -- you -- that's right(?)
yes where you that's -- that's all right now where's Billy?
that's orait nau we Bili? Dza Like that eh?
that's okay now where's Billy just
laik dət ei?
like that eh

TED: All right yes, like that. Now you ask him, "Where's Billy going?"

TL: ¹⁰A -- we Bili i go? That's o -- Ah -- where'd Billy go? That's o --
ah where Billy he go that's

TED: That's right. Yes. Just like that.

TL: O Oh.
oh

TED: You just tell me -- you just answer the same ones as I give you. You see you repeat it. You say it after me. Ah -- but you tell me the way you say it.

BD: Yair, yair, yair.

TED: Are you right? Um -- you ask him, "Do you understand?"

TL: Ei? What?
 heh

TED: You ask Billy, "Do you understand?"

TL: ¹¹Yu anistan? Do you understand?
 you understand

TED: That's right. Do you have another word for 'understand', like 'save' or ...

CL: Yair ...

TED: You know, yu save.

CL: Yu save, yair they say that.

BD: Yair, they say that.

TL: ¹²M -- mi se, mi -- mi -- telim I say -- I -- ask 'How do you stand?'
 I say I I tell/ask
 hau yu stan?
 how you stand

TED: Yair.

BD: Do you understand or you savvy. That's the same eh?

TL: Ye, ye. Dzes a sem. Yes, yes. Just the same.
 yes yes just the same

TED: Just the same?

TL: Mn.

TED: Ah, you ask him, "Why that -- why is Henry going to Townsville?" How do you say that?

TL: ¹⁴Se -- is we -- i the shem -- Say -- is where -- it's the same --
 say is(?) where he the same where -- where -- where are you -- (is)
 Henry going? Oh, he's going to town.
 we -- we -- we yu -- Heneri i Oh, are you going to town, or are you
 where where where you Henry he going to Townsville? You'll go (some-
 go? ¹⁵0, i go taun. ¹⁶0, yu go e -- where); I don't know where you're
 go oh he go town oh you go er going.
 po wokabout. ¹⁷0, yu go taun, o:,
 for walk.about oh you go town or
 yu go Taunsvil? ¹⁸Yul go, a
 you go Townsville you'll go I
 dano we yu go.
 don't.know where you go

TED: I see. Am -- do you have a word like this ah -- olsem wanem or wanem yu go long Townsville? Do you understand that one or ...

TL: 0 --

TED: Wanem?

TL: ¹⁹Wanem? Wanem?

TED: Wanem, yair. Wanem yu go?

TL: E -- we -- ...

BD: You mean what you going to Townsville for?

TED: Yes.

CL: Yair, wanem, yair.

TL: ²⁰Wanem yu go? Why are you going?
why you go

BD: What do you go to Townsville for?

TL: ²¹Wanem yu go? Wea -- watə yə Why are you going? Where -- what are
why you go where what.are you going to Townsville for?
go Taunsvil po?
go Townsville for

TED: I see.

TL: E -- e --
er

TED: Can you say it another way like wanem yu go long Taunsvil?

TL: ²²You go long Taunsvil, yes. A -- ai You are going to Townsville, yes.
you go to Townsville yes ah I Ah -- I say, "Oh, you are going to
se, "0 yu go Taunsvil po nating." Townsville for nothing."
say oh you go Townsville for nothing

TED: Yair.

TL: ²³po wokabout. To walk about/stroll around.
for walkabout

TED: Orait. You say um -- tell me how you say, "What's Jimmy Santo doing these days?"

TL: ²⁴Yə se w -- wish we? You say w -- how?
you say how

TED: What's -- what is Jimmy Santo doing these days?

TL: ²⁵Wot ye: -- What --
what er

TED: Jimmy Santo. You know Jimmy Santo, or Santos. (Silence) Jimmy Santos ...

TL: (giggle)

TED: Do you know this fellow Billy?

TL: ²⁶Ai dano ... I don't know ...
I don't.know

BD: His name's Peter.

TL: ²⁷We i ... Where is he ...
where he

BD: Peter Santo.

TL: ²⁸O, Pita Santo (laugh). A -- we -- Oh, Peter Santo. Ah -- I don't know
oh Peter Santo ah where where that Peter Santo is. He -- he
we -- i -- ai dano we dat -- -- he's from another country you know.
where he I don't.know where that
dat Pita Santo i -- i -- i nada
that Peter Santo he he he another
kanteri yu no?
country you know

TED: Ah yes.

TL: ²⁹I nada kantri ye no; no He's from another country you know;
he's another country you know not he didn't come from the same one as me.
kam ol -- laik mi.
come ? like me

TED: Yair.

TL: ³⁰Mi kam nada kantere. ³¹Mai I came from another country. My
I came another country my country is Epi, or Lammon.
kantere e -- Epi, o Lamn.
country er Epi or Lammon

TED: Er. He's from Santo.

TL: ³²Dat a -- Pita i kanteri Santo. That ah -- Peter, his country is Santo.
that ah Peter he country Santo

TED: Ah yes.

TL: ³³A -- e -- ai dano -- ai dano Ah -- er -- I don't know -- I don't
ah er I don't.know I don't.know know where he -- he -- I don't know
we i -- i -- mi no no lanwidz Peter Santo's language.
where he he I don't know language
bilong Pita Santo.
of Peter Santo

TED: Ah yair.

TL: ³⁴I diprn lanwish. It's a different language.
it's different language

TED: Yair. All right. Um, you ask him -- you ask Billy - say, "Billy, what are you doing with that axe?"

TL: ³⁵Askim Bili wat? Ask Billy what?
ask Billy what

TED: What are you doing with that axe Billy? You ask him. Eh, Billy, what are you doing with that axe?

- TL: ³⁶Wot a yə duing tædei? What are you doing today?
 what are you doing today
- BD: No. What are you doing with that axe?
- TL: ³⁷Wot a yə duing thæ aks? What are you doing with the axe?
 what are you doing the axe
- BD: Yair.
- TL: ³⁸Wot a yə duing wi tha ækis? What are you doing with the axe?
 what are you doing with the axe
- TED: Billy.
- TL: Ei? What?
 heh
- BD: Billy.
- TL: Bili. Billy.
- TED: That's right. And ah -- Billy will say, "Oh, I'm going to cut some firewood."
 All right?
- TL: Ye Yes.
 yes
- TED: And you say, "How are you going to do that?" (Silence) You ask him again. "How?
 How are you going to do that Billy?"
- TL: ³⁹Hau yu gona du dæt? ⁴⁰Hau yu How are you going to do that? How are
 how you going do that how you you going to do that Billy?
 gona du dæt, Bili?
 going do that Billy
- TED: Right. Good. You ask him, "What's this?"
- TL: ⁴¹Wot dis? What's this?
 what's this
- TED: You say, "This is a machine." And you ask him again, "Heh, is that a machine
 there?"
- TL: ⁴²O, yu got -- yu got a mashin de:, Oh, have you got -- have you got a
 oh you got you got a machine there machine there, Billy?
 Bili?
 Billy
- TED: And he'll say, "Yair, this is a good machine, this one."
- TL: ⁴³Gud mashin dæt wan. That's a good machine that one.
 good machine that one
- TED: Ask him what his name is?
- TL: ⁴⁴Wot i his neim? What is his name?
 what is his name
- BD: Ask me.

TED: Ask Billy what -- ask him ...

BD: You ask me what my name is.

TL: ⁴⁵Wot i yo: neim? What is your name?
what is your name

BD: Billy.

TL: Bili.

TED: Good (softly). That's the main ones. Ah -- what's your name?

TL: Ei? What?
heh

TED: What's your name?

TL: ⁴⁶Wot i y -- wot mai neim? Tam. What's y -- what's my name? Tom.
what is what my name Tom

TED: Tom who?

TL: Tam Lamən. Tom Lammon.
Tom Lammon

TED: Where do you live Tom?

TL: ⁴⁷Ai liv a -- Gol Stri:t. I live ah -- in Gold Street.
I live ah Gold Street

TED: Do you know the number? (Silence). What number?

TL: ⁴⁸0, ai dano (laugh). ⁴⁹Dat wan Oh, I don't know. I don't know that
oh I don't.know that one one.
ai dano.
I don't.know

TED: Ah. You tell Billy to go down to the farm and get some bananas there. They're right down the bottom here. You tell him to go and get them.

TL: ⁵⁰Go daun kadim sam banana. Go down and cut some bananas.
go down cut some bananas

TED: Tell him to bring them up.

TL: ⁵¹Kot -- bring banana Bili. Cut(?) -- bring the bananas Billy.
cut(?) bring bananas Billy

TED: Um -- and ah -- tell him, "If the banana's not ripe, if it's green don't cut it!"
You tell him that.

TL: ⁵²I -- ibi banana e -- e -- raip o It -- if the bananas er -- are ripe or
it if bananas er ripe or green don't cut them. Is that right?
gri:n don kadim. ⁵³Thats rait?
green don't cut.it that's right

TED: Yair. Well I want you to tell him if it's green to -- to leave it there, and if it's ripe to bring it back.

TL: ⁵⁴Em i gri:n o raip. If it's green or ripe (?)
if it's green or ripe

CL (in background): No.

BD: If it's green leave it there.

TL: ⁵⁵əf a gri:n i not karim. If it's green he won't cut it. If
if are green he not cut.it/them it's ripe he will. Is that it?
⁵⁶If i raip i karim. A?
if it's ripe he cuts.it heh

TED: Yair. What about ...

TL: ⁵⁷Yu bringim houm. You bring them home.
you bring home

TED: Right. Now if -- suppose I say spos i grin yu no ken katim. Do you understand that?

TL: ⁵⁸Bos yu gri:n Suppose you are green.
suppose you green

TED: Spos i grin.

CL (in background): Sapos i grin.

TL: ⁵⁹Spos i gri:n yu won If they're green don't cut them.
if they're green you won't
kadim.
cut.them

TED: E. Do you understand that one? Spos. Do you say -- is that the same or different?

CL (in background): Yes, he knows, only he's trying to break it down into good English.

BD (softly): Yair.

TL: (Laugh)

TED: No. I -- I'd ...

CL (in background): because we know that talk from him.

TED: I don't want him to break it down into good English; I want to get the other, you know, and ah --

CL (in background): Yes, yes.

TED: So ah -- do you understand this one Tom? You tell him, "Eh, Billy you go nau katim banana. Spos -- spos i grin orait yu no ken katim. Maski!"

TL: ⁶⁰Bili. Billy.

TED: Libim hia.

TL: ⁶¹Bili yu go an katim banana. ⁶²Em Billy, you go and cut (some) bananas.
Billy you go cut bananas if If they're green don't cut them.
i grin don kadim. ⁶³Ei, thats That's correct isn't it?
it's green don't cut.it heh that's
rait?
right

TED: Yes, all right. It's a bit hard for me to get him to say the right one. He's only following me.

CL (in background): Yes.

TED: You tell Billy to be quick.

TL: 0

TED: Hurry up, you know, go on, get going and ...

TL: ⁶⁴Ye, Bili bi kwik. Heh, Billy be quick!
 heh Billy be quick

BD: You use the same.

TED: You use the same eh? Oh, hariap thea o -- do you say that, Tom?

BD: Hurry up.

TL: ⁶⁵Hari ap. Hurry up.
 hurry up

TED: Yair. Just the same eh? Think we got most of those yesterday. Now um -- Tom I'll just tell you some words in English you tell me how you say them in ah --

BD: Language.

TED: well ah -- (to BD): I want to say his language but I can't because this will take him too long; it's too hard for him. He can't remember them you know. I want him to say, sort of ah -- talk about them. Things like how did they talk about tobacco before. Did they call it tobacco or did they call it something else.

BD: Ah yes.

TED: Tom,

BD: What do you call tobacco?

TL: Ei? What?
 heh

BD: What do you call tobacco? Before?

TL: ⁶⁶0, kolim tabaka olsem. Oh, we called it tobacco just the same.
 oh called.it tobacco just.the.same

TED: I see, sugar?

TL: ⁶⁷N -- nomo diprn. N -- no different.
 n no different

BD: Sugar just the same?

TL: Ei? What?
 heh

BD: Sugar just the same? What do you kolem sugar?

TL: ⁶⁸Yes wi koləm shuga. A -- a -- Yes we call it sugar. A -- ah --
 yes we call sugar brusəi.
 brusəi.
 " " "

BD: Brusei.

TED: Brusha?

TL: prusəi

BD: Brushei.

TED: Brushei? Oh, that's sugar eh? Tobacco. Tea?

TL: Ei? What?
heh

BD: What do you call tea?

TL: Ei? What?
heh

BD: Tea -- what you put in the -- make tea. Tea to drink.

TL: ⁶⁹0, ti:. Wi kolim ti dzas a Oh, tea. We call it tea just the same.
oh tea we call.it tea just the Call it tea.
seim. ⁷⁰Koləm ti.
same call.it tea

TED: Tea. Kerosine?

TL: ⁷¹Kerasin dzas a seim. Kerosine just the same.
kerosine just the same

TED: Matches?

TL: Ei? What?
heh

TED: Matches?

TL: ⁷²Matshisis i -- kolim kapi. Matches, they're called kapi.
matches it's called " "

TED: Kapi, ah yes. Billy. You know you boil the billy.

BD: You boil billy-can.

TL: Ei, Bili? What Billy?
heh Billy

BD: Billy-can. What do you call billycan?

TL: ⁷³0, yes, wi kolim bilikan dzəs Oh yes, we call it billycan just the
oh yes we call.it billycan just same.
a seim.
the same

TED: Fire?

TL: ⁷⁴Wos dət? What's that?
what's that

TED: Fire.

- BD: Fire. What do you call fire?
- TL: Kapi. Kapi.
- TED: Ah, the same eh? Matches and fire are the same.
- BD: Ah (laugh) they're much the same thing eh?
- TED: Mm. That's true. We, in English, are different. Tucker? Billy.
- TL: Ei? What?
heh
- TED: Tucker. Food. Something to eat.
- TL: ⁷⁵O, taka. I se a -- kə nana. Oh tucker. We say ah -- kə nana.
oh tucker we say ah " " "
- TED: Kənana.
- TL: ⁷⁶Yə si yumi it nau tekənana. You see: "Let's eat now" is tekənana.
you see we eat now " " "
- TED: Tekənana.
- TL: Nn.
- TED: Oh. Tekənana. You and me. Hn. Knife?
- TL: Ei? What?
heh
- TED and BD: Knife.
- TL: Naifə yu: Knife -- yu:
knife "
- TED: Hm. Cane knife?
- BD: Cane knife. What do you call cane knife?
- TL: ⁷⁷O, kein -- kein naif o, ol yə Oh, cane -- cane knife. Oh, they're
oh cane cane knife oh all you all called playu.
koləm e -- am -- playu
call er um " " "
- BD: Playu.
- TL: ⁷⁸Dət big wan, naif, dəts wai yə That big one - knife - that's why it's
that big one knife that's why you called playu.
kolim playu.
call.them " " "
- TED: Oh, aha. Kitchen. Haus kuk.
- BD: Kitchen.
- TL: Ei? What?
heh
- BD: Kitchen -- where we cook.

- TL: Kishin? Kitchen?
kitchen
- BD: Yair. Where we cook. What do you call it?
- TL: ⁷⁹0, no wi -- wə -- dətə -- kishin a -- Oh no we -- that ah -- kitchen ah --
oh no we we that kitchen ah we don't -- they call it ah -- call it
wi no -- ol ə koləm a -- no, ai no ah -- no, I don't think -- I don't
we not all call.it ah no I not think it's called (?)
tingi -- ai no ting ə(?) kolim
think I not think call
- BD: Not in your language. What do you call kitchen?
- TL: Nou. No.
no
- CL (in background): They might not have a kitchen over there.
- TED: Perhaps not. What about here in Australia?
- BD: Oh well then there's fire place ...
- TED: What do you call fire place Billy, ah Tom? Fireplace, you know where you cook?
- TL: ⁸⁰Wi se o -- a -- kabi -- kabi -- We say oh -- ah -- kabi -- kabi --
we say oh ah " " " " kabi
kabi (trying to remember)
" "
- TED: Kabamari?
- TL: Kabi! Kabi! Kabi! Kabi!
- TED: Just the same?
- BD: Yair.
- TED: All right.
- TL: ⁸¹0, plai! [which was buzzing around] Oh, there's a fly!
oh fly
- TED: Box. You got something -- box.
- BD: How do you say box?
- TL: Ei? What?
heh
- BD: Box. What do you call box? Box?
- TL: ⁸²Poks? Box?
box
- BD: Nn.
- TL: 0, boks i -- i -- Oh, box is -- is --
oh box it it

BD: What do you call him in your language?

TL: ⁸³Nou, wi koləm dzaseim, boks No, we call it just the same, box.
no we call.it just.the.same box

TED: Box. Ah yes. Nhn. What about ...

TL: ⁸⁴Kan kolm eni ada wei. There's no other name/You can't call
can't call.it any other way it anything else.

TED: What about strong man?

TL: Ei? What?
heh

TED: Strong man. (Silence) He's a big strong man.

TL: ⁸⁵Big strong man. Big strong man.
big strong man

BD: Yair. What do you call it?

TL: ⁸⁶A -- wi se palui. Ah -- we say palui.
ah we say " "

CL (in background): Balu.

BD: Pa(laugh)lui.

TED: Palui.

TL: ⁸⁷Ye, dət i strong man. Palui. Yes, that's a strong man, Palui.
yes that is strong man " "

TED: What about bring. You go bringim. Bringim. Go kariim. Bringim.

TL: ⁸⁸Pringim. Bring it.
bring.it

TED: Nn.

TL: owarie Bring it.
" " "

TED: Warie. Warie. Warie.

TL: Owarie.

TED: Warie, the same.

TL: Owarie vilimi. ⁸⁹Yu se yu tekim Owarie vilimi. That means 'Bring it!'
" " " " " " you say you get.it
kam.
come

TED: Again.

TL: Owarie vilimi.

TED: Owarie. Wari vilimi. Nhn. Um -- how did the boys talk about having a wash?

- TL: ⁹³Tu kids. A -- e -- a -- sisi lua. Two kids. Ah -- er -- ah -- sisi lua.
two kids ah er ah " " " " Sisi lua.
Sisi lua.
" " " "
- TED: Ah. What about two sticks?
- TL: Ei? What?
heh
- TED: Two sticks?
- BD: Two sticks like that. Two.
- TL: ⁹⁵Tu -- tu stiki. A -- legiue lua. Two -- two sticks. Ah -- legiue lua.
two two sticks ah " " " " "
- TED: Ah. lua 'two' eh!
- BD: (laugh)
- TED: Same in ...
- BD: Yair, yair, I know.
- TED: Port Moresby. Rua. Ah, husband, son, daughter. Orait, son. What's your --
what do you call your son?
- TL: ⁹⁶San? Son?
son
- TED: Ye.
- TL: Onaro:. Onaro ho. Onaro:. Onaro ho.
" " " " " " " "
- TED: Onarohu.
- TL: ⁹⁷Ye, onarohu. Dæt mai san. Yes, onarohu. That's 'my son'. And
yes " " " that's my son daughter. Ah -- ona -- onaraieni --
⁹⁸An do:ta. A -- ona -- onaraieni onarohaeni. Onaro haeni.
and daughter ah " " " " "
-- onarohaeni. Onaro haeni.
" " " " " " " "
- TED: Ona'aru haini.
- BD: Nn.
- TED: Haini (rooster crowing)
- TED: When you came over here and saw the ah -- Australian Aboriginal what did you
call him?
- TL: Ei? What?
heh
- TED: This Aboriginal.
- BD: This country people.

TED: People of this country.

TL: Yes.

BD: What do you call him?

TL: ⁹⁹Kolim a lura. (We) called him lura.
call.him " "

BD: Lura (laugh).

TED: Lura.

TL: Lura.

TED: Nhn. Lura. What do you call European? (Silence) European.

BD: What do you call European?

TL: Ei? What?
heh

BD: What do you call European? Like Italians? Italians, what do you call him?

TED: Whiteman or

BD: Whiteman?

TL: O, o -- mera ai. Oh, er -- mera ai.
oh er " " "

TED: Mera ai.

TL: ¹⁰⁰Mera ai. Oldegeda Taly, Mera ai. All Italians, whitemen.
" " " all Italians All the same, all whitemen, you see.
waitman. Olsem, olgetha
white.men all.the.same all
waitman, yu si.
white.men you see

TED: Nn.

TL: ¹⁰¹Yu kolim mera ai. They're called mera ai.
you call.them " " "

TED: Mera ai.

TL: Mera ai.

TED: Good. What about this word migalou?

TL: Ei? What?
heh

TED: Migalou.

BD: That's a whiteman.

TED: Migalou.

TL: Mikalou? Migalou?

TED: Ye.

TL: ¹⁰²Was klo -- wats that mikalou What's (?) -- what's that,
 what's ? what's that " " "
 (laugh)

BD: That's mean whiteman, this country.

TED (to BD): for Aboriginal is it?

BD and TED (talking overlaid -- unintelligible)

BD: Ah, they call policemen bulimæn.

TED: Bully what?

BD: Bully man. That's this country mind you.

TED: Ah, I see.

BD: Bullyman.

TED: Policeman is bullyman. Why? Is this because he bullies them do you think?

BD: Ah, well I think so. That's the way they pronounce it. If we might be in the street talking and one of them'd look up he says -- he'll say, "Oh, here's a bullyman coming."

TED: Nn.

BD: You'll know what he means.

TED: Nn.

BD: (laugh)

TED: Yair. I thought -- some of these fellows -- another word they have is mari.

BD: Mari. That's their name out here you see. Mari.

TED: Yes. There's a mari coming -- native fellow coming.

BD: They call em mari, yair.

TED: Migalou 'white man' and ...

BD: Migalou. Any dark chap could call em mari.

TED: Ye, um -- Tom, when you came out here first time and you -- did you learn the names of any of the birds here? Any of the birds -- these birds here. Do you know the names of any of them?

TL: ¹⁰³No, ai no andastæn dat. Wot No I don't understand that. What is --
 no I don't understand that What
 i --
 is

BD: Bird, any bird?

TL: ¹⁰⁴Eni wot? Any what?
 any what

BD: Any bird out here, like duck.

TL: 0, yes, yes, yes, yes.
oh yes yes yes yes

Oh yes, yes, yes, yes.

TED: Do you know them?

TL: 105 0, dak, wi kolim a -- p̄rəʔri
oh duck we call.them ah " " "

Oh, duck, we call them p̄rəʔri.

TED: Ah yes.

TL: 106 A -- nada ting i -- gus e?
ah another thing is goose eh

Another thing is a goose, eh?

BD: Goose, yes.

TL: E -- nou.
er no

Er -- no.

BD: Fowl. What do you call fowl?

TL: A?
heh

What?

BD: Fowl.

TL: 107 Baul. Wə kolm tso.
fowl we call.them " "

Fowl. We call them tso.

BD: So.

TED: Ah yair. Any pigeon? Pigeon?

TL: Ei?
heh

What?

TED: Pigeon?

TL: 108 pidzin?

Pigeon?

TED: Ye.

TL: Menu.

Menu.

TED: Menu. Am -- do you know the names in English? Do you know English names of some birds here?

CL (in background): Oh yes.

TL: 109 Sam bæ:d ia. Sam bəd wi
some birds here some birds we
kolm a -- beret.
call.them ah parrot

Some birds here. We call some birds
ah -- parrot.

TED: Bered, yair.

BD: Parrot.

TL: 110 Sam bæ:d i swim nabaut along
some birds they swim about in/on
wota, dak.
water ducks

Some birds swim in the water, they're
ducks.

TED: Duck, yair. Coot. Do you know coot?

TL: ¹¹¹Ku:s. O! dei i swim nabaut wota. Goose. All day they swim about in the
goose all day it swim about water water.

TED: Yair. Ah -- what about -- coots ah -- dabchick? (Silence) Dabchick?

TL: Ei? What?
heh

TED: Dabchick?

TL: ¹¹²Laptshik, ai dano dat, Dabchick, I don't know that, what's
dabchick I don't.know that that Billy?
wonem dat wan Bili?
what's that one Billy

TED: Do you know the dabchick Bill?

BD: Nk.

TED: Dabchick. A little fellow about that big. He's like a little coot; he can go underneath the water and builds his nest on the water and all.

BD: Oh.

TED: Little brown fellow.

TL: ¹¹³Ai dano dis wan. I don't know this one.
I don't.know this one

TED: A ha.

BD: That big?

TED: No, he's only a little fellow about that big.

BD: Oh.

TED: Little needle -- needle beak on him. Ah, do you go fishing here Bill, ah Tom?

TL: Ei? What?
heh

TED: Do you go fishing -- before?

TL: ¹¹⁴pishing? Fishing?
fishing

TED: Yair, fishing.

TL: Yes.

TED: Near Ayr here, down the Burdekin, or somewhere?

TL: Yes.

TED: What sort of fish do you catch there, can you tell me in English?

TL: E -- e -- pini. Er -- er -- pini.
er er

TED: Yair.

TL: A -- a -- m. Kaloni.
ah " " "

Ah -- Kaloni.

TED: Kaloni. What's that?

BD: What's that?

TL: 115 Dæt i -- əb fish.
that's ah fish

That's um -- fish.

BD: Yair. What ...

TL: 116 pish. Kalulu (?) big wan. Lak
fish " " " big one like
dæt a -- poramandi a -- mətshutsh.
that ah baramundi ah " " "

Fish. Kalulu(?) which is a big one,
like that ah -- baramundi ah --
mətshutsh.

TED: What?

TL: Mətshutsh poramande, mətshutsh.
" " " baramundi " " "

Mətshutsh 'baramundi', mətshutsh.

TED: Mətshutsh.

CL (in background): That's the language name for baramundi.

BD: ? ... in the language.

CL (in background): Mullet.

TED: Nhn. What about mullet? Mullet?

TL: Ei?
heh

What?

TED: Mullet. Do you know mullet? English Mullet?

TL: maliti. 117 Dæt wani i kolm kini.
mullet that one is called " "

Mullet. That's called kini.

TED: Oh, kini. Oh, that's that one. What about bream? Bream? Bream?

TL: 118 O, brim no. Wi dano dæt
oh bream no we don't.know that
wan. Wi koləm olsem brim.
one we call.them just bream

Oh, bream no. We don't know that one.
We call them bream too.

TED: What about rock cod?

TL: Ei?
heh

What?

TED: Rock cod?

TL: 119 Rakod.
rock cod

Rock cod.

BD: Yair.

TEXT 4

(Interview - Early Days in Queensland)

Tape R289(4)

TED: When you came out to Queensland

TL: ¹Ye
yes

Yes.

TED: did you come by yourself or did you come with other fellows from ah --

TL: ²O, yes
oh yes

Oh, yes.

TED: How many came out?

TL: ³O, mm -- a -- tu a -- tri, po,
oh ah two ah three four
paip, sikis, seven, e -- eit
five six seven eight
berebebən(?)
?

Oh, mm -- ah -- two ah -- three, four,
five, six, seven, eight, berebebən (?).

TED: Were these all young fellow or ...

TL: ⁴O, yes, wanfəla bi -- big mən.
oh yes one big man

Oh, yes, one was a big man.

TED: Yes.

TL: ⁵Hi ol e -- i no ol mən bat
he old er he wasn't old man but
i, yu no, dzəs laik i yu nau, i
he you know just like you now he
strong mən.
strong man

He was old -- er -- he wasn't an old
man but he was, you know, just like
you are now, in the prime of life.

TED: I see.

TL: Ye.
yes

Yes.

TED: And where did you go first?

TL: Ei?
heh

What?

TED: Where did you go first? Did you come to Bundaberg or did you come to Pioneer or ...

TL: ⁶Yes, -- no, a -- dis mən ai tokən
yes no ah this man I talking
about nau, bigfəla, i -- i bin long
about now big.one he he was in
Bandabəg.
Bundaberg

Yes, no, ah -- this man I was just
talking about now, the big one, he was
in Bundaberg.

TED: Nn.

TL: e -- Merabara.
er Maryborough

Er -- Maryborough.

TED: Oh yes.

TL: ⁷Oi dət ples de a -- pastaim.
all those places there ah first

All those places there ah -- first.

TED: Nn.

TL: ⁸E -- nau i go houn len i -- i --
er then he went home then he he
kam bək agen seken taim nau wi
come back again second time then we
kam ap hia, dis kantəri
came up here this part

Er -- then he went home then he -- he
came back a second time and we came
up here to this part (of Queensland).

TED: Did you go over two times?

TL: Ei?
heh

What?

TED: Did you go over two times or only once?

TL: Mi?
me

Me?

TED: Nn.

TL: ⁹Ye, pastaim mi finish kam houn
yes first I finished came home
a -- putəm houn kam hia wok hia
ah put home come here work here
Kleimia.
at.Kalamia

Yes, when I finished my first contract
I went home ah -- I was taken home and
then I came back to work here at
Kalamia.

TED: Yair.

TL: ¹⁰Tət te -- mil ap le a -- len
that mill up there ah then
yu -- ai pinish dea a -- ai go
you I finished there ah I go
houn. ¹¹Ai go houn leni stap wan
home I go home then stayed one
yia əleni kam bək. ¹²Kam bək
year and then came back come back
geni stap Biktoria. ¹³Yu no
again stayed Victoria you know
Biktoria yu no a -- Ingəm?
Victoria you know ah Ingham

That te -- mill up there ah -- I
finished there ah -- and went home.
I went home for a year then I came
back. I came back again and stayed
at Victoria Mill. You know the Victoria
Mill don't you ah -- at Ingham?

TED: Nn.

- TL: ¹⁴I stap de nada tri yia.
stayed there another three years
- I stayed there for another three years
then I went up to Cairns. I went up
that-a-way.
- TL: ¹⁵Then ai go Kenis (laugh) ai
then I went Cairns I
go ap etawei (laugh)
went up that.a.way
- TED: Where's that?
- CL (in background): Cairns.
- TED: Oh, up to Cairns.
- TL: Yes.
- Yes.
- TED: Yair.
- TL: ¹⁶Kenis long wei yu no (laugh)
Cairns long way you know
- Cairns is a long way away you know.
- TED: Mm.
- TL: ¹⁷Then i wok thea am -- no, mi
then work there um no I
kam bek geni Ingm (laugh)
came back again Ingham
- Then I worked there um -- no, I came
back to Ingham again.
- TED: Oh yes.
- TL: ¹⁸Nau mə -- m -- mi stap lə
than I I I stayed at
Ingm ol the taim katim pa:m,
Ingham all the time developing farm
shugakein pa:m. ¹⁹Wok, wok, wok,
sugarcane farm work work work
nau namo.
now no.more/not
- Then I stayed at Ingham developing a
farm, a sugarcane farm. I worked and
worked and worked but now I can't any
longer.
- TED (to CL in background): What's this sugarcane farm?
- CL (in background): Oh, he had a sugarcane farm, when he was in Ingham.
- TL: ²⁰Ye, then n -- kan wok namo
yes then can't work any.more
sou ai kam ap dis kantri, E:,
so I came up.to this part Ayr
kam bək eni E:. ²¹Theni stap
came back into Ayr then stayed
de o:l the taim nau.
there all the time then
- Yes, then n -- I couldn't work any
more so I came up to this part, Ayr;
came back to Ayr. I've stayed here
ever since.
- TED: I see. And that ...
- TL: ²²Kan wok yu no.
can't work you know
- I can't work you know.
- TED: Who was the first man you worked for?

TL: Ei?
heh

TED: Who was the first man you worked for?

TL: ²³A -- m -- mən kola -- (silence) e --
ah man called er
weit minit am -- kodim Mandaro,
wait a.minute um called Munro
Manro. ²⁴Man kolm Manro.
Munro man called Munro

TED: Mantro?

TL: ²⁵M -- m -- Mista Mantro.
Mr Munro

CL (in background): Mr Munro.

TED: Munro?

CL (in background): Yair.

TL: ²⁶Ye:is, (aside) Halo, hu --
yes hullo who
sambodi de.
somebody there

TED: Louis.

TL: ²⁷Lui. O, Lui.
Louis oh Louis

TED: And ah -- when you ah -- you finished working for Mr Munro where did you go then?

TL: ²⁸Mi go Kleimia.
I went Kalamia

TED: And did you work with all the other boys at Kalamia, or ...?

TL: ²⁹Yes, yes. Wi go ...
yes yes we went

TED: Was there a big gang or only six or? How many men at Kalamia?

TL: ³⁰O, you kan kaunim mən i
oh you couldn't count men they
tu meni (laugh)
too many

TED: And what did they give you to eat?

TL: Ei?
heh

TED: What did they give you to eat?

TL: ³¹O giv e --
oh gave er

What?
Ah -- it was a man called ah -- wait
a minute -- called Munro, a man called
Munro.
Mr Munro.
Yes. Hullo who's -- somebody is there.
Louis. Oh, Louis.
I went to Kalamia.
Yes, yes. We went ...
Oh, you couldn't count them there were
so many.
What?
Oh they gave er --

TED: for breakfast?

TL: ³²0, taka, dzəsəsam pred,
oh tucker just.some bread

Oh, tucker. Just some bread

TED: Nn.

TL: ³³pateita,
potatoes

potatoes

TED: Yair.

TL: ³⁴rais
rice

rice

TED: Nn

TL: ³⁵mit
meat

meat

TED: How much?

TL: Ei?
heh

What?

TED: How much meat?

TL: ³⁶0, onli big pi:sh a mit bat
oh only big piece of meat but
i -- wen i kuk, katimap katimap
it when it cook cut.it.up cut.it.up
yu no, onli wan lili pi:si po
you know only one little piece for
yu, lili pi:s po mi, ebrərəbodi.
you little piece for me everybody
³⁷Inap lo yə -- er -- wan mi:l
enough for er one meal
yu no.
you know

Oh, only a big piece of meat but --
when it was cooked and cut up there
was only a little bit for everybody
you know. (Only) enough for one meal
you know.

TED: Nn.

TL: Ye.

Yes.

TED: And how many potatoes?

TL: ³⁸A -- pateita i mait wan ai
ah potatoes it probably one I
think, o -- big wan, wan e -- smol
think er big one one er small
wan tu.
one two

Ah -- potatoes. Maybe one I think; er
-- and if it was a big one then one;
if small then two.

TED: What about tea and sugar?

TL: ³⁹0 yes i plenti, plenti a -- ti
oh yes plenty plenty ah tea
an shuga. ⁴⁰A yes, plenti.
and sugar oh yes plenty

Oh yes there was plenty. Plenty ah --
of tea and sugar. Oh yes, plenty.

TED: And how much money did they pay you?

TL: ⁵⁰I -- i -- m -- a -- m -- we -- hau
 how
 mash mani wana pei mi? ⁵¹A: one
 much money want.to pay me ah only
 a -- tri paun siks manis. ⁵²O:,
 ah three pounds six months oh
 eri -- n -- beri bəd i -- yu no?
 very bad you know
⁵³O, no mani laik dis nau. ⁵⁴A --
 oh not money like this now ah
 gol. O:l gol, yes. O:l gol. ⁵⁵Dət
 gold all gold yes all gold that
 taim, yu no dət taim wi kam ap
 time you know that time we came up
 lo no king, wi hab no king, wi one
 when no king we had no king we only
 havem kwi:n, kwin Biktorie. ⁵⁶Theni
 had queen Queen Victoria then
 mi stap hia, mi ko Inghem, stap
 I stayed here I went Ingham stayed
 Inghm ən em baimbai a -- Kwin
 Ingham and then later ah Queen
 Biktoria i dai.
 Victoria she died

Ah -- how much money did they want to pay me? Ah -- only ah -- three pounds for six months. Oh, eri -- it was very bad you know. Oh, but it wasn't money like this (we use) now ah -- (it was) gold. It was all gold, yes. All gold. At that time, you know, there wasn't a king -- we had no king -- we only had a queen, Queen Victoria. I lived here then. I went to Ingham and lived there and then later on ah -- Queen Victoria died.

TED: Nau olgetha man i finish hia?

TL: Ei?
 heh

What?

TED: I say, olgetha man i finish. I go bek long ples?

TL: Yes, go ...

Yes, went ...

TED: Howazat?

TL: ⁵⁷Go bək
 went back

Went back.

TED: Hawazat you stap here?

TL: ⁵⁸O, e -- mən -- mən i kamap a --
 oh er man man he arrived ah
 wə kolm gavmani yu no?
 we call.him government you know

Oh, er -- a man arrived ah -- whom we called the Government you know?

TED: Government?

TL: ⁵⁹Kabamn
 government

Government.

TED: What's that?

CL (in background): Oh, he means the Government, eh?

TED: The Government?

TL: ⁶⁰Ye, e -- i se eniwani, yu no,
yes er he said anyone you know
tu meni, tu meni mən ə -- o:l mai
too many too many men er all my
kantrimən, tu meni. ⁶¹Mən i stanap
compatriots too many man he stood.up
the i se, "Eni ov yu i laik i
there he said any of you wants
stap hi ken i stap ah -- yu wona
to.stay he can stay ah you want.to
go houn yu keni go houn." ⁶²ən
go home you can go home and
theni -- ai se, "O, ai stap" (laugh)
then I said oh I staying

Yes, er -- he said, "Anyone" - you know, there were lots, lots of men, all my compatriots, lots of them. The man stood up and said, "If any of you want to stay you can ah -- or if you want to go home you can." And then I said, "Oh, I'm staying." (laugh)

TED: Nn.

TL: ⁶³That's o:l. That a -- sam mo --
that's all that ah some more
sam mo i stap. ⁶⁴Baimbai e -- weni
some more stayed later.on er when
pe pinish go bək nau i se, "O
pay finished went back then he said oh
go houn nau." ⁶⁵E -- nada taim
go home now er another time
nau, "O orait" dei -- dei go,
then oh all.right they they went
əbriwan go. ⁶⁶Onli mi wanpəla i stap
everyone went only me alone stayed

That's all. That ah -- some more -- some others stayed. Later on er -- when their money ran out they wanted to go back then and said, "Oh, I'm going home now." Er -- and on another occasion, "Oh, all right" and they -- they went. Everyone went. Only I stayed on.

TED: Nn. Howzat you get enough money to buy a farm?

TL: ⁶⁷O, baim pa:m i no -- wi no
oh buy farm it's not we didn't
peim pa:m a -- kas mani, no wi one
buy farm ah cost money no we only
go se "o" ai -- ai -- ai askim mən
went say oh I I I asked man
a -- "Mi wandem ples, groəm kein."
ah I want a.place grow cane
⁶⁸"Orait," i se "Orait. Hia, plenti
okay he said okay here plenty
hia. A -- hau meni heka yu wonem?"
here ah how many acres you want
⁶⁹A -- i tok laik dət. "Hau meni
ah he spoke like that how many
heka yu wonem?"
acres you want

Oh, buy a farm no -- we didn't buy a farm ah -- (that) cost too much money. No we only went and said - I -- I asked a man ah -- "I want a place to grow cane." "All right" he said. "All right. There's plenty here. How many acres do you want?" Ah -- he spoke like that, "How many acres do you want?"

TED: Then he ...

TL: ⁷⁰A -- ai se, "0, o, m -- nabaut ten
 ah I said oh about ten
 eka, ten eka dat plenti, long
 acres ten acres that's plenty for
 mi." ⁷¹"0, orait, orait, orait!"
 me oh okay okay okay
 Orait i givim mi nabaut ten eka.
 okay he gave me about ten acres
 0, orait wi kadim -- klinim nau.
 oh okay we cut.it cleaned.it then

Ah -- I said, "Oh, about ten acres.
 That's plenty for me." "Oh, all right.
 All right. All right!" And so he
 gave me about ten acres. Then we cut
 (the scrub down) -- and cleared it.

TED: Nn.

TL: ⁷²Wi gadi klinim, klinim. ⁷³A,
 we had.to clean.it clean-it ah
 kadim daun ol tri, grabim aut ol
 cut down all trees grubbed out all
 ə -- ol ə tri ə -- teikəm aut e --
 er all the trees er take out er
 rut.
 roots

We had to (?) clear it and clear it.
 Ah, we had to cut down all the trees
 and grub out all the tree er -- take
 out er -- roots.

TED: Nn.

TL: ⁷⁴Then meikim ples klin, orait plau.
 then made place clean okay plough
 (laugh). ⁷⁵0, plenti wok.
 oh plenty work

Then we had to make the place clean
 and then after that plough it.
 (laugh) Gosh, there was plenty of
 work to do.

TED: Yair.

TL: ⁷⁶Yəv(?) kadim plaum, plaum,
 you had.to plough plough
 plauməm, len i -- yu pulim hara,
 plough then you pulled harrow
 laiki reik.
 like a.rake

You had to (?) plough it and plough it
 and plough it and then harrow it (with
 a thing) like a rake.

TED: Yair.

TL: ⁷⁷Yu rekim aut gras, theni -- theni --
 you raked out grass then then
 yu plaum gen. ⁷⁸Yu plaum
 you ploughed again you ploughed
 agen len yu pulim hara əgen ən
 again then you pulled harrow again and
 then yu mu -- a -- i orait nau.
 then you it okay now

You raked out the grass then -- then
 you ploughed again. You ploughed again
 then you harrowed again and then you
 mu -- ah -- it was all right then.

TED: And did it -- how many meris came out with you?

TL: Ei?
 heh

What?

TED: How many meris came out with you? (To CL in background): Do you know meris?

CL (in background): Yair, he knows, what you're talking about.

TED: How many meris came over from your country? Many or?

TL: ⁷⁹O, p -- plenti. ⁸⁰Wen dei go l -- Oh, plenty. When they went to the
oh plenty when they go mill you know, to work in the mill,
long mil yu no, wok en da mil. er -- they didn't work in the mill
in mill you know work in the mill they worked in that sugarcane.
⁸¹E -- i no wok əlo mil, i
er they didn't work in mill they
wok əlo dət shugakein.
worked in that sugarcane

TED: Ah yair.

TL: ⁸²Tekim ho, kadim g -- a -- shipim They got hoes and cut g -- chipped
take/get hoes cut chipped grass.
gras.
grass

TED: Nn.

TL: ⁸³Plenti wi:d long shugakein, yu There are plenty of weeds in the sugar-
plenty weeds in sugarcane you cane you see.
si.
see

TED: Yes.

TL: A --

TED: We's got enough -- enough meri for oltagetha men o?

TL: ⁸⁴O, mən ənə meri tu. Oh, men and women too.
oh men and women too

TED: Nn.

TL: ⁸⁵A -- plenti meri ə plenti mən. Ah -- lots of women and lots of men.
ah plenty women and plenty men

TED: Now, your wife did she come from your country?

TL: Ye. Yes.
yes

TED: Or was she from another country?

TL: ⁸⁶A -- i kam lə -- ples koləm Ah -- she came from a place called
ah she came from place called ah -- Pukapuka.
a -- Pukabuka.
ah Pukapuka

TED: Ah yes.

TL: A --

TED: Mi save.

- TL: Yes. Yes.
- TED: Nn.
- TL: ⁸⁷A, mi -- mi kam a -- ples i Ah, I come from a place called Epi.
ah I I come ah place they
kolm a -- Ipi.
call ah Epi
- TED: Nn.
- TL: ⁸⁸Ye. That's rait. Yes. That's right.
yes that's right
- TED: Very good. And did you have to pay money for her?
- TL: Ei? What?
heh
- TED: Did you have to pay money for your wife or what?
- TL: ⁸⁹O, peim mani? ⁹⁰No, onli mai wok -- Oh, buy money? No, only my work --
oh buy money no only my work you only got money for work, you know.
wok i kəri ol mani, yu no, wen When the cane was cut then you got
work it carried all money you know when paid. Then you'd go and buy ah --
kein i kat, orait yu kərim mani nau. clothes or tucker.
cane it cut okay you get money then
- ⁹¹Yu go peim a -- klos o peim
you go buy ah clothes or buy
taka.
tucker
- TED: Nn. Now when -- when you got married,
- TL: Ye.
- TED: Ah, how did you marry your wife? Did you -- did you give her money or did you
ah --
- TL: ⁹²No, no, no, no. E -- No, certainly not. Er --
no no no no er
- TED: Did you just take her?
- TL: ⁹³Wn -- wən mai waif i kam long When my wife came to me a minister --
when my wife she came to halfbishop.
mi an əm -- wan ministə a --
me and um one minister ah
hapbishop
halfbishop
- TED: Oh yes.
- TL: ⁹⁴Laik bishop yu no. Like a bishop you know.
like bishop you know
- TED: Nn.

CL (in background): He used to go to the Church of England before.

TED: Oh yair.

TL: ⁹⁵i -- i marit mi ən dæt wumən. He married me and that woman.
he he married me and that woman

TED: Who gave the woman to you? Did the -- did the plantation master give you the woman or did you just tell him you wanted the woman or?

TL: ⁹⁶No, no, no, no, no. Nobodi. Onli No, certainly not. Nobody did. Only
no no no no no nobody only when we arrived in -- (when) we came
wen wi kamap læ -- wi kam houm home in the ship we landed in Brisbane
when we arrived at (?) we came home and then this(?) woman said, "Oh, ah
lo ship wi læn long Prisben then -- I'm coming as yours now." That's
in ship we land in Brisbane then all.
thi -- wumən i se, 'O, a -- ai
the woman she said oh I
kam blong yu nau." That's o:l.
come as yours now that's all

TED: Ah yes, I see.

TL: ⁹⁷Yu no -- eni Brisben. You know -- in Brisbane.
you know in Brisbane

TED: Yair.

TL: ⁹⁸Orait wi kərim big stima a -- wi And so we caught a big steamer and
okay we got big steamer ah we came to Townsville (laugh).
kam long Taunsvil (laugh)
came to Townsville

TED: Then you were married eh? Were you married in Townsville or Brisbane?

TL: ⁹⁹No, ini Kens. No, in Cairns.
no in Cairns

TED: In Cairns?

TL: ¹⁰⁰N Kens. In Cairns.
in Cairns

TED: I see. No, just one more. Do you like bread pudding?

TL: Ei? Whatj
heh

TED: Do you like bread pudding?

TL: ¹⁰¹Bred pudn? ¹⁰²Ye ai laikim Bread pudding? Yes, I like that.
bread pudding yes I like
dæt.
that

TED: What is it?

- TL: 103^A -- ai kan sabi hau yu kukum Ah -- I don't know how you cook it
ah I can't know how you cook.it (laugh). I like it, that's all.
(laugh). 104^{Ai laikim, dats o:l}
I like.it that's all
(laugh)
- TED: All right well I think that's very good thank you, Tom. I think I've got to go back now to Brisbane now.
- TL: Yes. Yes.
- TED: So I'll leave you. All right?
- TL: 105^{Ye, i orait.} 106^{Mi kam pastaim}
yes it's okay I came first Yes, that's all right. When I came
dis kantere ə -- wi no həvim a -- to this country first we didn't have a
this country er we didn't have ah king we only had a queen.
king, wi one həvim kwi:n.
king we only had queen
- TED: Nn.
- TL: 107^{Biktorie, ən mi stap hia, ə}
Victoria and I stayed here and
mi go bək əgen lo houm mi kam
I went back again to home I came
bək əgen mi stap a -- Inghim,
back again I stayed ah Ingham
Biktorie hi -- ən then him -- Kwin
Victoria she and then ? queen
i dai. 108^{ən then oltagetha i}
she died and then all they
sesi (?) i kəriim wan mən.
changed(?) got one man
- TED: King. King George.
- TL: 109^{King Shosh.}
- TED: Nn.
- TL: 110^{ən baimbai dei se, '0 tu}
and later.on they said oh too
yang, dis is tu yang." ən den
young this is too young and then
ei putəm nada mən.
they put another man

TEXT 5
(Interview - Mimicry of SAE)
Tape R289(5)

TED: What was that Tom?

<p>TL: ¹Wot you(?) eniting yu no, er -- what ? anything you know er laik e -- yu askim mi, "O yu havim like er you ask me oh you had yu dina?" Ai se -- se, "Pinis i" your dinner I say say finish it an yu se, "Pisi." and you say finished(?)</p>	<p>What you(?) anything, you know, like if you asked me "Have you had dinner?" I'd say "Finished it" and you'd say "Pisi".</p>
---	---

BD: When you finish your dinner.

TED: That's (?) pussy.

<p>TL: ²i se tekinana pusi. it(?) says " " " " "</p>	<p>It says tekinana pusi.</p>
--	-------------------------------

TED: Ah yes (to BD): That's in the language eh?

BD: Nn.

TED: Would you say these words after me Tom?

<p>TL: ³Ei? heh</p>	<p>What?</p>
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TED: I'm going to say some English words. Will you say them after me?

<p>TL: ⁴apta mi. after me</p>	<p>After me.</p>
---	------------------

TED: Yes, I'm going to read some and you say them behind me.

<p>TL: ⁵... stons(?) bihain mi. ? behind me</p>	<p>... ? behind me.</p>
---	-------------------------

TED: Ah.

CL (in background): No you say -- you say what he says. You listen.

BD: You say what he says. You listen.

TED: You say what I say.

<p>TL: ⁶Ye: yes</p>	<p>Yes.</p>
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TED: Okay? You say 'rubbish bin'.

<p>TL: ⁷rabish bin</p>	<p>Rubbish bin.</p>
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TED: Right. Am. Here I've got 'wanfela bean'.

<p>TL: ⁸wanpala bi:n</p>	<p>Wanfela bean.</p>
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TED: And there's 'one bird'.

TL: ⁹wan bæ:d one bird

TED: Ah, 'a ship'

TL: ¹⁰a tship a ship

TED: And 'my shirt'

TL: ¹¹mai tshə:t my shirt

TED: 'I bet you'

TL: A? What?

TED: 'I bet you'

TL: ¹²ai peit yu. I bet you

TED: Ah, 'I bit my finger'

TL: ¹³ai bit mai pingka I bit my finger

TED: 'but'

TL: ¹⁴bat but

TED: 'the'

TL: ¹⁵vat? but(?)

TED: 'the rooster -- the rooster'

TL: ¹⁶drusta the rooster

TED: 'bat'. You know 'cricket bat'

BD: 'bat'

TED: 'cricket bat'

BD: Say 'bat'

TL: (groan)

BD: You say 'bat'.

TED: Say 'cricket bat'

TL: ¹⁷yə. Er -- bet, bet, bet. Er -- bet, bet, bet.

CL (in background): Cricket bat.

TED: 'cricket bat'

BD: Say 'cricket bat'

TL: ¹⁸Wota yu sei? What are you saying?
what.are you saying

BD: 'Cricket bat. Cricket bat'

TL: ¹⁹krikæt bæt cricket bat

TED: Nn. That's right. Am, 'God. God save us. God'

TL: ²⁰God God

TED: 'good'

TL: ²¹Wot? What?

TED: 'good'

TL: ²²gud good

TED: 'not'

TL: ²³not not

TED: And then there's the round one 'nought'. Nought.

TL: ²⁴No:t. Ye: Not. Yes.

TED: 'nought'

TL: ²⁵wan no:t one nought

TED: 'hair'

TL: ²⁶pe: pear

TED: 'hair'

BD: 'hair' not 'pear'

TED: 'hair'

TL: ²⁷o, he: Oh, hair

TED: That's right.

TL: ²⁸E: Yes.

TED: 'Hat. Hat. He puts a hat on his head. Hat'.

TL: ²⁹hæt hat

TED: 'hit'

BD: 'hit'

TL: ³⁰hit hit

TED: 'I hit Billy'

TL: ³¹het hit

TED: 'Part. I see ah -- part of the table. Part.'

TL: ³²Ei? ha:t? What? Heart?

BD: You say 'part'.

CL (in background): Part your hair.

TED: 'Part your hair'.

BD: Say 'part'

TL: (groan)

TED: Part your hair. You know, here.

CL (in background): Comb your hair. Part your hair. Put a part in it.

BD: You say 'part'.

TL: ³³koum comb

BD: No, not 'comb. Part. Part. Say 'part'.

TL: ³⁴ka:t cart

BD: 'part' not 'cart'

TL: ³⁵ha:t heart

BD: 'part'

TL: ³⁶ha:t heart

TED: Orait. Say 'cat'

TL: ³⁷kæt, kæt cat, cat

TED: Orait, now 'spring-cart. Cart'

TL: Ei? What?

BD: 'spring-cart'

TL: ³⁸spring ka:t spring-cart

TED: That's it. 'Look'

TL: ³⁹Hu? Who?

BD: 'look'

TED: 'look'

TL: ⁴⁰luk look

TED: Now, do you know this fellow Luke? He's in the Bible. 'Luke'

BD: 'Luke'

TED: Luke, Matthew, Mark, Luke, John.

TL: Li:k(?) ?

BD: 'Luke'

TL: ⁴¹Lu:k Luke
 TED: 'Down the bay. Bay'
 BD: 'Down the bay'. Say 'down the bay. Down the bay.'
 TL: ⁴²Daun lə bek. Down the back
 TED: Orait. 'Buy' I buy sugar. 'Buy'
 TL: ⁴³bai, bai buy, buy
 TED: 'boy'
 TL: ⁴⁴boi boy
 TED: 'beer'
 TL: ⁴⁵diə dear
 BD: 'beer' not 'dear'
 TL: ⁴⁶nou, biə no, beer
 CL (in background): Drink beer (laugh)
 TED: 'new'
 BD: 'new'
 TL: ⁴⁷yu you
 BD: 'new' not 'you'. 'New'
 CL (in background): new hat.
 TED: 'new hat'
 BD: 'new'
 TL: ⁴⁸niu new
 TED: Yes.
 TL: ⁴⁹Niu, o niu New, oh new
 TED: 'four'
 BD: Say 'four'
 TL: ⁵⁰po: four
 TED: 'there'
 BD: 'there'
 TED: 'over there'
 BD: Say 'there'
 TL: ⁵¹Telim agein Say it again!

BD: 'there'

CL (in background): Over there. Over there.

BD: Say 'there'

TL: ⁵²de: there

TED: 'boat'

TL: ⁵³bout boat

TED: 'Pick. Pick coffee. Pick tobacco. Pick'.

TL: ⁵⁴tik tick

BD: Not 'tick'. 'Pick. Pick'.

TL: ⁵⁵tik tick

BD: Swick, pick. Say 'pick'

TL: ⁵⁶tik tick

BD: 'pick'

TL: ⁵⁷Dik, diki, diki, dik dick

BD: 'kick'

TED: 'kick'

BD (to TED): Very hard to understand.

TED: Nn. 'Kick'. You know, I kick him with my leg.

TL: ⁵⁸o, kik, kik. Oh, kick, kick.

TED: Ah, 'job'. Have you got a job?

TL: ⁵⁹Karim dzab. Got a job.

TED: No, 'job'. He's got a job.

TL: ⁶⁰Hi gatim dzab. He's got a job.

TED: 'Job'. Yair, that's it. Okay.

BD: (indistinct)

TED: 'Archie'

TL: ?

TED and BD: 'Archie'

TED: 'Archie Moore'

BD: Say 'Archie'

TL: ⁶¹askim ask him.

BD: Not 'askim'. 'Archie'

CL (in background): Archie Lae.

BD: 'Archie Lae. Archie'. Say 'Archie'

TL: ⁶²Aki Archie

TED: Orait. That's about it. I think that will do. Say 'cats and dogs'. We've got lots of cats and dogs.

BD: Say 'cat and dog'.

CL (in background): ... and dog.

BD: 'and dog'

TL: ⁶³an dog and dog

TED: Now 'we've got two cats and two dogs'.

TL: ⁶⁴Tu kət n tu dog Two cats and two dogs.

TED: Orait. Good.

- CJ: No, Mr Pako ...
- PS: I go daun pinish. has died.
he died completed
- CJ: Yair, he went down. Nn.
- PS: ¹²Olgeta i go daun, mi no yet They're all dead except me.
everyone they died me not yet
- CJ: Yair, you tell me your name, Peter. Peter S ...
- PS: ¹³Sposim yumi badman yumi(?) If we'd been bad then we'd be dead.
if we bad.people we Er -- a -- that's(?) good.
go daun finish. ¹⁴E -- a --
die completed er ah
i gudfala.
it's good
- CJ: Oh, he left a long time ago.
- PS: ¹⁵Mi olsem kot. I'm just like God.
I just.like God
- CJ: Yair, that's right.
- PS: (Laugh)
- CJ: You talk about Mr Taylor. Nn. He's going to take this back to Mr Taylor in
Brisbane. You know Mr Taylor in the courthouse.
- PS: ¹⁶Ye. Yes.
yes
- CJ: He's going to take this back to Brisbane. Nn.
- PS: ¹⁷Maiwəd My word!
my.word
- CJ: You tell Mr Taylor.
- TED: Ask him about whether -- the times before.
- PS: ¹⁸Dasfala? This chap?
this.fellow
- CJ: He'll start in a minute.
- PS: ¹⁹Mista Wait. Mr White.
Mr White
- CJ: Mr White died ...
- PS: ²⁰Yu no mista wait? Remember Mr White?
you know Mr White
- CJ: Yair, yair.
- PS: ²¹I sei i go -- i wanta tekim He said he was going(?) -- he wanted
he said he going he wanted to.take to take me down to Toowoomba.
mi go daun Towomba.
me direction.away.to Toowoomba

CJ: Yair.

PS: ²²I se "O: no, o:l fala no He said, "Oh no, it's not very
he said oh no old(?) chap not pleasant here old chap".
gud gud hia.
very.good here

CJ: Too cold. (To TED): Yair, Mr White used to be in business here and he wanted to take him (i.e. PS) down to Toowoomba.

PS: ²³O:, mi wokm longem longtaim, Oh, I worked for him a long time,
oh I worked for.him a.long.time boss.
bos.
boss

CJ: Wokem longem long while, huh. Yes.

PS: ²⁴Olgeta man hia ... All the men here ...
all man here

CJ: That'd break it too(?)

PS: ²⁵I wok hia. ²⁶Plisman i telim worked here. The police would tell
they worked here police he tell them, "You go down -- go to ...
se, "Yu go daun -- go lo: ...
say you go down go to

CJ: He worked for Mr White for a long time. He was an undertaker and a builder.

TED: Oh yes.

PS: ²⁷Yu wok along rout. ²⁸Yu go You work on the road. You go down and
you work on the.road you go stay near the point(?)/near Pioneer
daun stop(?) klos pain. Mill(?)
down stay near point(?)/Pioneer(?)

CJ: Yair.

PS: ²⁹Longtaim. For a long time.
longtime

PS: ³⁰An mi no ded yet. And I'm not dead yet.
and I not dead yet

CJ: What about Mr Boyce? Do you know Mr Boyce?

PS: Wat? What?
what

CJ: Mr Boyce. Charlie Boyce.

PS: ³¹O: yes. Oh yes.
oh yes

CJ: The auctioneer.

PS: ³²Maiwad My word!
my.word

CJ: Where did Mr Taylor go?

- PS: ³³Misas hu? Mrs who
Mrs who Mrs who?
- CJ: Taylor, courthouse.
- PS: ³⁴0: yes, maiwəd. Oh yes my word.
oh yes my.word
- TED (softly in background): Doesn't know ...
- CJ (to TED): He knows Mr Taylor all right. Mr Taylor is good friend of his. Long time ago though.
- PS: ³⁵Mi wok hia I worked here.
I worked here
- CJ: Yair.
- PS: ³⁶Yu go long -- long i eishan You go to -- to Plantation Creek.
you go to to Plantation Man ...
tri:k. Man ...
creek man
- CJ: Plantation Creek was where he worked because there's a sugar station there, an old wharf. They used to bring the barges up there.
- TED: Oh.
- CJ: Nn. He worked out there on the old Seaforth Mill they called it. Who was the manager that time? Remember the manager? Mr Farrer?
- PS: ³⁷Olgeta man we? ³⁸Olsem mi olgeta(?) Where are all the men? All of those
all man where like me all like me have died. Only one is still
go daun finish. ³⁹Onli wanfala i living. Oh you're young yet, Mr
died completed only one he Jacobsen.
sanap yet. ⁴⁰0 yu yangfala yet,
alive still oh you young.chap yet
mista dzebsen.
mr Jacobsen
- CJ: Yes.
- PS: ⁴¹Yu yangfala yet. You're still young.
you young still
- CJ: Yes, the place was like a village in those days. That was only -- they used to bring the barges up the Plantation Creek and they used to load them on what they call the old wharf.
- PS: ⁴²Yu mo yang den mi. Yu ... You are younger than I am. You ...
you more young than me you
- CJ: I am, more definitely, yes. Not a hundred yet.
- PS: ⁴³(?) ... kam hia. ... came here.
come here
- TED: Ask ...

- PS: ⁴⁴Eiti -- eiti yia ai bin dis I've been in this country for eighty
eighty eighty years I been this years.
kantri.
country
- CJ: Eighty-eight he came to this country. Yes. Eighty years in this country.
- PS: ⁴⁵Nau mo eiti nau. It's more than eighty now.
now more eighty now
- CJ: Now, you're a hundred now. What about Bundaberg?
- PS: ⁴⁶Wea? Where?
- CJ: When you landed in Bundaberg?
- PS: ⁴⁷O yes. Yes maiwəd. Oh yes. Yes, my word!
oh yes yes my.word
- CJ: How long ago?
- PS: ⁴⁸Maiwəd My word!
my.word
- CJ: Young fellow then?
- TED: Little ...
- PS: ⁴⁹Mi savi haus bilong yu. (?) ... I know your house ... at/to/of(?) Mr
I know house of you White.
long mista wait.
at/to/of(?) mr White
- CJ: Yu no savvy me (laugh), savvy long Mr White (laugh). He's the undertaker, I
wasn't though (laugh).
- PS: (Unintelligible) (laugh) ⁵⁰We Where's Mr Taylor? Did Mr Taylor go
where to Brisbane?
tela? Tela i go long Brisbn?
Taylor Taylor he go to Brisbane
- CJ: Yair, Mr Taylor's in Brisbane. Yair, he's a police -- stipendary magistrate
down there now.
- PS: ⁵²I savi long ... He knows ...
he knows
- CJ: Yair, he's in the supreme court down there, yair. Down in Brisbane.
- PS: ⁵³Plantani mani. Plenty of money.
plenty money
- CJ: Getting plenty of money. Yair.
- PS: ⁵⁴Olsem mi. ⁵⁵Olsem yu. Like me. Like you.
like me like you
- CJ: Oh, I've got no money.
- PS: A: 'a'a (laugh) Ah, go on with you.
ah a'a

- CJ: He gives his money away this fellow.
- PS: ⁵⁶Yu tu:. You too.
you too
- TED: Eh?
- PS: ⁵⁷Yu planti mani tu. You've got plenty of money too.
you plenty money too
- TED: Nogat (laugh).
- PS: ⁵⁸O: ye. Maiwəd. Oh yes. My word!
oh yes my.word
- TED: No, I give it all away. All my friends and ...
- PS: ⁵⁹Plenti kantri dei Plenty of places/my compatriots(?)
plenty places/compatriots(?) they
won tə teik ət aut a Kwinslən. want to take it out of Queensland.
want to take it out of Queensland. Heh, they can't take it. Too much
⁶⁰Ei, kan teik em. ⁶¹Tu mash money.
heh can't take it too much
mani.
money
- CJ: No (laugh).
- PS: ⁶²Yu kan teikem. ⁶³No, yu kant. You can't take it. No you can't.
you can't take.it no you can't
- TED: Take what?
- PS: ⁶⁴Tshe:man ... Chairman ...
chairman
- CJ: Can't take money out of Queensland.
- TED: Oh, yes.
- PS: ⁶⁵Tshe:man i se, "Ai dano yu The chairman said, "I don't know. You
chairman he say I don't.know you can't -- you can't take it."
kan, yu kan teik em."
can't you can't take it
- CJ: You can't take em, no. You can't have it up there either.
- PS: ⁶⁶Kais, yu go ap yo: finish Christ, when you go up you're finished
Christ you go up you're finished (laugh).
(laugh).
- CJ: Yes (laugh).
- PS: ⁶⁷Hia. ⁶⁸Mistat. Here. Moustache.
here moustache
- CJ: Moustache eh?

- PS: ⁷⁸Wanfala go daun finish. One has died.
 one died completed
- CJ: Yair.
- PS: ⁷⁹Wanfala i stap. ⁸⁰Torta i One is still alive. A daughter lives
 one he lives daughter she in Nambour.
 stap long Nembo.
 lives in Nambour
- CJ: One's in Nambour.
- TED: Is he? What's his name? Malaita?
- PS: (Interrupted)
- CJ: Malaita, yair.
- PS: ⁸¹aivsaketimfinish(?) ?
 ?
- CJ: Bill?
- PS: ⁸²Yu lukim finish, bifo yu go You saw her when you went to Nambour
 you saw completed before you went before, didn't you?
 long Nembo?
 to Nambour
- CJ: Yair. I never met him ...
- PS: ⁸³... go long Brisbn. ... went to Brisbane.
 went to Brisbane
- CJ: Oh yair, yair.
- PS: (?)
- CJ: This fellow'd be attractive in his day I spouse.
- TED: Yes.
- PS: ⁸⁴0: ai no kwinslan longtaim. Oh, I've known Queensland for a long
 oh I know Queensland long.time time.
- CJ: Yair, know Queensland long time.
- PS: ⁸⁵Mi no go long Boun. ⁸⁶Aulfala I didn't go to Bowen. An old chap
 I didn't go to Bowen old.fellow (like me) is no good for roaming about
 no gud long wokabout. ⁸⁷Mo (the country). It would be far better
 not good for walking.about more to be dead, far better.
 beta go daun, mo beta.
 better die more better
- CJ: Go down there (laugh). This way's better (laugh).
- PS: (?)
- CJ: To go to Hell he means (laugh).
- PS: (laugh)

CJ: You go (?)

PS: ⁸⁸Yu go faia agein.
you go fire again

You go back into the fire again.

CJ: Too hot down there.

PS: (Laugh)

TED: Who did you work for in Bundaberg?

PS: ⁸⁹O yutufala yangfala yet!
oh you.two young yet

Oh you two are young yet!

CJ: Mr Young ...

PS: ⁹⁰Narafala(?) tu.
another too

And somebody else (?) besides.

CJ: Who did you work for in Bundaberg? When you first came to Australia?

PS: ⁹¹Ye?
yes

Yes?

CJ: Who did you work for? Longa yu?

TED: Mr Young or? Yu wok long Ferimi:d o Kwinaba?

CJ: Fairymead Mill?

PS: ⁹²Ye.
yes

Yes.

CJ: You cut cane down there? Bundaberg?

PS: ⁹³Ei, we datfela bos bilong mi go?
heh where that boss of me go
⁹⁴I go long Inlesfel?
he went to Innisfail

Heh, where did that boss of mine go?
Did he go to Innisfail?

CJ: Innisfail?

PS: ⁹⁵Mista kap(?)
Mr Carp(?)

Mr Carp(?)

CJ: He finished up in Innisfail.

PS: ⁹⁶(?) ... stap bilong yu(?) ... ?
be/remains with you
stap long yu(?)
be/remains with you

CJ: Nn.

PS: ⁹⁷Ai wok long em ol taim.
I worked for him all time

I worked for him all the time.

CJ: Work where?

CJ: (?)

PS: (?)

CJ: Goose (?) fellow is he?

PS: (?)

CJ: Who? Southwell(?) is it?

PS: 111(?) ... i se, "Stanis(?) yu
 he said " " " you
 go houm?" 1120, kan go hous nau.
 go home oh can't go house now
 113Aulfala.
 old

... he said, "Stanis(?) are you going
 home?" Oh, I can't go home now, I'm
 old.

CJ: Now he's old.

4. THE NATURE OF TOM LAMMON'S AND PETER SANTO'S SPEECH

Having now presented the texts some attempt must be made to say what the speech in them represents historically if maximum use is to be made of the texts for the comparative and historical purposes for which they are being published.¹ That is, some attempt must be made to answer such questions as: To what era does this speech belong - to that when the speakers first arrived or some later era, or none? Is it in fact one style (or register) and/or variety, or is it a mixture of different styles and/or varieties?

Two sorts of evidence are required for such an exercise:

- (a) detailed life histories of the two speakers and other relevant associated social and linguistic information;
- (b) some kind of description of the structure and contents of the speech itself.

The task then becomes one of relating the distinctive aspects of (b) to those of (a) within a theory of second language learning in a contact situation.

In the present circumstances only the second of these necessary conditions can be adequately met, the first being restricted to sketchy outlines of the kind that have already been given in Sections 2.1. and 2.3. above. This is unfortunate but unavoidable at the moment.

As far as the second requirement is concerned it is worth noting that there are many possible ways to go about meeting it. However, for present purposes that which gives most all-round benefits is that which compares the speech in the texts with SAE at various levels. In what follows then TL's and PS's speech is described individually in terms of their differences from SAE. This will be done in more or less traditional terms and at the three levels of phonology, grammar and lexis.

In the descriptions that follow points made will be illustrated by referring to utterances in the texts by numbers following, and separated from, text identification symbols 'PS, TL1, TL2, TL3, TL4 and TL5' by a slash, where 'PS' refers to PS's only text, and the remainder to TL's five texts. Thus, for example, PS/7 refers to utterance 7 in PS's text and TL2/7 to utterance 7 in TL's Text 2.

¹This should also be done to prevent the texts being used improperly and facilely for spurious purposes.

4.1. AN ANALYSIS OF TOM LAMMON'S SPEECH

4.1.1. PHONOLOGY

Although TL is physically capable of mimicing SAE vowel qualities in isolated words and phrases when asked to (as indicated by his performance in Text 5) his less directed speech differs phonologically from SAE in a number of ways. Thus TL has:

(i) impressionistically, a non-standard SAE rhythm. Although this aspect is complicated by the fact that TL uses a non-standard grammar (see Section 4.1.2. below) and by the fact that he is almost a centenarian his expressions are characterised, impressionistically, by a non-SAE placement of stress and by different intonation patterns;

(ii) a non-standard pronunciation of many SAE words (e.g. dat 'that', ting 'thing', karim 'cut'), and related to that, considerable variation in the pronunciation of the same word on different occasions (e.g. dat, dæt, thæt 'that'; længwish, lanwish, lanwidz 'language'). Even allowing for a certain amount of transcription error associated with transcribing running speech from taperecordings this variation is impressionistically much wider than for SAE speakers. In general this variation is restricted to a fairly clearly circumscribed set of consonants and vowels. These are:

(a) the SAE voiced stops b and g. For TL these are generally realised as unaspirated voiceless stops [p] and [k].¹ Examples:

SAE b > [p]: SAE bred > pred 'bread'
 blou > ploim 'blow'
 boila > poila 'boiler'
 boks > poks 'box'

SAE g > [k]: SAE bæg > bek 'bag'

(b) the SAE voiced stop d and the voiceless stop t which are realised often as [r] or [l]:²

SAE d > [r,l]: SAE redi > rere 'ready'
 dæbtshik > laptshik 'dabchick'

SAE t > [r,l]: SAE katim > karim 'cut it'
 putim > purum 'put it'
 litl > lili 'little'

¹Exceptions: SAE pædok, pædek > badik 'paddock'
 ki:pim > kibim 'keep it'
 blæksmith > blæksmit 'blacksmith'

²SAE r may become [l], e.g. SAE veri > bele 'very'.

(c) the SAE fricatives *f*, *v*, *th* (both θ and δ) and affricates *tsh* and *dz* which are often realised as their voiced and voiceless stop, and voiceless affricate, counterparts, e.g.

SAE <i>f</i> > [p]: ¹	SAE <i>sam felouz</i>	> <i>sampela</i>	' <i>some fellows</i> '
	<i>big felou,</i>	> <i>bigbla,</i>	' <i>big fellow</i> '
	<i>big fela</i>	<i>bigpla</i>	
	<i>waif</i>	> <i>waip, waif</i>	' <i>wife</i> '
	<i>fə:staim</i>	> <i>pastaim</i>	' <i>first time</i> '
	<i>from</i>	> <i>prm</i>	' <i>from</i> '
	<i>lift him ap</i>	> <i>liptimap</i>	' <i>lift it/him up</i> '
	<i>finish</i>	> <i>pinish</i>	' <i>finish</i> '
SAE <i>v</i> > [b]:	SAE <i>vikto:ria</i>	> <i>biktoria</i>	' <i>Victoria</i> '
	<i>ovasia</i>	> <i>obasia</i>	' <i>overseer</i> '
	<i>veri</i>	> <i>beri, bele</i>	' <i>very</i> '
	<i>everibodi</i>	> <i>ebrerəbodi,</i>	' <i>everybody</i> '
		<i>əbribodi</i>	
	<i>səvi</i>	> <i>səbi</i>	' <i>savvy</i> '
SAE θ > [t]:	SAE <i>blæksmiθ</i>	> <i>blæksmit</i>	' <i>blacksmith</i> '
	<i>samθing</i>	> <i>samting</i>	' <i>something</i> '
	<i>θing</i>	> <i>ting</i>	' <i>thing</i> '
	<i>θingκ</i>	> <i>tingκ</i>	' <i>think</i> '
SAE δ > [d]:	SAE <i>de:</i>	> <i>de, le</i>	' <i>there</i> '
	<i>dæt</i>	> <i>dæt, dat, lət</i>	' <i>that</i> '
	<i>anaða</i>	> <i>nada</i>	' <i>another</i> '
	<i>den</i>	> <i>den, len</i>	' <i>then</i> '
SAE <i>tsh</i> > [ʃh]: ²	SAE <i>witsh wei</i>	> <i>wishwe</i>	' <i>which way</i> '
SAE <i>dz</i> > [ʃh]: ³	SAE <i>dzo:dz</i>	> <i>shosh</i>	' <i>George</i> '
	<i>længwidz</i>	> <i>længwish, lanwish,</i>	' <i>language</i> '
		<i>lanwidz</i>	

(d) the SAE short vowels *æ* and *o* are often realised as [a], e.g.

SAE <i>æ</i> > [a]:	SAE <i>pædok</i>	> <i>badik</i>	' <i>paddock</i> '
	<i>hæma</i>	> <i>hama</i>	' <i>hammer</i> '
	<i>dæt</i>	> <i>dat</i>	' <i>that</i> '
SAE <i>o</i> > [a]:	SAE <i>wot</i>	> <i>wat</i>	' <i>what</i> '

¹Exceptions: SAE *if* > *ibi* '*if*'; SAE *fəul* > *bəul* '*fowl*'.

²SAE *s* may become [ʃh], e.g. SAE *pi:s* > *pish* '*piece*', and SAE *st* may become [s], e.g. SAE *sti:m* > *sim* '*steam*'.

³No words containing SAE \int (as in '*pleasure*') occur in this material.

(e) SAE long vowels are generally realised as their short counterparts. Thus:

SAE i: > [i]:	SAE kera:si:n	> kerasin	'kerosine'
	ki:p him	> kibim	'keep him'
	bi:n	> bin	'been'
SAE e: > [e]:	SAE ke:ns	> kenis, kens	'Cairns'
SAE a: > [a]:	SAE a:sk	> ask	'ask'
	ka:nt	> kan	'can't'
SAE o: > [o]:	SAE ho:səz	> hosis	'horses'
	to:k	> tok	'talk'
	wo:k	> wok	'walk'
	ko:l him	> kolim	'call him'
SAE u: > [u]:	SAE hu:	> hu	'who'
	gu:s	> gus, ku:s	'goose'
SAE ə: > [e,a,ə]:	SAE bandabə:g	> banabəg	'Bundaberg'
	fə:staim	> pastaim	'first time'
	lə:n	> lan	'learn'

(f) the SAE diphthongs or glides ou and ei are often realised as short vowels [o] and [e] respectively, e.g.

SAE ou > [o]:	SAE ounli	> onli, one	'only'
	klousap	> klosap	'close up'
	grou	> gro	'grow'
	nou moə	> namo, nomo	'no more'
	nou	> no, nou	'no'
SAE ei > [e]:	SAE wei	> we	'way'
	meik him	> mekim	'make him'
	sei	> se	'say'
	eika	> heka	'acre'

Other aspects of phonological variation which gives TL's speech a non-SAE ring are:

(a) often incorrect placement of h at the beginning of words which in SAE have no h, e.g. SAE eika > heka 'acre';

(b) reduction of certain combinations of SAE consonant sequences:

SAE wots	> wos	'what's'
litlbit	> lilibit	'little bit'
autsaid	> ausait	'outside'

(c) occasional vowel epenthesis, e.g.

SAE siks	> sikis	'six'
æks	> ækis	'axe'
henri	> heneri	'Henry'
kantri	> kantere, kanteri	'country'
stik	> stiki	'stick'
ke:ns	> kenis	'Cairns'

(d) sometimes an inversion of sounds in certain combinations, e.g.

SAE a:sk > aks 'ask'

(e) dropping sounds:

(i) initially:

SAE anaəa	> nada	'another'
agen	> gen	'again'
itælyən	> talyŋ	'Italian'
hau (long)	> au (long)	'how long'

(ii) medially:

SAE sapous	> spos, bos	'suppose'
bi long	> blong	'belong'

(iii) finally:

SAE daunt	> da	'don't'
long	> lo	'along'
andastænd	> andastæn, anistæn	'understand'
ka:nt	> kan	'can't'
gould	> gol	'gold'
la:st	> las	'last'
araund	> araun	'around'

4.1.2. GRAMMAR

Although grammatically TL's speech has much in common with SAE it is characterised by a number of features which are not SAE. These features can be roughly grouped and discussed as follows:

- (a) those concerned with the structure of simple sentences, i.e. those containing no embedding or coordination;
- (b) those concerned with embedding and coordination, i.e. relativisation, modification, complementation, coordination;
- (c) inflectional morphology.

Each of these will be taken in turn and discussed in terms of their SAE counterparts and traditional grammatical categories.

4.1.2.1. Simple Sentences

Here it will be useful to distinguish between verbal and non-verbal types.

4.1.2.1.1. Verbal Sentences

These have the following non-SAE features:

1) Sometimes elements in sentences appear in a different order from that found in corresponding expressions in SAE:

TL1/14: i no beli swol ap bat ... *'It's not swollen up very much but ...'* or *'It's not very swollen but ...'*

TL2/55: i tok along mi samting *'He said something to me'*

TL3/109: sam bəd wi kolm a -- beret *'We call some birds parrots'* or *'Some birds we call parrots'*

2) Many sentences use an i between noun phrase subjects and their predicates. This i appears to derive from English 'he' which has been generalised for all subjects irrespective of number or person:¹

TL1/66: Mədlin i mekim *'Madeline made it'*

TL2/7: Mən i kibm mi *'The man kept me'*

TL2/68: Sam bois i tok English *'Some boys spoke English'*

TL1/47: Olgetha i dai *'They all died'*

TL1/48: Onli wanfala i stap *'Only one is still alive'*

TL1/82: Henri i kam *'Henry came'*

TL3/10: We Bili i go? *'Where did Billy go?'*

TL2/9: Olgetha bigbla mən i go aut, wok *'All the big men went out'*

TL4/56: Kwin Biktoria i dai *'Queen Victoria died'*

TL4/63: Sam mo i stap *'Some more stayed'*

TL4/65: Onli mi wanpela i stap *'Only I stayed'*

¹There appears to be some confusion in TL's speech between this i and one that is phonologically required after n in some words (e.g. then/len *'then'*; gen *'again'*; kan *'can't'*; won *'want'*) which just happen to occur in positions where the i may be interpreted as a pronoun, e.g.:

TL1/2: O, mi kani wokabaut *'Oh I can't walk about'*

TL1/16: Mi kani stən dap. *'I can't stand up'*

TL1/18: Mi woni stən dap ... *'I want to stand up ...'*

TL4/20: Then i stap de o:l thə taim ... *'I've stayed here ever since ...'*

TL4/11: Ai go houm leni stap wan yia əleni kam bek *'I went home for a year then I came back'*

TL4/12: Kam bək geni stap Biktoria *'I came back and stayed at Victoria Mill'*

The only examples which suggest that this is not so are the following:

TL1/5: Mi kant tu nathing *'I can't do anything'*

TL4/56: theni mi stap hia ... *'Then I stayed here ...'*

This *i* is not used with the personal pronoun subjects *ai/mi*, *yu*, *wi*, and *thei*:

- TL4/28: *Mi go Kleimia 'I went to Kalamia'*
 TL3/11: *Yu anistan? 'Do you understand?'*
 TL1/27: *Thei sei ... 'They say ...'*
 TL1/40: *... thei no givem that kain a thing 'They don't keep that kind of thing'*
 TL2/45: *We yu go? 'Where are you going?'*
 TL3/69: *O, ti: wi kolim ti dzas a seim 'Oh, tea, we call it tea just the same'*
 TL1/70: *Noubodi ei teikim mi go 'Nobody will take me' or 'Nobody takes me'*

although it is used after modified pronouns as already seen in

- TL4/65: *Mi wanpela i stap 'Only I stayed'*

and instead of the pronoun subjects '*he, she, it*' and sometimes '*they*' in SAE:

- TL4/71: *Orait i givim mi nabaut ten eika 'So he gave me about ten acres'*
 TL2/8: *i no wok 'He didn't work'*
 TL3/15: *O, i go taun 'Oh, he went to town'*
 TL4/81: *E -- i no wok lo mil, i wok elo dat shugakein 'Er -- they didn't work in the mill, they worked in the sugarcane (in the fields)'*

Sometimes this *i* translates as '*there is/are*' or '*there was/were*':

- TL4/38: *i tu meni 'There were too many'*
 TL1/39: *i plenti 'There was plenty (to eat)'*
 TL4/38: *i mait 'There might be'*

3) *No/nou* and *namo/nomo* are used to negate sentences where SAE speakers would use '*do not*':¹

- TL1/40: *Mi no no hauhol 'I don't know how old'*
 TL4/67: *Wi no peim pa:m 'We didn't buy the farm'*
 TL3/103: *Ai no andastan dat 'I don't understand that'*
 TL2/54: *Mi no tok English 'I didn't speak English'*
 TL2/64: *Yu no karim tu hai² 'Don't cut it too high'*

¹TL uses *da* '*don't*' only in the fixed expression *dano* '*don't know*'. He also uses *kan* '*can't*' quite freely and in a way corresponding to SAE speakers, e.g.

TL1/9: *Mi kan stan dap 'I can't stand up'*

He also seems to have *neva* as another negative, e.g. as in

TL1/59: *Nora i sei i kam ap, kam ap; i no -- i neva kam. 'Nora said she was coming up but she never ever came'*

²Note that TL also uses *don* '*don't*' for negative imperatives, e.g.

TL3/52: *... don kadim! 'Don't cut it!'*

- TL1/67: I nou to:k yet 'It hasn't said anything yet'
 TL4/81: E -- i no wok əlo mil ... 'They didn't work in the mill ...'
 TL1/4-7: Namo sapim paiawut. Namo ho. 'I don't cut firewood any
 more and I don't hoe any more'

Namo is also used as a short answer negative reply to negative questions:

- TL1/8: Q: Yu no mekim gaden? 'Don't you make gardens?'
 A: Namo. 'No!'

4) There are no 'do, be' or 'have' support verbs where in SAE this is mandatory. Examples:

(i) No 'do' support:¹

- TL1/40: Mi no no hau hol 'I don't know how old'
 TL1/41: thei no givəm ... 'They don't keep ...'
 TL1/63: Yu mekim ... 'Did you make ...'
 TL1/79: Hu yu givəm ... 'Whom did you give them to ...'
 TL2/34: Hau long stei we? 'How long did I stay where?'
 TL2/64: Yu no karim ... 'Don't cut them ...'
 TL3/121: Wi no siim lo houm 'We don't see them at home'
 TL3/11: Yu anistæn? 'Do you understand?'
 TL3/10: We Bili i go? 'Where did Billy go?'
 TL4/81: i no wok ... 'They did not work ...'

(ii) No 'be' support:

- TL2/45: We yu go? 'Where are you going?'
 TL2/46: I se go tə wok 'He said he was going to work'

(iii) No 'have' support:

- TL1/67: i nou to:k yet 'It hasn't said anything yet'

5) The same verb form is used for all tenses and aspects where SAE requires inflected forms of one sort or another. Tense and aspect are, however, marked by free forms (except for present/continuous which are unmarked). Examples:

(i) tenses

(a) past (sometimes marked by bin but mostly not):²

¹Exceptions to this range over fixed combinations like dano 'don't know' and wata (and variants) 'what are (you) ...' and negative imperatives which include don 'don't'. Examples - see TL3/113, TL3/3-4; TL2/41; TL2/44; TL3/52.

²The interpretation of the difference between past and present is complicated by the fact that TL uses the historic present in all his descriptive statements, e.g.

TL4/18: Nau mə -- m -- mi stap lə Ingm ol the taim katim pa:m ... 'Then I stayed at Ingham all the time developing a farm ...'

- TL1/47: Nau olgetha i dai, dai, dai 'Now they're all dead'.
 TL1/35: O mai waif dai ai thingking about a -- ova siks yia nau ai thingk. 'Oh, my wife died over six years ago now I think!'
 TL1/88: Henri i go las wi:k 'Henry went last week'
 TL3/10: We Bili i go? 'Where did Billy go?'
 TL4/14: I stap de anada tri yia. Then ai go Kenis. 'I stayed there for another three years then I went to Cairns'
 TL1/39: Wen mi kamaut dis kantri ... mi onli yangfala 'I was only young when I came out to this country/place'
 TL1/86: Mi ting yu bin telim mi Henri Da. 'I thought you were talking about Henry Darr'
 TL1/85: Ai thing i bin go oum. 'I thought he'd gone home'

(b) present (unmarked)

- TL1/48: Onli wanfala i stap 'There's only one alive'
 TL2/67: O:lgetha andastæn nau 'They all understood then' (in historic this equals 'They all understand now')
 TL1/11: Samtaim mi wokabout ... 'Sometimes I walk about ...'

(c) future (marked by baimbai)¹

- TL1/27: Baimbai yu stap long(?) nada paiv yia ... 'If you (will) stay alive for another five years ...'
 TL2/66: Baimbai i -- i gro gen. 'It'll grow up again'

(ii) aspects

(a) repetitive (marked by repetition of verb):

- TL1/47: Nau olgetha i dai, dai, dai 'Now they're all dead' or 'Now they have all kept dying'
 TL4/18: ... katim pa:m ... wok, wok, wok ... '... developing a farm ... work, work, work ...'
 TL4/76: Yæv(?) kadim plaum, plaum, plauməm, leni ... 'You had to(?) plough it and plough it and plough it and then ...' or 'you had to(?) keep ploughing it and then ...'
 TL4/72: Wi gadi klinim, klinim. 'We had to clean it and clean it/ We had to keep cleaning it'

(b) continuous (unmarked)

- TL2/51: mi kam ap we -- we nau oltagetha i tok n mi tok tu, yu no? 'I came up to where they were all talking and I talked too you know?'
 TL2/58: O, mi go houm. 'Oh, I'm going home'

(c) completive (marked by finish)

- TL1/82: Henri i kam houm finish 'Henry has come home'

¹Except for one case which is marked by -l: TL3/18: Yul go, a dano we yu go. 'You'll go -- I don't know where you'll go'. Baimbai may also function simply as an adverb 'later on', e.g. TL4/56: Baimbai a -- kwin Biktoria i dai 'Later on Queen Victoria died'.

TL2/13-14: An den ... (?) pinish orait mi tekim bek gen long
 ... badik 'And then ... when I had milked them I took
 them back again to the paddock'

(d) desiderative (marked by wani(i) or laik)¹

TL1/78: Yes, mi wani telim ... that dea bred pudn. 'Yes, I'd like
 to talk about that there bread pudding'

TL1/69: Ai laik gou, tshə:tsh 'I'd like to go to church'

TL1/18: Mi woni stən dap ... 'I want to stand up ...'

(e) probability (marked by maia)

TL4/48: O, am -- yə maia kariim tu: 'You might get two'

6) Reduplication is frequently used as a device for signalling repetitive action unlike SAE which uses 'kept + V-ing'. See point 5(ii)(a) above.

7) (i) kolim is used for 'called' in passive constructions involving SAE 'called':

TL2/2: Mai kantri i kolim a -- Lamən. 'My country is called Lammon'

TL2/63: Wan mən i lukaut yu koləm obasia. 'There was one man who
 kept an eye on us. He was called the overseer'

TL3/72: Matshisis i -- kolim kapi. 'Matches, they're called kapi'

TL4/23: A -- m -- mən ... kodim Mandaro ... 'A man ... called
 Munro'

TL4/86: A -- i kam læ -- ples koləm Pukabuka. 'Ah she came from a
 place called Pukapuka'

8) Possession is indicated by bilong and not by 'of' or 's' as in SAE:

TL4/96: Ai kam blong yu nau. 'I am coming as yours now'

TL3/33: ... lanwidz bilong Pita ... '... Peter's language'

TL3/92: ... waip blong sambodi ... '... somebody's wife ...'

9) Third person pronoun objects 'it, they, one' are omitted. Instead verbs are marked as transitive by an -im (and variants) suffix:

TL4/49: an wen i kol taim leni givim mo blənkət 'And when it was
 cold they gave one more blankets'

TL1/66: Ai thingk Mədlin i mekim 'I think Madelin is making it/one'

TL2/12: Mi bringim ap lo haus 'I brought them up to the house'

TL2/64: Yu no karim tu hai. 'Don't cut it/them too high!'

¹Compare wandem 'want' as a verb in:

TL4/67: ... ml wandem ples groəm kein 'I want a place to grow cane'

TL4/69: Hau meni heka yu wonem? 'How many acres do you want?'

TL3/69: 0, ti: wi kolim ti dzas a seim 'Oh tea, we call it tea
just the same'

TL3/121: Wi no siim lo houm 'We don't see them at home'

TL1/26: Mi telim, "Nainti-paiv" 'I tell them, "Ninety-five"'

10) Pronouns are different in many ways from SAE ones:

Reference	Subject Forms		Object Forms		Possession Forms	
	SAE	TL	SAE	TL	SAE	TL
'I'	ai	ai, mi ¹	mi:	mi	mai	mai
'you'	yu:	yu, yə	yu:	yu, yə ²	yo:	yo:, blong yu ³
'he'	hi:	i, hi, hem ⁴	him	hiz	hiz	i, hi, bilong P, his
'she'	shi:	i	hə:		hə:	
'it'	it	i	it		its	
'we(excl.)'	wi:	wi, ⁵ mipela(?)	as	as ⁶	əuə	
'we(incl.)'	wi:	yumi	as		əuə	
'you(pl.)'	yu:	yupela(?)	yu:		yo:	
'they'	thei	dei, ei, i ⁷	them		the:	

¹ai varies with mi in every text in approximately equal frequencies in similar environments although there are certain environments in which only one of these can be used. Thus TL never says mi dano for 'I don't know' but always ai dano. He does, however, sometimes say mi no no. Similarly he always says ai thing for 'I think' and never mi thing.

²yu, yə as object only occurs in Text 4.

³yo: only occurs once as does blong yu. However bilong (and variants) occurs frequently as a possessive marker elsewhere.

⁴hi is rare. Mostly the pronunciation is simply i so that there is no gender distinction between 'he, she, it'.

⁵TL never has occasion to distinguish between inclusive and exclusive forms of 'we' except in Text 3 where mipela and yupela are suggested by me. TL's comment then was that lat nada wei meaning that there were other ways that he recognised of referring to 'we' and 'you(pl.)'. Yumi 'we(incl.)' was used naturally in one sentence TL3/76: yumi it nau 'let's eat now'.

⁶as 'us' occurs only once (in Text 4).

⁷i 'they' only occurs as anaphoric referent to a previously introduced noun phrase or pronoun dei (and variants) 'they':

TL4/79-80: 0, plenti. Wen dei go l -- long mil yu no, wok en da mil. E -- i no wok əlo mil, i wol əlo dat shugakein. 'Oh, plenty. When they went to the mill you know, to work in the mill, er -- they didn't work in the mill, they worked in that sugarcane (in the fields)'

11) There are no definite articles:

TL2/7: Mæn i kibm mi long haus. *'The man kept me around the house'*

TL2/11: Mi onli lukaut kau, hosis. *'I only looked after the cows and the horses'*

TL1/4: Long aus. *'In the house'*

12) Wanfala (and variants) is used as a universal indefinite article:

TL1/63: Yu mekim wanfala bred pudn ... *'Did you make a bread pudding?'*

TL1/65: Wan bred pudn fə mi *'A bread pudding for me'*

TL2/62: O mæn, wanfala mæn ... *'Oh man, there was one/a man ...'*

TL2/15: ... mi pairap long wanfala ples i mekim shuga *'... me to light up the fires in the place where they make sugar'*

13) Adjectives are generally similar in form and function to those used in SAE although there is a small group, including numerals, that are generally marked by -pela (and variants): These include sampela *'some'*, yangfala *'young'*, bigpla *'big'*, dempla *'those'*, wanfala *'one'*, tufala *'two'*. There are others which differ either in form or function which include the following:

(i) plenti. This covers a range of meanings and never appears with *'of'* as in SAE. It also overlaps in function with tu meni.

TL4/69: plenti shuga *'plenty of sugar/a lot of sugar'*

TL4/75: tumeni mæn *'lots of men/plenty of men'*

(ii) olgetha and ol (and variants) overlap in function and correspond to *'all'* in SAE:

TL1/25: o:lgethe waitmæn *'all white men'*

TL2/51: oltegetha i tok *'they all spoke'*

TL2/67: o:ltegetha andistæn nau *'they all understood then'*

TL4/7: ol dæt ples de *'all of those places'*

TL1/72: o:l dei o:l nait *'all day and all night'*

14) Adverbs are used as in SAE except for the following:

(i) namo *'no, not any more'*

TL3/67: nomo diprn *'not any different'*

TL4/19: nau namo *'not any more more'*

TL1/6: namo sapim paiawut *'no more chopping firewood'*

(ii) distaim *'at the moment'*

TL1/1: distaim no gut *'at the moment, no good'*

(iii) pastaim 'first'

TL2/29: purum wut pastaim 'put wood on first'

TL4/7: ol dat ples de a -- pastaim 'all those places there ah -- first'

TL4/9: pastaim mi finish kam houm 'when I finished (my) first (contract)'

TL4/106: mi kam pastaim dis kantere 'when I came to this country first'

(iv) baimbai 'later on' as future tense marker and adverb - see point 5(1)(c) above.

(v) olsem (which varies with dzasaseim and laik dat) 'like that' or 'just the same'

TL3/66: kolim tabaka olsem 'call it tobacco just the same'

TL3/92: ... olsem nau 'like now'

TL4/5: dzæs laiki yu nau 'just like you now'

TL3/69: wi kolim ti dzas a seim 'we call it tea just the same'

15) Omission of 'for' and certain adverbs like 'ago' in time expressions:

TL1/35: O mai waif dai ai thingking about a -- ova siks yia nau ai thingk 'Oh my wife died over six years ago now I think'

TL2/30: mi stap de wan yia go 'I stayed there for one year'

TL2/33: Mi go Kleimia nau an stop æ tu yia 'I went to Kalamia Mill then and stayed there for two years'

TL4/11: Ai go houm leni stap wan yia ... 'I went home and stayed for one year'

16) Interrogatives are as they are in SAE except for:

(1) wish we 'how, why'

TL2/46: Wish we? 'How?'

TL2/50: Wish we, Bili? 'What am I supposed to say, Billy?' (lit. 'How Billy?')

(11) wanem 'what'

TL3/122: Wonem dat wan Bili?¹ 'What's that one Billy?'

17) There is a restricted set of prepositions compared with SAE. This is partly because many of the common SAE ones are covered by one form long in TL's speech. The full set observed is:

¹The following question was also uttered by TL but is discounted as being an imitation of one I had previously given:

TL3/20: Wanem yu go? 'why are you going?'

- (i) po 'for'
- TL1/65: fə mi 'for me'
- TL3/16: po wokabaut 'for a stroll'
- TL3/22: po nating 'for nothing'
- TL3/21: watə yə go Taunsvil po? 'what are you going to Townsville for?'
- (ii) long 'at, in, for'
- TL1/41: long houm 'at home'
- TL4/6: long Bandabəg 'in Bundaberg'
- TL1/27: yu stap long(?) nada paiv yia 'if you live for(?) another five years'
- TL1/3: lo ya:d 'in the yard'
- TL2/25: long nada ples 'in another place'
- TL2/12: mi bringim ap lo haus 'I brought them up to the house'
- TL2/55: ... i tok along mi samting 'he said something to me'
- (iii) bilong 'of'
- TL3/33: lanwidz bilong Pita 'Peter's language'
- TL3/120: fishi blo dis kantri 'fish of this country'
- TL4/96: ai kam blong yu nau 'I am coming as yours now'
- (iv) prm 'from'
- TL2/1: ai kam prm Epi 'I come from Epi'
- (v) nabaut long 'around in'
- TL3/110: swim nabaut long wota 'swim about/around in the water'
- (vi) ova 'over'
- TL1/55: ova siks yia nau 'over six years now'
- (vii) in 'into, in'
- TL2/25: i letim go in tangk 'it was let go into a tank'
- TL4/20: kam bək eni E: 'came back (in)to Ayr'
- (viii) klosap 'near, close to'
- TL2/21: somwe klosap a -- Painia 'somewhere near Pioneer Mill'
- (ix) inap long 'enough for'
- TL4/37: inap lo ... wan mi:l 'enough for one meal'
- 18) Omission of SAE 'to' before names of places after verbs of motion:¹

¹There are exceptions to this, e.g.

TL4/98: wi kam long Taunsvil 'we came to Townsville'.

- TL4/14: Then ai go Kenis 'then I went to Cairns'
 TL4/28: Mi go kleimia 'I went to Kalamia'
 TL1/35: mi kant rimemba hau long mi bin tis kantri 'I can't re-
 member how long I've been in this country'
 TL1/39: wen mi kamaut dis kantri 'when I came out to this country'
 TL1/72: wen hi ka gut hi stap publik aus 'when the car is running
 he stays at the pub'

19) The form kan(i) covers both SAE 'can't' and 'couldn't':

- TL1/2: mi kani wokabaut 'I can't walk about'
 TL4/38: Yu kan kaunim mæn i tu meni 'You couldn't count the men
 there were too many'
 TL3/84: Kan kolim eni ada wei 'You can't say it any other way'

4.1.2.1.2. Non-Verbal Sentences

These are characterised by the following features:

1) Occasional un-SAE word order (without accompanying special intonation and pausing):

- TL1/1: O: mi: ... distaim no gut 'Oh, I'm not very good at the
 moment'
 TL1/14: i no beli swolap 'it's not swollen up very much' (but also
 'it's not very swollen')
 TL3/43: Gud mashin dæt wan 'that's a good machine (that one)'
 TL4/49: æn wen i kol taim ... 'and when the time is cold ...'

2) No verb 'to be' as copula:¹

- TL1/1: mi: ... distaim no gut 'Oh, I'm not very good at the moment'
 TL1/60: no gut hia 'this is terrible'
 TL2/22: Bili, klosap Paiania wot dæt mil? 'What's that mill that's
 near Pioneer Mill, Billy?'
 TL3/2: Wish længwish dat Bili? 'Which language is that Billy?'
 TL3/28: dæt Pita Santo i -- i -- nada kantæri yu no? 'That Peter
 Santo is from another country you know?'
 TL3/31: Mai kantere e -- Epi, o Læmæn 'My country is Epi, or Lammon'
 TL4/16: Kenis long wei yu no. 'Cairns is a long way away you know'
 TL4/26: Halo, hu -- sambodi de. 'Hullo, who -- somebody is there'

¹Exceptions to this are forms such as was 'what's' and dats 'that's' where the SAE short form 's' 'is' has become fused to the preceding interrogative or demonstrative pronoun: TL2/60: Dæts o:l 'that's all'; TL3/1: Wos dat 'what's that?'; TL3/53: Thæts rait? 'Is that right?'; TL3/102: Wæts thæt mikalou? 'what's that mikalou?'; TL4/88: Ye. Thæts rait 'yes, that's correct'; TL4/96: Thæts o:l 'that's all'. One case of is occurs in TL4/110: dis is tu yang 'this is too young'.

3) no is used for 'not'

- TL1/1: O: mi: ... distaim no gut 'Oh, I'm not very good at the moment'
- TL1/14: i no beli swolap 'it's not swollen up very much'
- TL1/19: i no big mil 'it wasn't a big mill'
- TL1/60: no gut hia 'this is terrible'
- TL2/30: i no bele big mil 'It wasn't a very big mill'
- TL4/42: o, i no beri gud haus 'It wasn't a very good house'
- TL4/45: No, ... no bet laik dis 'No, ... it wasn't a bed like this'

4) A general third person subject pronoun i for 'it'¹ Several examples of this have already been given in point 3 above. Others are:

- TL3/34: i diprn lanwish 'it's a different language'
- TL4/45: no, ... no bet laik dis, i oni timba 'No, ... it wasn't a bed like this, it was only timber'

4.1.2.2. Embedding and Coordination

Here we shall distinguish between relativisation, modification (or adverbial clauses in traditional grammar), complementation, and coordination. In examples the part of the sentence under discussion is underlined.

4.1.2.2.1. Relativisation

The only observation to make here is that there are no relative clause markers:²

- TL2/16: mi wokən en mi pairap long wanfala ples i mekim shuga
'[he put] me to work to light up the fires in the place where they make sugar'
- TL2/18: Samting yu opənim laik dat i stap ausaid ən i klinəpəla(?)
'Something you open like that which is outside in(?) the clean(?) mill.'
- TL2/23: dis thing yu open i stap 'this thing that you open is there'

¹As already seen i has other meanings, e.g.

TL4/5: Hi ol e -- i no ol mən bat i ... strong mən 'He's wasn't an old man but a young one'

TL4/30: yu kan kaunim mən i tu meni 'You couldn't count the men there were too many'

i may also be omitted in some sentences:

TL1/60: No gut hia 'this is terrible'

TL1/74: No gud 'that's no good' (i.e. 'that's a bad way of behaving')

TL2/17: No, no, no poila 'No, no, not a boiler'

²The only exception to this is we in:

TL2/51: mi kamap we -- we nau oltegetha i tok ... 'I came up to where -- to where they were all talking ...'

- TL2/63: Wan mən i lukaut yu koləm obasia '... there was one man who kept an eye on us. He was called the overseer'
 TL4/6: ... dis man ai tokən about nau '... this man that I was talking about just now'
 TL4/55: Dət taim, yu no dət taim wi kam ap lo no king ... 'At that time, you know that time when there wasn't a king ...'

4.1.2.2.2. Modification

1) There is variation in the use of wen 'when' to introduce 'when' clauses. Compare:

- TL1/39: O, wen mi kam aut dis kantri ... 'when I came out to this country ...'
 TL4/49: ən wen i kol taim ... 'and when it was cold ...'
 TL4/90: wen kein i kat, orait yu kərim mani nau 'when the cane was cut you got your pay then'
 TL2/25: wen i boil i sim ... 'when it boiled it steamed ...'
 TL2/38: wen i poiləm pig aiən orait i singaut mi 'he would call out for me when the pig iron boiled(/melted?)'

with:

- TL4/9: ye, pastaim mi finish kam houm ... 'yes, when I finished (my) first (contract) I went home ...'
 TL4/106: mi kam pastaim dis kantere ə -- wi no həvim a -- king 'when I came to this country first we didn't have a king'
 TL2/30-31: wan yia pinish. Orait yumi go -- yu go Kleimia. 'At the end of one year (lit. when one year finished) we went -- I was told to go to Kalamia Mill'

2) Omission of some form of 'if' in conditional clauses:¹

- TL1/27: Thei sei, "O yu baimbai yu -- stap long(?) nada paiv yia yəd be a handed" 'They say, "Oh if you live another five years you'll be a hundred".'

3) 'Until' expressed by repetition of verb:

- TL1/30: i stap lo:(?) yu go go go go a handed 'if you stay alive you'll reach a hundred (lit. you'll go until you reach a hundred)'
 TL1/47-48: Nau olgetha i dai, dai, dai. Onli wanfala i stap. 'Now they have all died and there is only one left (lit. they kept dying until ...)'

¹Apparent counter examples to this are suspicious as being either direct mimicry of me or inspired by me through questioning:

- TL3/52: Ibi banana e -- e -- raip o gri:n don kadim! 'If the bananas are ripe or green don't cut them.' (Similar sentence TL3/55)
 TL3/58: Bos yu gri:n ... 'if it's green ...' (and similarly TL3/59)

4.1.2.2.3. *Complementation*

1) 'That' complementisers are missing and the sequences of tenses are not SAE:¹

TL1/25: mi telim yu o:lgete: waitmæn askim mi lukaut longa taun ...
'I'm telling you that every European that sees me in town asks me ...'

TL1/59: Nora i sei i kamap, kamap, i no -- i neva kam. 'Nora said she was coming up but she didn't ever come'

2) No 'to/from' complementisers:

TL1/70: Noubodi ei teikim mi go 'nobody will take me'

TL2/15: ... i putim mi go wokəm 'he put me to work ...'

TL1/22: Dat mekim mi kan wokabaut 'that stops me from walking about'

3) There are no indirect quotes:

TL1/26: Sampela waitmæn askem, "A:, hau hol?" 'Some Europeans ask me how old I am'

TL2/61: I givim kein naif n i se, "Go katim kein de" 'He gave you a cane knife and told you to go and cut the cane there'

TL2/64: I lukaut len i kam i se, "Nau karim kein hia ..." 'He watches and then comes and tells you to cut the cane there ...'

4.1.2.2.4. *Coordination*

1) Orait is regularly used as a connective whereas it is not in SAE:

TL2/13-14: An den ... milkim pinish orait mi tekim bek gen long ...
badik 'and then after they'd been milked I'd take them back again to the paddock'

TL2/15-16: A -- leitam(?) baimbai ai think i wen i krasən taim
orait i putim mi go wokəm en ... 'Ah -- later(?) I think when it was crushing time he'd put me to work ...'

TL2/25: Wen i boil i sim orait nau i letim go in tangk 'When it boiled it steamed and then I'd let it go into a tank'

TL2/31: Orait yumi go -- yu go Kleimia 'then we -- I was told to go to Kalamia Mill'

TL2/38: Den i -- wen i poiləm pig aiən rere orait i singaut mi
'Then when the pig iron was beaten up ready he called out to me'

¹After verbs of saying and thinking no complementisers are used as is generally the case in SAE:

TL1/58: ai think Nora i no 'I think (that) Nora knows'

TL1/42: ai dano hau hol ... 'I don't know how old (I am)'

TL1/35: mi kant rimemba hau long mi bin tis kantri 'I can't remember how long I've been in this country'

TL4/103: ai kan sabi hau yu kukum 'I don't know how you cook them'

- TL4/74: then meikim ples klin, orait plau 'then we had to make the place clean and then after that plough it'
 TL4/90: wen kein i kat, orait yu kərim mani nau 'when the cane was cut you got your money then'

2) Juxtaposition used as a joining device to convey a wide range of meanings:

- TL1/59: Nora i sei i kamap, kamap, i no -- i neva kam. 'Nora said she was coming up but she didn't ever come'
 TL2/24: Orait mi pairap bəlong hia, boiləm shuga 'So I lit the fire that was associated with that to boil the sugar'
 TL4/82: Tekim ho, kadim g -- a -- shipim gras 'They got hoes and cut g -- chipped grass'
 TL4/9: Ye, pastaim mi finish kam houw a -- putəm houw kam hia wok hia Kleimia 'Yes, when I finished my first contract I went home ah -- I was taken home and then I came back to work here at Kalamia Mill'
 TL4/30: Yu kan kaunim mən i tu meni 'You couldn't count the men (because) there were too many'

4.1.2.3. Inflectional Morphology

1) Nouns

These are generally unmarked for number (i.e. the same form is used for singular and plural):¹

TL1/27:	paiv yia	'five years'
TL1/36:	eiti yia	'eighty years'
TL1/56:	ova siks yia	'over six years'
TL1/28:	plenti ... marika	'plenty of Americans'
TL1/25:	olgete: waitmən	'all Europeans'
TL2/11:	kau	'cows'
TL2/9:	olgetha bigbla mən	'all the big men'
TL4/70:	ten eka	'ten acres'
TL3/50:	sam banana	'some bananas'
TL4/49:	mo blankit	'more blankets'
TL4/33:	sam pateita	'some potatoes'
TL4/51:	tri paun	'three pounds'
TL4/73:	rut	'roots'
TL3/95:	tu stiki	'two sticks'

¹Exceptions include: TL1/44: tshilrn 'children'; TL2/68: bois 'boys'; TL2/11: hosis 'horses'; TL3/72: matshisis 'matches'; TL3/92: kids 'kids'; TL4/51: manis 'months'.

2) Verbs

These are (apart from scattered exceptions)¹ uninflected, i.e. one form is used for all tense and aspects and there is no agreement between subject and verb as required in SAE. The grammatical categories of tense and aspect are expressed by syntactic means (e.g. by the addition of adverbs of time like *baimbai* 'later', yet 'still, yet' and other elements - see section 4.1.2.1.1., point 5). Most transitive and all causative verbs do, however, end in a common final syllable *-im* (or variant):²

TL1/4:	<i>sapim</i>	'chop'
TL1/41:	<i>givəm</i>	'keep'
TL1/57:	<i>askem, askim</i>	'ask'
TL1/63:	<i>mekim</i>	'make'
TL1/78:	<i>telim</i>	'talk about, tell'
TL2/7:	<i>kibm</i>	'keep'
TL2/12:	<i>bringim</i>	'bring'
TL2/41:	<i>kolim</i>	'call'

3) Adjectives

These come before the noun in noun phrases as in SAE but there is a small group that are often marked by *-pela* (or variant).³ See section 4.1.2.1.1. point 13 above.

¹Two out of three of these (TL3/36 and TL3/90) can be disregarded as mimicry of the interviewer and the third TL1/55: *thingking about* as a slip of the tongue.

²Counter examples include the intransitive verb *wokim* 'to work' and the following unmarked transitive verbs: TL2/11: *lukaut* 'look after'; TL2/38: *singaut* 'called out to'; TL3/103: *andastən* 'understand'; TL4/93: *marit* 'marry s.o.'; TL1/3,11 ...: *no* 'know'; TL4/103: *sabi* 'know'; TL4/76,77: *hara* 'to harrow'; TL 4/67: *kas* 'cost'.

There is some variation also between marked and unmarked forms: e.g. *ask* ~ *askim*; *bring* ~ *bringim*; *kat* ~ *katim*; *givi* ~ *givim*; *plau* ~ *plauim*; *si* ~ *siim*.

³There does not seem to be any observable pattern in the variation although for numerals it seems to be the case that when the numeral is being used as a true adjective (e.g. comes before a noun) no *-pela* is used, e.g.

TL1/29: *wan marika*; TL1/65: *wan bred pudn*; TL3/93: *tu kids*; TL3/95: *tu stiki*;
 TL2/33: *tu yia* (again in TL2/35);
 TL1/19: *wanfala*; TL1/48: *wanfala i stap*; TL1/54: *ye, tufala*.
 TL1/26: *sampela waitmən*; TL2/68: *sam bois*; TL4/32: *sam pred*; TL4/62: *sam mo*;
 TL1/39: *mi onli yangafala*; TL4/110: ... *tu yang*;
 TL2/5: *big mən* (also TL2/19;20;26;30;39;TL3/78;85,116;TL4/36;38;98; TL2/9 *bigbla mən* (also TL2/27;TL4/6);
 TL3/120: *onli dempla fishi*

4.1.3. VOCABULARY

A full list of the vocabulary used by TL in his texts 1-4¹ is given in Appendix 4. This vocabulary is characterised by the following non-SAE features:

- 1) There is a set of completely new (i.e. un-SAE) forms:

tekim kam ²	'bring'
kəri(i)m	'have': TL4/48: mi kəriim tu 'I had two (blankets)' 'catch a boat': TL4/98: orait wi kəriim big stima 'we caught a big steamer' 'have/be X years of age': TL1/42: ai dano hau hol e -- mi kəriim 'I don't know how old I am' 'get': TL4/90: yu kəriim mani nau 'you get paid then'
namo, nomo	'no!' (in answer to a negative question) TL1/8; 'not any': TL3/67: nomo diprn 'not any different' 'any more': TL4/20: kan wok namo 'can't work any more'; TL4/19: nau namo 'not any longer'
sabi	'know, understand'
long	'at, in, to, for'
meri ³	'woman'
yumi	'we' (including the person spoken to)
mipela(?) ⁴	'we' (excluding the person spoken to)
wanem	'what'
olsem	'just the same, like that'
wish we	'how, why'

- 2) There is a set of partially new (i.e. un-SAE) forms:

pastaim	(< SAE 'first time') 'first'
lukaut	'look after, keep an eye on, watch over'
klosap	'close to, near'

¹Text 5 is omitted because TL is only mimicing the interviewer.

²TL also has bringim 'bring'.

³It is not certain whether this is really part of TL's vocabulary as it was suggested by the interviewer. However, others present at the interview suggested that it was. See TL4/between 78 and 79.

⁴It is uncertain whether this is also part of TL's vocabulary as it was originally suggested by the interviewer.

dempla	'those'
nabaut	'around in, about in'

3) There is a set of forms which are the same as in SAE but which have different or new meanings or functions:

bin	'past tense marker'
mi	'I'
plenti	'many, lots of'
marit	'marry' (as transitive verb)
tok along mi	'spoke to me'
in	'into'
olgetha	'all, every'
bilong	'of, possession'
finish	'completing aspect'
kolim	'say': TL3/84: kan kolm eni ada wei 'you can't give it any other name' or 'you can't say it any other way'

4) There is a set of forms which are 'odd' (i.e. un-SAE) in some way, e.g. narrowed, specialised, old fashioned, local:

bin	'been living in' [In SAE 'been' is only used in the past continuous with 'have' as support, e.g. 'I've been in X (before, at some time)']
brumən	'sweep' [In SAE 'broom' is now restricted to trades, e.g. 'to broom (wet) cement (to give it a rough surface)']
singaut	'call out to' [Colloquial form for 'to call out to']
go aut	'go off (to work)' [In SAE 'go out to work' implies leaving home or school permanently to work]
pairap	'fire, set fire to' [Not SAE]
baimbai	'later' [In SAE very restricted use]
stap	'stay, remain, be in a place' [In SAE 'stop' indicates temporary residence in a place, not more permanent residence as in TL's speech]
pig aiən	'pig iron' [Old fashioned]
pablik aus	'hotel, pub' [Old fashioned]
stima	'ship' [Old fashioned]
taka	'food' [Colloquial]
maiwad	'my word, gee, gosh' [Local; idiosyncratic]

4.2. AN ANALYSIS OF PETER SANTO'S SPEECH

Peter's speech is similar to Tom's except for the following:

4.2.1. PHONOLOGY

There is much less variation in the pronunciation of the same word on different occasions in PS's speech.

4.2.2. GRAMMAR

4.2.2.1. Syntax

1) PS sometimes uses an OSV word order:

PS/107: tufala ai katim(?) *'I cut two'*

PS/3: E: neim wot? *'Er, called what?'*

2) PS uses the following comparative sentence:

PS/42: Yu mo yang den mi. *'You're younger than I am'*

3) PS used a mobeta construction on one occasion:

PS/87: Mobeta go daun, mobeta *'It would be better to die. Much better'*

4) PS used a conditional sentence definitely introduced by sposim:

PS/13: Sposim yumi badman yumi(?) go daun finish. *'If we'd been bad then we'd be dead'*

5) PS has '-ing' complementation marked by long:

PS/6: Mi wok hia long hatem gras *'I worked here cutting grass'*

PS/86: Aulfala no gud long wokabout *'An old chap (like me) is no good for roaming about (the country)'*

6) In where-Questions PS places we at the beginning of the sentence:

PS/50: We Tela? *'Where's Mr Taylor?'*

PS/93: We datfela bos bilong mi go? *'Where did that boss of mine go?'*

4.2.2.2. Morphology

1) Pronouns

PS used the following extra forms without prompting:

yutufala *'you(2)'* PS/89: 0 yutufala yangfala yet *'Oh you two are young yet'*

em, əm *'him, it (object)'* PS/23: 0, mi wokm longəm longtaim, bos *'Oh I worked for him a long time, boss';*

PS/97: Ai wok long em ol taim 'I worked for him all
the time';

PS/60: Ei, kan teik em 'Heh, they/you(?) can't take it'

bilong mi 'my' PS/93: ... bos bilong mi ... 'my boss'

olgeta 'they all' PS/8: Olgeta i go daun finish. 'They've all
died'

2) Adjectives

PS uses -pela more consistently and on a wider range of adjectives:

aulfala 'old'
bikfala 'big'
gudfala 'good'
narafala(?) 'another'
sampla 'some'
yangfala 'young'
datfala 'that'
dasfala 'this'

He also has the reduplicated form gud gud for 'very good' in one instance though it is not certain if this is a reliable transcription of what was said on the tape-recording.

4.2.2.3. Vocabulary

PS has the following additional distinctive vocabulary (i.e. it is un-SAE in some way):

go daun 'die' PS/8: Olgeta i go daun finish 'They've all died'

klos 'close to, near' PS/28: ... klos Pain '... near Pioneer
Mill'

sənap 'remain, be alive' PS/39: Onli wanfala i sənap yet.
'Only one is left/alive'

tekim...go 'take' PS/21: i wanta tekim mi go daun Towomba 'He wanted
to take me down to Toowoomba'

karim 'take' PS/109: Orait ... karim mani long ailan(?) 'Then
... I(?) took the money to my island(?)'

longtaim 'for a long time' PS/23: Mi wokm longəm longtaim, bos
'I worked for him for a long time boss'

oltaim 'all the time' PS/97: Ai wok long em ol taim 'I worked
for him all the time'

5. THE HISTORICAL STATUS OF TOM LAMMON'S AND PETER SANTO'S SPEECH

Having now given some account of the nature of TL's and PS's speech we are in a position to return to the questions of its historical status that were raised in the opening paragraph of Section 4. above. And here we begin by noting that the analysis of TL's and PS's speech just presented shows that:

- (a) although their speech agrees in essential details there are some differences between them (Section 4.1.2.);
- (b) there is greater internal variation in TL's speech than in PS's (Section 4.1.1. *passim*);
- (c) this speech is not SAE but something in between that and a classical pidgin English like Tok Pisin of Papua New Guinea with which it shares a number of features which are also common to other pidgin and creole Englishes of the Southwest Pacific. Thus, for example, it has the common vocabulary item *savi* 'know, understand' as well as others derived from English 'all, altogether, along, been, belong, catch, fellow, finish, he, no, plenty, suppose, too much, what name', many of which are also markers of common basic syntactic structures in these languages (Clark 1977). But whether these and other non-SAE features are sufficient to enable us to call TL's and PS's speech 'pidgin' or not is a moot point and one which must depend on the definition of a pidgin language, something which is still very much a live issue in linguistics at the present time (Bickerton 1976). Nor can a decision rightfully be expected until the other aspects of TL's and PS's speech noted above have been taken into account. And here the essential question is: How is the variation within and between TL's and PS's speech to be accounted for? To what, if anything, is it due? What does it signify? When, and only when, such questions as these have been answered will it be possible to answer the larger question and say what the speech represents, or to give some more precise evaluation of its status as a variety of English.

Let us begin with point (b) above which has to do with internal variation in TL's speech. There are two points to be noted here. One is that in Text 3 one of the casual participants in the background, CL (who was actually TL's grandson's wife and TL's caretaker) comments (on my efforts to try to find out whether there were structures in TL's English which were not coming out in the interview and which would be useful for comparing his speech with other Englishes) in the following terms: "Yes he knows [the form *spos* for 'if'], only he's trying to break

it down into good English" (TL3/50-60). This comment and other similar ones made in the course of this and the next interview¹ suggest that TL could, and did, vary his speech upwards from some basic, familiar form or basilect, which he used when amongst relatives and friends, towards SAE in more formal situations involving unfamiliar, but especially white, English speakers. Text 3 is for that reason not very reliable evidence of TL's basilect. It does show, however, that TL did recognise a difference between his basilect and SAE, that is, between formal and informal styles or registers, and would attempt to adjust his speech to social conditions. This is in accord with what speakers of Aboriginal English do in similar circumstances (Dutton 1969) and is therefore not unexpected. Indeed the interviews were constructed with this in mind (although obviously the end result could not be predicted) and it is easy to appreciate why this is so given the low social status of the black-skinned person in Queensland society (Saunders 1975). However, this is not the whole story for TL's speech also shows signs of otherwise being context-free.

Thus if TL's vocabulary is taken as an index of fluctuation in his speech and analysed it will be found that there are two kinds of variation involved.²

- (a) completely different forms with the same or similar meaning, e.g. ol vs olgetha 'all'; bad vs no gud 'bad, no good'; ai vs mi 'I'; dzəsaswim vs olsem 'just the same, just like that'; no vs sabi vs andastən vs si 'know, understand'; ship vs stima 'boat, ship';
- (b) long and short variants of the same form, e.g. ask vs askim 'ask'; big vs bigpla 'big'; plau vs plaum 'plough'; etc.

In both cases this variation is quite random and cannot be attributed to any sociolinguistic factor or factors.³ In other words these cannot be attributed to any kind of style or register; it is just a feature of TL's English at this level. As such, however, it must represent interference phenomena from SAE or some other source, e.g. such as Aboriginal English, or what is often just termed 'migrant English' or the English of non-English-speaking newcomers to Australia.

¹cf. TL3/11-12,19-20,63-64; TL4/78-79.

²Syntactic constructions are not sufficiently numerous to serve as a useful index. We also discount phonological variation as it is not possible to disentangle linguistic (e.g. stress placement) and production factors (e.g. TL's age) from other possibly relevant ones.

³The evidence is not sufficient nor was it collected in the right way to apply more recent theoretical ideas on the analysis of variation to it (Bailey 1973; Bickerton 1973, 1975).

In an attempt to get some further insight into the source of this variation and some further evaluation of the style of speech in TL's texts descendants and relatives were asked to comment on the speech in the texts. Specifically they were asked to say if they thought the speech was typical of TL's everyday speech or if it was special or peculiar in some way, and then, if so, why they thought it was.

The general consensus was that the speech was, overall, typical of TL's way of speaking, but that there were some cases where he would more commonly use one form rather than another at home. For example it was said that he would more often use *spos* for *if* at home as introducer of the equivalent of *if*-clauses in SAE. That is, the general conclusion was much the same as has already been described. Variation, however, was attributed to TL having been "mixing up with whites". That is, the more English-like aspects of his speech were attributed to his closer contact with white English speakers.

But although commentators did not say so and I did not think to ask them at the time these contacts must clearly have been of a different kind from those experienced by PS, for PS's speech does not contain the same kind of variation (even allowing for the smaller quantity of material obtained from him). But the only apparent major difference between TL's life history and that of PS is in the closer association TL had with the churches they attended. Both in fact went to the same church later in life but TL was much more closely associated with different churches over time than PS was - he started preaching in church about the time he was married and later became a recognised lay preacher at Gairlock church, near where he lived at Ingham, and which PS also attended. And given that the churches he and PS attended were composed almost exclusively of Melanesian congregations it would seem that his knowledge of SAE, such as is indicated by the variation in his casual speech, is to be attributed to his contact and close association with the Pritts and other Anglican ministers in Ingham, and with the Lynns for whom he worked for many years. Thus the significant thing here appears to be not just that TL was "mixing up with whites", that is, "mixing up" with any old white English-speaking person, but was "mixing up" with a particular subgroup of them, a subgroup in which attitudes towards kanakas must have been different from those to be found in the white canefields society at large, where there was generally an anti-coloured bias which would have acted as a barrier to any 'kanaka' hearing much of the prestigious SAE and learning it.¹

¹It may well be that his knowledge of SAE was also influenced to some extent by his ability to 'read' the Bible even though this may not have amounted to anything more than memorising passages as seems to be suggested by the family observations noted in Appendix 2 that he could "read the Bible" but could not "read the newspaper" nor write letters.

So much then for internal variation in TL's and PS's speech, the foregoing analysis of which would appear to suggest that the speech recorded represents, in TL's case at least, something more SAE-like than what TL probably spoke earlier in life, especially that that he learned as a "new chum" and before he became involved in church affairs in the 1890s. Given also, as outlined in Section 2.1.2. above, that the language of the canefields at that time (i.e. pre-1890) was probably a collection of more or less stabilised varieties of pidgin it is probably reasonable to assume that at the very least those aspects of his speech that are non-SAE and which also occur in PS's speech probably represent the main common core features of those varieties.¹ To these we can also probably add those in PS's speech which are also non-SAE since at least one of those (notably the spos 'if' one) was said by commentators on TL's speech to be part of TL's casual English. That is, at the very least Common Core CE probably contained all those features that are listed in Sections 4.1. and 4.2. above (apart from those that are contradictory like word-order). That this is not an unreasonable assumption would appear to be supported by two other facts not hitherto brought forward but which explain why TL and PS both speak similarly.

One is that they both came to Queensland at different times and they both worked on a variety of plantations throughout the whole canefields belt. The other is that they both married women from areas other than their own but that after marriage and/or after the repatriation period (whichever came first for each), and except for work situations and attendance at church, they spent their lives amongst others in a similar position and segregated from white society. Without the first fact we could not guarantee that the one did not learn his language from the other nor could we guarantee that it was not just a geographically restricted variety. Without the second fact we could not guarantee that their speech represented some re-pidginised or simplified version of a former more elaborate language which had lost some of its structure in keeping with a lessening in the functions it was called upon to fulfil.

In retrospect then and taking everything into account we can answer the questions raised in the beginning of this section in the following terms: TL's and PS's speech represent different but closely related

¹Other, now SAE-like, features may well have belonged to it too but it is not possible to suggest which at this stage since that would involve a study of TL's mother tongue, the development of SAE and other things.

points on the lower end of a Pidgin English-SAE continuum but that TL's speech shows evidence of restructuring towards SAE as a result of his particular social experiences and life style. His point on the continuum is thus really a small cline over which he ranges randomly and in response to social conditions at the time of speaking. It is not possible to say if the speech styles of the two speakers represent one variety or several, but their basic common non-SAE features can probably be taken as representative of Common Core CE of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

6. THE RELATIONSHIP OF TOM LAMMON'S AND PETER SANTO'S SPEECH TO OTHER VARIETIES OF PIDGIN SPOKEN IN THE SOUTHWEST PACIFIC

Now that the questions of the nature and status of TL's and PS's speech have been dealt with there is one further aspect of the speech that should be looked at, even if only briefly, before leaving this material. That aspect is the question of the relationship of this speech to other varieties of Southwest Pacific pidgins and creoles, for, as was noted in the previous section, TL's and PS's speech has many features in common with these varieties. What do these similarities and differences mean historically? How are they to be accounted for?

Unfortunately it will not be possible to pursue this question in any detail for as already noted in the Introduction this is not possible given the present evidence, nor is it the primary purpose of this publication. There is, however, one interesting result that a brief look at some of these similarities and differences reveals and which may be useful in directing future research into the large question into especially fruitful lines. This result is that when some fifty or so structural features were compared in CE, Papuan Pidgin English (PPE), Solomon Islands Pidgin (SIP), New Hebridean Pidgin (or Bichelamar) (NHP) and New Guinea Pidgin (or Tok Pisin or Neo-Melanesian Pidgin) (NGP)¹ the results suggest that CE is more like PPE, then SIP, then NHP and NGP approximately equal last. This is a surprising result given earlier speculations about the relationships between these languages and what we know of the labour trade, and one therefore that invites a little further comment.

¹Features for PPE were taken from Mühlhäusler 1978; for SIP from Simons 1977 supplemented by information supplied by Ms Judy Bennett (personal communication); for NHP from Camden 1977 and Guy 1977 supplemented by information supplied by Drs J. Guy and D. Tryon (personal communication); for NGP from Mihalic 1971 and my own knowledge of the language (Dutton 1973).

The list of features compared is given in Appendix 6.

As far as CE's closer similarity to PPE is concerned I think that part of the explanation lies in the fact that the description of PPE is based on sources which contain material closely linked with CE. Thus one source was the 'Royal Commission on Recruiting Polynesian Labourers in New Guinea and Adjacent Islands' and published in *Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly*, 1885. The purpose of this inquiry was to investigate the blackbirding of large numbers of Papua New Guineans from islands in the Milne Bay area (of what was then British New Guinea and later Papua) and the larger islands of New Britain and New Ireland to the north (in what was then German New Guinea) to Queensland in 1883-1884 (Corris 1968). Evidence in this inquiry was taken from most of those who had been blackbirded and taken to Queensland as kanakas. Clearly then the language used by witnesses in this commission must largely be CE of the early 1880s and therefore not unexpectedly, little different from that recorded herein by TL and PS whose language we have suggested probably represents the later period in CE.

A second main source for PPE was Landtmann's notes on Kiwai pidgin. Chronologically this is later than CE, having been recorded in the early twentieth century. However, since Kiwai islanders went to work in the Torres Straits in the pearling and beche-de-mer industries the Pidgin English they learned there would have been a close relative of CE since these industries were also dependent on coloured labour, much of which came from the same source as that used on the canefields. Besides, there was an "appreciable movement from pearling to tropical agriculture and vice versa" (Price and Baker 1976:107) and later on some unrepatriated kanakas from the Queensland canefields went to live in the Torres Straits and remained there (Dutton 1970:140-1). Under the circumstances it is not surprising that CE and PPE show the most similarities.

The evidence from other sources is more difficult to explain but I suspect that the answer lies in the type of field officers and others who first worked in the outer areas of Papua. Some of these I know, and many more I suspect, came from Queensland where they would have picked up some knowledge of CE or, failing that, at least would have inherited the traditions and attitudes that underlay the development of CE and which they would therefore have used in establishing contact with their black Papuan charges.

The CE-SIP connection is, however, very surprising in view of the history of the labour trade and the dating of TL's and PS's speech that has been suggested above. Thus right up to the early 1890s there were

always more New Hebrideans in Queensland than there were Solomon Islanders. The trade began by importing Loyalty Islanders and New Hebrideans and it was not till the mid-1870s that Solomon Islanders were being brought in in any numbers - see Chart. By this time the trade had been in operation for ten years which should have been long enough, as already noted, for a CE pidgin to have developed and stabilised as it was in constant use by white overseers and "old chums" and imparted to "new chums" as they arrived progressively every year. Not only that but it should have been long enough for it to have developed a distinctly New Hebridean 'flavour' which should have been transmitted to one and all who came later. Why then is CE more like SIP than NHP? Obviously one (CE) or the other (NHP) or both must have changed. At the moment there is no way of telling which of these (and perhaps other) possibilities is nearest the 'truth' or if there is some other explanation. However, given that in the latter part of the trade Solomon Islanders (generally called "Marattas", a corrupted form of "Malaita", the island homeland of the largest number of Solomon Islanders that came to Queensland) increasingly outnumbered New Hebrideans - see Chart - it is possible that CE changed from a New Hebridean-flavoured one to a Solomon Island-flavoured one in Queensland during that time. If this is so then TL's and PS's speech must have changed along with it and the above assumptions about it being representative of Common Core CE must be wrong. Other possibilities are that (a) SIP has drifted closer towards SAE, and therefore CE, through pressure from English which has been taught in the Solomon Islands for a long time;¹ and (b) the material on SIP and NHP used for this quick survey is not the variety we ought to be comparing with CE. There are said to be many regional varieties of NHP in the New Hebrides and perhaps it is these that should be being compared with CE. On the other hand the whole comparison may be erroneous anyway since it is clear that we are comparing two sets of data at different time depths - 1890s CE and 1970s SIP and NHP. Time needs to be adjusted in the latter cases. But to do this will require a major research effort to ferret out from written documents the relevant material.

Finally, a word of warning to those who may be tempted to equate high degrees of similarity with closeness of genetic relationship. It may of course be so but here, where we are dealing with a set of languages all based on English the task of distinguishing between similarity due to genetic relationship (as indicated by shared innovations,

¹English has also been removed as a target in NGP's history and NHP has a competing target.

etc.) and similarity due to common borrowing and/or convergence or drift, is particularly difficult, and may in fact be impossible.¹ The case is in fact a particularly challenging one for the historical linguist.

7. CONCLUSION - THE FUTURE OF CANEFIELDS ENGLISH

A recent survey of descendants and in-laws of TL and PS indicate that CE of any form is now all but extinct - it is no longer the functional language of any group. Smatterings of it are still used by some first-generation children for certain purposes (such as parts of familiar conversation, giving orders) but mostly within the confines of the home and between members of the same family. Second generation children do not use it at all although most have a passive knowledge of some of it. They will not respond to it in public, however, feeling ashamed of it as sub-standard or 'broken' English. Most first generation informants too were reticent about admitting knowing anything about it on first meeting but did provide material later once they had satisfied themselves that it was not going to be used against them. There are some, however, that advocate a return to open use, for socio-political reasons, of the kind of English used by their parents which is reportedly similar to, if not identical with, that presented and discussed in this volume. Both kinds of attitude indicate the low status attributed to the language by the speakers and explains why it has all but disappeared so rapidly under pressure from SAE as the only accepted and acceptable language of communication in Queensland - there is no place in Queensland society for a second-class English which only serves to institutionalise inferiority, a complete contrast to Papua New Guinea, the Solomon Islands and the New Hebrides where there is no such pressure (although English is taught) and where these languages fill important social functions.

But the death of the language is interesting in view of the fact that both TL and PS married women from areas other than their own so that CE (or their variety of it) must have been their only means of communication, a fact supported by comments from their children. Under such circumstances we could expect that their children would have grown up speaking this language as their mother tongue and therefore creolising it. However, if this did happen it did not happen to all children in the same family but apparently only to the first born or so - later

¹Clark (1977) applies the comparative method to nine Pacific pidgins and creoles and shows that there is very little evidence indeed for connecting them in one way rather than another historically.

members learned SAE, they said, from their elder siblings who had themselves learned it at school. Unfortunately all of these members are now deceased so that it is no longer possible to recover any of this supposedly creolised form of CE.

In retrospect then, provided there is no change in the social situation of Pacific Islanders in Queensland it is likely that CE and its descendants will have vanished from the linguistic scene there within the next decade, and forever. Certain individual features will undoubtedly survive as markers of this ethnic group and as in-group language but few will know why or how these came to be. The story is a fascinating one but we have hardly begun to tell it as yet. It is hoped that this study will serve to keep it alive and stimulate the telling.

APPENDIX 1

Table Showing Percentages of Different South Sea Islanders in Queensland 1863-1904

This table is derived from figures given in Price and Baker (1976:110-11) and reproduced in the table in brackets.

Year	Loyalty Is	New Hebrides	Santa Cruz	Solomon Is	Other	Total Numbers
1863	—— (67)	100% ———	——			67
1864	—— (134)	100% ———	——			134
1865	—— (148)	100% ———	——			148
1866	(36)20%	(141)80%				177
1867	(329)27%	(874)71%			(34)2%	1237
1868	(280)30%	(625)66%			(33)3%	948
1869		(313)100%				313
1870	(27)4%	(607)94%			(9)2%	643
1871	(292)22%	(978)72%		(82)6%		1352
1872	(44)9%	(416)91%				461
1873	(7)1%	(987)99%				994
1874	(47)3%	(1332)89%		(124)8%		1503
1875	(5).2%	(1931)72%	(18).7%	(710)25.5%	(17).6%	2681
1876		(1575)94%		(74)4%	(39)2%	1688
1877		(1986)100%				1986
1878		(1218)83.2%	(8).5%	(232)16%	(5).3%	1463
1879		(1821)83%	(12).5%	(342)16%	(7).5%	2182
1880		(1934)96%		(61)3%		1995
1881		(1976)75%	(12).5%	(629)23.5%	(26)1%	2643
1882		(2699)86%		(440)14%		3139
1883		(2877)55%	(99)2%	(1028)21%	(1269)*24%	5273
1884		(1010)31%	(44)1%	(670)21%	(1540)*47%	3265
1885		(1379)72%	(17).8%	(516)27%	(4).2%	1916
1886		(1148)72%	(15).9%	(429)27%	(3).1%	1595
1887		(1431)72%	(18).9%	(535)26%	(4).2%	1988
1888		(1125)49%	(91)4%	(1052)46%	(23)1%	2291
1889		(1412)69%		(620)31%		2032
1890		(1294)53%		(1165)47%		2459
1891		(534)51%		(516)49%		1050
1892		(229)49%		(235)51%		464
1893		(714)63%		(416)37%		1130
1894		(806)43%		(945)51%		1859
1895		(519)40%		(577)44%		1305
1896		(359)46%		(423)54%		782
1897		(201)22%		(733)78%		934
1898		(455)39%		(721)61%		1178
1899		(674)44%		(848)56%		1522
1900		(859)49%		(884)51%		1743
1901		(530)32%		(1151)68%		1681
1902		(264)23%		(875)77%		1139
1903		(374)36%		(663)64%		1037
1904		(19)24%		(59)76%		78

* Mainly islanders from Papua New Guinea waters.

APPENDIX 2

Brief Reconstruction of Life History of Tom Lammon

Introduction

This reconstruction is based on the following sources:

- (a) an obituary 'South Sea Islander Passes on' in the *Ayr Advocate*, 20 August, 1965, p.3;
- (b) a certified copy of Tom Lammon's death certificate (No.4860);
- (c) interviews with Tom Lammon himself and published herein;
- (d) interviews with surviving members of Tom's family and associated in-laws;
- (e) an interview with Mr Brian Lynn of Farnham, Ingham, whose father before him, and who himself, subsequently, leased land to Tom and assisted him and his family in other ways for upwards of thirty years in the last decade of the nineteenth century and the first quarter of this century;
- (f) notes and information collected by Ms Trish Mercer, Department of History, Australian National University;
- (g) transcript of record of interview with Tom Lammon and wife Annie in 'Trial of Sandy Booker Booker, 1916' (Queensland State Archives A/18392).

Unfortunately no certificates or records of any kind (e.g. names of recruiting vessels on which Tom was brought out or worked on, work contracts, marriage certificate, etc.) which would provide a much needed cross-check on the oral traditions of the family as well as some datum point for dating the chief events in Tom's early life, are held by his family and none except for items (b) and (g) above has so far been located in the most likely archival repositories. The evidence that is available is reasonably internally consistent, however, although there is a gap of about six years in the early 1890s which seems to be unaccounted for.

Brief Reconstruction

If Tom's age at death was anywhere near his correct age he must have been born around 1870, and this event most probably occurred on tiny Lamenu (or Lamon) Island after which he was named when he came to Queensland - at least he spoke the dialect of this island as his mother tongue even though Epi (or Api) Island is given as his island of origin

in the few records that have been seen (e.g. (b) above).¹ He recruited to Queensland probably from a 'passage' near this island as a young man in his early teens with a number of other countrymen. That was some-time during the last quarter of last century but probably around the middle of the 1880s.² As a "new chum" he worked for a Mr Munro in the Burdekin basin, firstly as a house boy looking after the farm (or plantation (?)) animals and doing the milking, and then as a stoker looking after sugar-boiler fires in a small mill near Kalamia Mill, Ayr. He said he stayed there for one year and was then transferred to Kalamia Mill where he worked as a blacksmith's offsider for two years by the end of which time he had probably completed his first contract. If so this is probably the time that he returned home for the "year" that he said he did before signing on again for a further sojourn in Queensland.³ That must have been in the late 1880s if other dates are near the mark. What happened during the next run of years is uncertain. Tom said he returned to work at Victoria Mill (near Ingham) after his "year" at home and then later moved to Cairns where he got married having met his wife on the boat out.⁴ Unfortunately no marriage certificate is available to certify the date and place of marriage but given that Tom and his wife's first child and son, Henry (No.1) was born in the Cairns area in 1892 and the second, Louis, in the Ingham area in 1895 it would appear that he was most likely married about 1890. Whatever the time Tom and his wife then apparently stayed on in the Cairns area for some

¹This island is that shown as Lamenu Island on Map 3 herein. It is a tiny coral island just offshore of the northwest tip of Epi (or Api in some records) Island. We know Tom actually came from this island and not Epi proper, however, because it is clear from the few words that Tom gives in his mother tongue in Text 3 above that he was a speaker of the Lamenu dialect of the Lewo language on northern Epi (Tryon 1972: 62), and this dialect was only spoken on Lamenu Island itself until about the last thirty years when Lamenu Islanders began establishing garden hamlets on the coast of Epi Island opposite their own island (Tryon, personal communication).

²Of course one has to be careful about the use of oral evidence as people's memories are notoriously inaccurate when it comes to dates and times far removed from the present, but working backwards from established dates such as the birth of Tom's children and comparing that with what Tom said about himself he must have come out around the mid-1880s.

³There is only Tom's oral evidence for this so that it should be treated with caution - not the fact of his going home but the length of stay.

⁴This is Tom's story. His daughter-in-law says (personal communication), however, that he worked as a recruiting officer's offsider (perhaps acting as interpreter) on a recruiting vessel for a time (making two trips in all) and this is where he met his wife. Albeit after landing in Brisbane he said that his wife "attached" herself to him and they then came to Townsville by steamer and eventually went on to Cairns where they got married.

three years working in cane and then went back to Ingham where he eventually - it is not certain if it was soon after or later but if it was later it is not known where the family stayed before they went to Lynn's - leased land from the Lynn family at 'Farnham' near where the Gairloch Bridge still crosses the Herbert River. According to Mr Brian Lynn, the grandson of the original selector and who himself has farmed there since 1920, the Lammons lived on Farnham for 15 to 20 years working cane on about 20 acres of the farm.¹ In about 1920 Mr Brian Lynn wanted to take up sugar farming himself on 'Farnham' and so the Lammons were forced to leave. Mr Lynn and his sister owned other land further east on Four Mile Road near Victoria Mill. So feeling sorry for the Lammons he leased them 50 acres there to grow cane for eight to ten years at fifty pounds per annum.² However, when his sister wanted to sell this property (in which she was a partner) he kept ten acres aside for Tom which Tom continued to lease for one pound per annum until the family left for Ayr in about 1930.

In Ayr Tom and his family lived on Plantation Creek and were joined by the Henaways (who were from Ayr but had been away temporarily) and Backho families from Halifax, near Ingham, all New Hebrideans and inter-related through marriage. Tom lived in Ayr until his death on 11 August 1965.³

Tom only ever married once and his wife's name was Anita Bukabuka (or Booka Booka) who was known variously as Annie or Netta.⁴ As far as is known she was from Buka or Toga or South Island in the Torres Group, New Hebrides and was also brought out to Queensland as an indentured labourer although she was apparently mostly employed as a domestic servant where she learned to cook very well. She and Tom had five children spaced out fairly evenly over a period of fifteen years between 1892 and 1907. Two of these died before marrying, through misadventure - the first Henry (No.1), at about three years old, and the

¹This would appear to be supported by Colonial Sugar Refining Company records which show that Tom was supplying Victoria Mill with cane from twenty acres in 1914. In fact in April 1919 he was described therein as one of Victoria Mill's long-term growers, his estimated tonnage of cane per year being 150 (Trish Mercer, personal communication).

²Colonial Sugar Refining Company records show that Tom's lease on Farnham expired on 31.12.1919 and that he was granted a new lease for the same acreage on land adjoining the Victoria-Lucinda tramline (Trish Mercer, personal communication).

³His death certificate shows his age as 96 years at death but this must be based on oral evidence as Tom's birthdate is not known by anyone and was presumably never recorded in the New Hebrides given the primitive conditions prevailing there at the time Tom was born.

⁴The author of the *Ayr Advocate* obituary claimed that her name was Wagonet but neither her daughter nor daughter-in-law can remember ever having heard this name before.

last, Francis, at sixteen. The remaining three, Louis (or Lewis), Henry (No.2) and Nora,¹ were married and have sixteen children most of whom are still living in different parts of Queensland.² Annie (or Netta) Lammon died in 1955 while living with her daughter Nora in Nambour.

Tom was a very religious man and early in life joined the Anglican Church, firstly apparently that run by Padre Smith in Cairns³ and subsequently that run by Mr and Mrs Pritt at Gairloch near Ingham. He was some kind of lay preacher or catechist there and learned to read and write to a very limited degree. Relatives say that he could read the Bible and write his name but that he could not read the newspaper nor write letters. According to the *Ayr Advocate* article he was "earnest in his church duties as well as fervent in his street witness with the Assemblies (of God) in the street meetings in Ayr." Mr Lynn also commented that he always tried to practise what he preached and would never swear at an annoying horse for example, but would simply call it rabish hos.

¹Three of the children also had 'Island' (or New Hebridean) names. Louis was known as Nokova or 'crane' because of his habit of standing on one leg. Nora as Roaha, whose meaning is not known, and Frances as Roboro, whose meaning again is not known. Henry No.2 also probably had an island name but it is not now remembered. These names are thought to have come from the Torres Island language spoken by Anita, the children's mother. Apparently island name-giving was quite a common practice amongst South Sea Island families in Queensland but little is known about the practice. For other aspects of island culture imported into Queensland and kept alive there see Mercer and Moore 1978.

²Louis was born in 1895 and married twice. His first wife was Emile, a South Sea Islander from Innisfail with whom he had two children, Frances Henry and Lewis. When Emile died Louis remarried. His second wife was Agnes May Meuban who bore him three children, Majorie, Joan and Lillian who have all since married and live in the Mackay and Nambour areas. Louis died in about 1938 and his second wife, Agnes, still lives at Eumundi.

Henry No.2 was born in 1897 or 1898 at Gairloch. He married Rhoda Mary Backo of New Hebridean descent from Halifax nearby. They had five children, June, Ruth, Thomas, Peter and John. Of these June and Ruth are married and Thomas and John were killed in accidents. Henry died about four years ago. Rhoda lives in Ayr.

Nora Madeline was born in 1903 at Fairford near Gairloch and married Ernst Henry Byquar of Malaitan descent in Ingham. Nora and Ernie have had seven children, four boys and three girls. These are (in order of birth days) Leslie, Noel, Valrie, Desmond, Victor, Merle and Noela. Nora and Ernie still live in Nambour and all of the children, except Leslie, who was drowned, and Noel, who is in the Army in Adelaide, live in southern Queensland.

³There is only Tom's oral evidence on this as I have not been able to confirm this with church or any other records to date.

The following time chart shows the principal dates in Tom's life as herein reconstructed:

New Hebrides	-1870?	Born, Lammon Is, Epi, central New Hebrides
Burdekin	-mid-1880s	Recruited to Queensland on first contract. Worked for Mr Munro and at Kalamia Mill, Burdekin basin. Knew no English
New Hebrides	-late-1880s	End of first contract. Repatriated to Lammon Is
Burdekin	-late-1880s	Returned to Queensland. Worked as labour recruiter's offsider on recruiting vessels and as labourer at Victoria Mill
Cairns	-1890?	Married Anita Bukabuka in Cairns
	-1892	Henry No.1 born (d.1895)
	-c.1893	Moved to Ingham area. Leased land from Lynns
	-1895	Louis born (d. c.1938)
Herbert	-1897 or 1898	Henry No.2 born (d. c.1974)
	-1903	Nora born
	-1907	Frances born (d. 24.2.1923)
	-1920	Family moved to Four Mile Road, Victoria Estates. Leased new land from Lynns
Burdekin	-c.1930	Moved to Ayr
	-1955	Anita dies in Nambour
	-1965	Died in Ayr 11.8.65 aged about 96 years

The following photographs record aspects of Tom's life:



PLATE No.1: Tom as a Catechist in Gairloch Church, Ingham, c.1920



PLATE No.2: Tom at Home in May 1964

APPENDIX 3

Brief Reconstruction of Life History of Peter Santo

Introduction

This reconstruction is based on the following sources:

- (a) an obituary 'The Last Kanaka' in the *Ayr Advocate*, 1st April, 1966, p.15;
- (b) a certified copy of Peter's marriage certificate (No.44935);
- (c) a certified copy of Peter's death certificate (No.2982);
- (d) interviews with his son Peter still living in Ayr;
- (e) comments by relatives of Tom Lammon, a former close friend of Peter's;
- (f) notes and information collected by Ms Trish Mercer, Department of History, Australian National University.

Unfortunately no other certificates or records of any kind (e.g. names of boats on which Peter came out to Queensland, contract papers, etc.) of Peter's life are held by the family. Unfortunately too the other evidence so far obtained is not very extensive nor detailed and is sometimes conflicting, so that it is not possible to give any more than the barest outline of his life. A search for photographs has also so far been unsuccessful.

Brief Reconstruction

Peter (or Jimmy, as he is sometimes referred to) Santo was apparently born on the island of Espiritu Santo (or simply Santo or Sando), the largest island of the New Hebrides group - see Map 3.¹ Just where on this island he was born, however, it is not now possible to say as no documents giving this information, or from which this can be deduced, have been located as yet, and no one ever recorded anything of his native language, one of twenty-nine possible ones spoken on Espiritu Santo.² For the same reasons it is not possible to say exactly when he

¹This information is not only contained in both his marriage and death certificates (see items (b) and (c) above) and in his application for exemption from the Sugar Cultivation Act of 1913, but is also indicated by his name since it was common practice to name new recruits after their island of origin as is also noted in Tom Lammon's case discussed in Appendix 2 above.

²It may well be possible to narrow down the possibilities, however, if the clue that is contained in the following quote from his obituary is followed up:

"About a year ago, Peter Santo was thrilled to hear from a minister, from the New Hebrides, that the plot of ground owned by him has now built upon it a fine Presbyterian Church."

was born, although given that he was between sixteen and twenty years old when he arrived in Queensland in about 1888 he must have been born between about 1865 and 1870.¹ If so he was somewhere between ninety-five and one hundred years old when he died and not the 105 years shown on his death certificate or the 110 years suggested by one of the authors of his obituary in the *Ayr Advocate*.² Whatever his true age, however, he spent all but the first sixteen to twenty years in Queensland never once having returned to his homeland.

What happened when Peter got to Queensland is also unclear but part of the family tradition is that he jumped ship in Brisbane and made his own arrangements for working in the canefields up the Queensland coast. Another part of the tradition suggests that he recruited to Fairymead plantation near Bundaberg and "worked dilligently, being personally attached to the mill manager, Mr Young, in those early years" (*Ayr Advocate* 1966:15). Even so he seems to have spent most, if not all, of his working life in the canefields either working as a field labourer or in a local mill.³ During this time he seems to have gradually moved northwards through almost the whole sugar belt having worked at the following locations (but not necessarily in the order indicated):

Young's Fairymead Plantation, Bundaberg
 Jack Walker's "Knockroe" Plantation, Isis
 John Ruddy's farm, Childers
 Gibson's Bingera Plantation, Bundaberg
 Buderim Mill, Nambour
 Yeppoon Plantation, Rockhampton
 Seaforth Mill, Ayr
 Goondi Mill, Innisfail
 Cordelia and/or Macnade Mill, Ingham

¹In his application for exemption from the Sugar Cultivation Act of 1913 Peter said that he came to Queensland in "about 1888" and was "about 45" years old (Trish Mercer, personal communication).

²There is wide variation in claims about Peter's age at death due no doubt to the lack of family records and the universal difficulty of judging people's ages correctly. His death certificate, for example, shows him as being 105 years at death. His marriage certificate on the other hand suggests he was only 83 as he was then (that is, on the day of his marriage, 17.1.1923) supposedly only 40 years old. Clearly this latter claim cannot be true since Peter would otherwise have only been old enough to have been recruited at about the turn of the century which is against the date suggested by all other evidence.

³His application for exemption from the Sugar Cultivation Act of 1913 shows that he was a mill hand at Macknade Mill and also cut cane for a living in the early nineteen teens (Trish Mercer, personal communication).

On 17.1.1923 he married Mrs Amy (or Amie) Meredith, a widow whose first husband, Mr Jack Malaita, was a Solomon Islander,¹ and in the early thirties, or thereabouts, the family moved to Ayr and settled on Plantation Creek where many other New Hebridean families also settled, including Tom Lammon. Here he did casual labouring jobs in and around Ayr and grew fresh vegetables and bananas which he sold in Ayr. Unlike Tom Lammon he apparently never leased property nor grew cane for himself.

Peter and Amy had three children, two boys and a girl: Peter, Rosie and Richard. According to son Peter, Rosie died of meningitis at about ten years old and Richard at birth. Peter (Jr) was born in Ingham in 1925 and married Lillian Puller in Ayr in 1944. Peter (Jr) and Lillian have had thirteen or fourteen children, some of whom now live in the Caboolture area of southern Queensland.² Peter (Jr)'s three step sisters - Lottie, Mertyl, and Phillis, the only children Amy had to her first husband - are also all married and live in different parts of Queensland.³ Amy died in Rockhampton in 1964 and Peter in Ayr on 27.3.66.

The following time chart shows the principal dates in Peter's life as herein reconstructed:

Santo Is	[-1865-1870(?)	Born, Espiritu Santo Island, New Hebrides
		-c.1888	Came to Queensland. Worked in the sugar industry in the following areas: Bundaberg, Childers, Nambour, Rockhampton, Ayr, Innisfail, Ingham
Queensland	[-17.1.23	Married Amy Meredith (nee Wathaken) in Ingham
		-1930(?)	Moved to Ayr. Did odd jobs and grew food for sale
		-1964	Wife Amy died in Rockhampton
		-27.3.66	Died in Ayr aged about 100 years

¹Peter (Jr) said his mother's maiden name was Brown and this is the name that appears on Peter (Sr)'s death certificate although it is shown as Meredith on the marriage certificate. Her maiden name was Amy Wathaken (spelt variously as Watkin, Wattaken, Wathaken) and she was part-Aboriginal and part-South Sea Islander who was born in Townsville about 1894.

²Peter (Jr) is not sure of the exact number as he could only name thirteen (born in the following order): Coral, Rhonda, Phillip, Simon, Treena, Gloria, Peter, Joe, Josephine (deceased), Melinda, Nancy, Lillian, and Marcia.

³Peter (Jr) is generally known as Peter Malaita because he went to school with his step sisters whose surname was Malaita.

APPENDIX 4

A Complete Listing of the Vocabulary used
by Tom Lammon in his Texts 1-4

a [in pi:sh a mit]	<i>of</i>	TL4/36
a [v. ai]		
a (handed)	<i>a/one (hundred)</i>	TL1/27,30;TL2/42;TL3/42,90
-a [in wata yu won?]	<i>do</i>	TL2/44
a	<i>are</i> <i>they're(?)</i>	TL1/31;TL3/36 TL3/55
a --, a:	<i>ah (hesitation)</i>	TL1/23 ...
a [in dzas a seim]	<i>the</i>	TL3/69 ...
a	<i>at(?)</i>	TL3/47
æbriwan [v. ebræræbodi]		
ada	<i>other</i>	TL3/84
agen,geni,ægen	<i>again</i>	TL4/8,12,17,77,78,107
ai	<i>I</i>	TL1/15,24,32 ... TL2/1,3,4,15;TL3/18, 26,33 ... TL4/6,10,11,15,20 ...
ækis,æks	<i>axe</i>	TL3/37,38
along	<i>to, in</i>	TL2/55,TL3/110
æn,æn,an,ænə,ə	<i>and</i>	TL1/28;TL2/13,18,27,33,44;TL3/61,98; TL4/39,49,56,62,67 ...
andastæn,anistæn	<i>understand</i>	TL2/67;TL3/4,11,103
ap	<i>up</i>	TL2/12;TL4/8,10,15
araun	<i>around</i>	TL1/3
as	<i>us</i>	TL4/47
askim,askem	<i>ask</i>	TL1/25,26,57;TL2/44,52;TL3/35;TL4/67
au(long),hau	<i>how (long)</i>	TL1/34
aus	<i>house</i>	TL1/4
ausaid	<i>outside</i>	TL2/18
æving	<i>having</i>	TL3/90
bæd	<i>bad</i>	TL4/52
badik	<i>paddock</i>	TL2/14
baim,peim	<i>buy,</i>	TL4/67,90
baimbai	<i>later, future tense</i>	TL1/27;TL2/15,26,27,66;TL4/56,64,110
Bandabæg	<i>Bundaberg</i>	TL4/6
banana	<i>bananas</i>	TL3/50,51,52,61
bæng	<i>bang!</i>	TL2/39
bat	<i>but</i>	TL1/14;TL4/5,36
baul	<i>fowl</i>	TL3/107
be	<i>be</i>	TL1/27

bə: d, bəd	<i>bird</i>	TL3/109, 110
bek	<i>back</i>	TL2/13; TL4/57
bele, beri, beli(?)	<i>very</i>	TL1/14; TL2/30; TL4/42, 52
bəlong	<i>at, in</i>	TL2/24
berebən(?)	?	TL4/3
bet	<i>bed</i>	TL4/43, 45
beta	<i>better</i>	TL1/77
bi	<i>be (quick)</i>	TL3/64
big	<i>big</i>	TL2/5, 19, 20, 26, 30, 39; TL3/78, 85, 116; TL4/4, 36, 38, 98
bigpla, bigbla, bigfəla	<i>big</i>	TL2/9, 27; TL4/6
Biktorija, Biktorie	<i>Victoria</i>	TL4/12, 13, 56, 107
bili	<i>Billy</i>	TL3/2, 9, 10 ...
bilikan	<i>billycan</i>	TL3/73
bi long, blong, blo	<i>belong to, of (possession)</i>	TL3/33, 92, 120; TL4/96
bin	<i>have been (living) in</i>	TL1/35; TL4/6
bin	<i>past tense</i>	TL1/85
bishop	<i>bishop</i>	TL4/94
blæksmit	<i>blacksmith</i>	TL2/36, 37
blankit	<i>blanket</i>	TL4/46, 47, 49
blong, blo [v. bilong]		
boil	<i>boil (v)</i>	TL2/25
boiləm	<i>boil (v)</i>	TL2/24, 27, 28
bois	<i>boys</i>	TL2/68
bredpudn, bredpudin	<i>bread-pudding</i>	TL1/63, 65, 78; TL4/101
bring, bringim, pringim	<i>bring</i>	TL2/12; TL3/51, 57, 88
bruməm	<i>broom (v), sweep</i>	TL4/43
-d	<i>would</i>	TL1/27
da	<i>the</i>	TL4/80
da	<i>don't</i>	TL1/14, 24, 32 ... TL2/3, 4; TL3/18, 26, 33 ...
dai	<i>die</i>	TL1/47, 55; TL4/56, 107
dak	<i>duck (n)</i>	TL3/105, 110
dat, dət, lət	<i>that</i>	TL1/11, 15, 22, 29; TL2/4, 18, 22, 30, 37, 41; TL3/1, 2, 28, 39, 43 ... TL4/6, 55, 70, 81 ...
dəts	<i>that's</i>	TL2/60
daun	<i>down</i>	TL1/10, 18; TL2/28; TL3/50; TL4/73
de, dea, de:, le	<i>there</i>	TL1/31, 78; TL2/20, 61; TL3/42; TL4/7, 10, 14, 21, 26
də	<i>do</i>	TL2/41
dei	<i>they</i>	TL4/46, 65, 80, 110
dei	<i>day</i>	TL1/72; TL3/111

dempla	<i>those</i>	TL3/120
den	<i>then</i>	TL2/13,38,45;TL4/110
diprn	<i>different</i>	TL3/6,7,34,67
dis	<i>this</i>	TL1/19,29;TL2/23,27,54,69;TL3/113,120;TL4/6,8,20,43,45,53,106,110
distaim	<i>at this time, at the moment</i>	TL1/1
do,don	<i>don't (imperative)</i>	TL3/3,52,62
do:ta	<i>daughter</i>	TL3/98
du	<i>do</i>	TL3/39
duing	<i>doing</i>	TL3/36
dzəsəs	<i>just</i>	TL4/32
dzes (a sem),dzəsaseim, dzasaseim	<i>just the same</i>	TL3/13,69,71,73,83
dzəs laiki	<i>just like</i>	TL4/5
e:	<i>Ayr</i>	TL4/20
ə	<i>there(?)</i>	TL2/33
ebrərəbodi,əbribodi, əbriwan	<i>everybody</i>	TL4/36,48,65
əf,if,ibi,em	<i>if</i>	TL3/55,56,58,62,72
ei	<i>they</i>	TL1/70;TL4/110
ei	<i>eh?</i>	TL1/80
eit	<i>eight</i>	TL4/3
eiti	<i>eighty</i>	TL1/36
eka,heka	<i>acres</i>	TL4/70,71
en	<i>and</i>	TL2/6,15
eni	<i>any into</i>	TL3/84,104;TL4/61 TL4/20
eniwani	<i>anyone</i>	TL4/60
et(a wei)	<i>that way</i>	TL4/15
faif,faiw	<i>five</i>	TL1/45;TL4/3
fə	<i>for</i>	TL1/65
finish	<i>finish (v) completed aspect</i>	TL4/9,10,64 TL1/82
fish	<i>fish</i>	TL3/115
fishi	<i>fishes</i>	TL3/120
fo:l	<i>fall</i>	TL1/18
gadi	<i>have (got) to</i>	TL4/72
gavamani,kabman	<i>government</i>	TL4/58,59
gen	<i>again</i>	TL2/13,66
givəm	<i>keep give</i>	TL1/41 TL1/79
givim	<i>give</i>	TL2/59,61;TL4/49,71

giv,givi	<i>give</i>	TL4/31,47
go,gou,ko	<i>go</i>	TL1/11,69,85,86;TL2/15,25,26,27,31 ... TL3/10,14,15,17,18 ... TL4/8,10,11, 15 ...
go go go go	<i>will become/reach (a hundred)</i>	TL1/30
go aut	<i>go off (to work)</i>	TL2/9,59
go bek/bæk	<i>go back</i>	TL4/51,64,107
go katim	<i>go and cut</i>	TL2/61
gol	<i>gold</i>	TL4/54
gona	<i>going to V</i>	TL3/39
got	<i>got</i>	TL3/42
grabim aut	<i>grub out</i>	TL4/73
gras	<i>grass</i>	TL4/77,82
gri:n,grin	<i>green</i>	TL3/52,54,55,62
gro	<i>grow (v.intr.)</i>	TL2/66
groëm	<i>grow (v.tr.)</i>	TL4/67
gud	<i>good</i>	TL1/74;TL3/43;TL4/42
gus,ku:s	<i>goose</i>	TL3/106,111
(no)gut	<i>(no) good</i>	TL1/1,60
hab,hævem,hævim	<i>have</i>	TL4/55,56,106
hai	<i>high</i>	TL2/65
halapim	<i>help</i>	TL2/37
halo	<i>hullo</i>	TL4/26
hama	<i>hammer (n)</i>	TL2/39
handed	<i>hundred</i>	TL1/27,30
hapbishop	<i>half-bishop</i>	TL4/93
hara	<i>harrow (n)</i>	TL4/76,77
hariap	<i>hurry up</i>	TL3/65
hau	<i>how</i>	TL3/12,39,40;TL4/103
hau hol	<i>how old</i>	TL1/26,40,42
hau long	<i>how long</i>	TL1/35;TL2/34
hau mash	<i>how much</i>	TL4/50
hau meni	<i>how many</i>	TL4/44,68
haus	<i>house</i>	TL2/7,12;TL4/41,42
heka [v. eka]		
hem	<i>one (pronoun)</i>	TL3/92
Heneri	<i>Henry</i>	TL3/14
hi	<i>it, he(?)</i>	TL1/72
hi, i	<i>he</i>	TL4/5,61
hia	<i>here</i>	TL1/60;TL2/6,24,64;TL4/8,9,56,63,107
his	<i>his</i>	TL3/44

ho	<i>hoe</i>	TL1/7;TL4/82
hol	<i>(how) old</i>	TL1/26,40
hosis	<i>horses</i>	TL12/11
hoom	<i>home, at the house</i>	TL1/73,82,85;TL2/10,58;TL3/57,121; TL4/8,9,10,11 ...
hu	<i>who (interr.)</i>	TL1/79;TL4/26
i	<i>he</i>	TL1/30,61,67,73,82,85,86 ... TL2/7, 8,27 ... TL3/10,15,28 ... TL4/5,6,8 ...
	<i>she</i>	TL1/58,59,66;TL4/93,96
	<i>it</i>	TL1/13,14,15,67;TL2/15,18,19,25 ... TL4/36,38,42 ...
	<i>we</i>	TL3/75
	<i>they</i>	TL2/2,9,16,51,61,68;TL3/110,112;TL4/ 81,87 ...
	<i>one (subject)</i>	TL2/26
	<i>it's</i>	TL3/34,54,56
	<i>his</i>	TL3/32
	<i>is</i>	TL3/44,45,87
ia,hia	<i>here</i>	TL3/109,127
ibi	<i>if</i>	TL3/52
in,en(i),n	<i>in(to)</i>	TL2/25;TL4/41,80,97,98,99,100
inap (lo)	<i>enough (for/to)</i>	TL4/37
ingəm,ingm,inghem,inhim	<i>Ingham</i>	TL4/13,17,18,56,107
Inglish	<i>English</i>	TL3/8
is	<i>is</i>	TL4/110
it	<i>eat</i>	TL3/76
ka	<i>cær</i>	TL1/71
kadim	<i>cut (v)</i>	TL3/50,52,59,61
kadim(?)	<i>have got to(?)</i>	TL4/76
kain a	<i>kind of</i>	TL1/41
kam	<i>come</i>	TL1/59,73,82;TL2/1,28,43;TL3/29,30; TL4/8,9,86,87 ...
kamap	<i>come up to</i>	TL1/59;TL2/6;TL4/20,55,58,96
kamaut	<i>come out to</i>	TL1/39;TL2/54
kam bek/bæk	<i>come back, return</i>	TL4/8,11,12,17,20,107
kan(i),kant	<i>can't</i>	TL1/2,5,9,16,17,22,35;TL3/84;TL4/20, 22,30,103
kantri,kantəri,kantere	<i>country, place</i>	TL1/35,39;TL2/2,40,54,69;TL3/32,120; TL4/8,20,106
kantrimæn	<i>countryman, compatriot</i>	TL4/60
karim,kadim	<i>cut (v)</i>	TL2/64;TL3/55
kære	<i>carry(?)</i>	TL2/26
kæri	<i>get</i>	TL4/90

kərim	<i>catch, get on a boat</i>	TL4/98
kəriim	<i>get</i>	TL4/48
kəriu(?)	<i>carry(?)</i>	TL2/29
kas	<i>cost (v)</i>	TL4/67
kat, katim, kadim	<i>cut (v)</i>	TL2/59; TL4/18, 71, 73, 82
katim ap	<i>cut up</i>	TL4/36
kau	<i>cows</i>	TL2/11
kaunim	<i>count</i>	TL4/30
kəim	<i>came(?)</i>	TL4/107
kein	<i>cane</i>	TL2/59; TL4/67, 90
kein naif	<i>cane knife</i>	TL2/59, 61; TL3/77
kəl	<i>cool (v)</i>	TL2/25
ken	<i>can (v)</i>	TL4/43, 61
kenis, kens	<i>Cairns</i>	TL4/15, 16, 99, 100
kerasin	<i>kerosine</i>	TL3/71
kibm	<i>kept (me)</i>	TL2/7
kids	<i>kids</i>	TL3/92
king	<i>king</i>	TL4/55, 56, 106
kleimia	<i>Kalamia Mill</i>	TL4/9, 28
klin	<i>clean (adj)</i>	TL4/74
klinəpəla(?)	<i>?</i>	TL2/18
klinum, klinim	<i>clean (v)</i>	TL4/71, 72
klos	<i>clothes</i>	TL4/90
klosap	<i>near, close to</i>	TL2/21, 22
kolim, koləm, kodim, kolm, kola	<i>call(ed)</i>	TL2/2, 41, 63; TL3/66, 68, 69, 70, 72, 77; TL4/23, 24, 58, 86, 87
krasən taim	<i>crushing time</i>	TL2/15
kuk	<i>cooked</i>	TL4/36
kukum	<i>cook (v)</i>	TL4/103
kwik	<i>quick</i>	TL3/64
kwi:n	<i>queen</i>	TL4/56, 106
laik, lak	<i>just like</i>	TL2/18, 27; TL3/29, 116; TL4/43, 53, 76, 94
laik	<i>is like want to</i>	TL1/29 TL4/61
laikim	<i>like (v)</i>	TL4/101, 104
lan	<i>learn</i>	TL2/69
lən	<i>land (v)</i>	TL4/96
ləngwish, lanwish, lanwidz	<i>language</i>	TL2/40, 41, 42; TL3/2, 33, 34
laptshik	<i>dabchick</i>	TL3/112
las	<i>last</i>	TL1/88, 89
læt [v. dæt]		

le	<i>there</i>	TL4/10
leitam(?)	<i>?</i>	T2/15
leitli	<i>lately(?)</i>	TL1/11
len(i)	<i>then</i>	TL2/23,26,27,28,29
leni, then, əlen, e(m)	<i>then</i>	TL4/8,10,11,49,56,76,77
letim	<i>let</i>	TL2/25,26
lilibit	<i>little bit, not much</i>	TL1/3
liptimap	<i>lift up</i>	TL2/39
liv	<i>live (v)</i>	TL3/47
long, lo, longa, lə, əlo	<i>at</i>	TL1/41; TL3/21; TL4/6,18,37,55,70,80,81,82,86 ...
	<i>to</i>	TL2/12,13
	<i>in</i>	TL1/3,4,25; TL2/7,16,25
	<i>into</i>	TL2/26,27,28
	<i>for(?)</i>	TL1/27
lo:ng	<i>(how) long</i>	TL1/34,35
longwei	<i>distant</i>	TL4/16
lou(daun)	<i>low down</i>	TL2/66
lui	<i>Louis</i>	TL4/26
luk	<i>look, see</i>	TL1/13
lukaut	<i>see</i>	TL1/25
	<i>look after</i>	TL2/11
	<i>keep an eye on</i>	TL2/63
magas	<i>magasse</i>	TL2/29
mai	<i>my</i>	TL1/55,83; TL2/2,40; TL3/46,97; TL4/60,90,93
maita, mait, maia	<i>might be, maybe</i>	TL1/56; TL4/38,48
maiwad	<i>my word, gee, gosh</i>	TL1/60
mæn	<i>man</i>	TL1/61; TL2/5,7,27; TL3/85,87; TL4/4,5,6,23,24,30,58,60,61,67,84,85,107,110
	<i>men</i>	TL2/9
man(?)	<i>Man!</i>	TL1/19
mandaro, manro	<i>(Mr) Munro</i>	TL4/23,24
mani	<i>money</i>	TL4/50,53,67,89,90
manis	<i>months</i>	TL4/51
marika	<i>Americans</i>	TL1/28,29
marit	<i>married (v)</i>	TL4/95
mashin	<i>machine</i>	TL3/42,43
matshisis	<i>matches</i>	TL3/72
meibi	<i>maybe</i>	TL1/56
mekim, mekəm, meikim	<i>make</i>	TL1/22,63,66; TL2/16; TL4/43,74
meni	<i>(how) many</i>	TL1/44

Merabara	<i>Maryborough</i>	TL4/6
meri	<i>woman</i>	TL4/84,85
mi	<i>I</i>	TL1/2,3,5,9,10 ... TL2/5,6,10,11 ... TL3/12,30,33;TL4/9,17,18,28,48 ...
	<i>me</i>	TL1/22,25,70,86;TL2/7,15,38,52;TL3/29; TL4/36,50,70,71,93,95
	<i>as for me</i>	TL1/1,65;TL4/8
mil	<i>mill</i>	TL2/18,19,20,30;TL4/10,80
mi:l	<i>meal</i>	TL4/37
milkim	<i>milk</i>	TL2/13
ministe	<i>minister</i>	TL4/93
minit	<i>minute</i>	TL2/42;TL4/23
mipəla	<i>we (excl.)</i>	TL3/124,125
mis	<i>miss(?)</i>	TL1/10
mista	<i>Mr, mister</i>	TL4/24
mit	<i>meat</i>	TL4/35,36
mo	<i>more</i>	TL1/56;TL4/49,63
mo(?)beta	<i>better</i>	TL1/77
n	<i>and</i>	TL2/51
nabaut along	<i>around in</i>	TL3/110,111;TL4/70,71
nada,anada	<i>another</i>	TL1/27;TL2/25;TL3/28,29,30,106,125; TL4/14,65,110
naif	<i>knife</i>	TL3/78
nainti-paif	<i>ninety-five</i>	TL1/23,24,26
nait	<i>night</i>	TL1/72
namo,nomo	<i>any more</i> <i>no!</i>	TL1/6,7,13;TL3/67;TL4/19,20 TL1/8
nathing,nating	<i>nothing, anything</i>	TL1/5;TL3/22
nau	<i>now (in historical present), then</i>	TL1/24,47,55;TL2/25,27,28,33;TL3/9, 76,92,122;TL4/5,6,8,18,19,21 ...
neim	<i>name</i>	TL3/44,45,46
neva	<i>never</i>	TL1/59
ni:	<i>knee</i>	TL1/11
Niu Gini	<i>New Guinea</i>	TL3/3
no,nou	<i>know</i>	TL1/3,11,14,24 ... TL2/3,4,27,30; TL3/3,18,26 ... TL4/5,13,16 ...
	<i>no!</i>	TL1/21,51,68,81;TL2/17;TL3/3;TL4/17, 92,96
	<i>no (adj)</i>	TL1/71;TL4/53,55,56
	<i>do not</i>	TL1/14,40,41,67;TL2/8,17,20,30,50; TL3/4,29,33,79,103;TL4/5,42,45,67, 81,106
nogut	<i>no good, bad, terrible</i>	TL1/1,60,74
nomo [v. namo]		

not	<i>won't</i>	TL3/55
noubodi ,nobodì	<i>nobody</i>	TL1/70;TL4/96
o	<i>all</i>	TL2/29
	<i>or</i>	TL1/36,56;TL3/17,31,52,54;TL4/90
o:	<i>oh</i>	TL1/1,2 ...
obasia	<i>overseer</i>	TL2/63
ol,o:l	<i>all</i>	TL1/72;TL2/60;TL3/77(?),111,127;TL4/7,18,21,43,54,60,63,73 ...
ol	<i>old</i>	TL4/5
olgetha,o:lgete, o:lgetha,oltgetha, oldegeda,olgetha	<i>all, everyone</i>	TL1/25,47;TL2/9,51,67;TL3/100,127; TL4/107
olsem	<i>just the same</i>	TL3/66,92,100,118,122
onli,oni,one	<i>only</i>	TL1/3,39,48;TL2/6,11,59;TL3/120;TL4/36,45,51,66,67,90,96,106
openim,opènim	<i>open</i>	TL2/18,23
orait	<i>all right, okay, then</i> (conjunction)	TL1/77;TL2/13,15,24,25,31,38,59;TL3/9, 90;TL4/65,68,71,74 ...
ov	<i>of</i>	TL4/61
ova	<i>over</i>	TL1/55,56
pablik aus	<i>pub, hotel</i>	TL1/72
paia	<i>fire (n)</i>	TL2/37
paiawut	<i>firewood</i>	TL1/6
pairap	<i>set fire to</i>	TL2/16,24,29
paiv	<i>five</i>	TL1/27
pa:m	<i>farm</i>	TL4/18,67
pastaim	<i>first</i>	TL2/29;TL4/7,9,106
paun	<i>pound</i>	TL4/51
pe,pei	<i>pay, wages, money</i>	TL4/50,64
peim,baim	<i>buy</i>	TL4/67,89
pèteita,pateita	<i>potato</i>	TL4/33,38
pidzin	<i>pigeon, bird</i>	TL3/108
pigaièn	<i>pig iron</i>	TL2/38
pinish	<i>finish</i> completive aspect	TL2/27,28,30;TL4/64 TL2/13
pi:s(i),pi:sh	<i>piece</i>	TL4/36
pish,fish	<i>fish</i>	TL3/115,116
plai	<i>fly (n)</i>	TL3/81
plau,plaum,plauməm	<i>plough (v)</i>	TL4/74,76,77
plenti	<i>many, plenty</i>	TL1/28;TL4/39,40,68,70,75,79,82,85
ples	<i>place</i>	TL2/16,25;TL4/7,74,86,87
plo	<i>floor</i>	TL4/43
ploim	<i>blow (v)</i>	TL2/27

po	<i>for</i>	TL3/16,21,22,23;TL4/36
	<i>four</i>	TL4/3
	<i>pour</i>	TL2/27
poi la	<i>boiler</i>	TL2/17
poiləm	<i>boil (v)</i>	TL2/38
poks	<i>box</i>	TL3/82
pol	<i>fall</i>	TL1/10
pred	<i>bread</i>	TL4/32
Prisben, Brisben	<i>Brisbane</i>	TL4/96,97
prm	<i>from</i>	TL2/1
Pukabuka	<i>Bukabuka</i>	TL4/86
pulim	<i>pull</i>	TL4/76,78
putum, purum, putəm	<i>put</i>	TL2/15,29;TL4/9,110
raip	<i>ripe</i>	TL3/52,56
rais	<i>rice</i>	TL4/34
rait	<i>right</i>	TL1/89;TL3/53,54;TL4/88
reik	<i>rake (n)</i>	TL4/76
rekim(aut)	<i>rake (out)</i>	TL4/77
rere	<i>ready</i>	TL2/38
rimemba	<i>remember</i>	TL1/35
rut	<i>roots</i>	TL4/73
-s	<i>is</i>	TL1/77,89
sabi	<i>savvy, understand</i>	TL4/103
sam	<i>some</i>	TL2/68;TL3/50,109,110;TL4/32,62
sambodi	<i>somebody</i>	TL3/92;TL4/26
sampela	<i>some</i>	TL1/26
samtam	<i>sometimes</i>	TL1/11,18
samting	<i>something</i>	TL1/36;TL2/18,55
samwe	<i>somewhere</i>	TL2/21
san	<i>son</i>	TL3/96,97
sapim	<i>chop (wood)</i>	TL1/6
se, sei	<i>say, says</i>	TL1/27,32,58;TL2/42,43,44 ... TL3/12,24,75;TL4/60,61,62,64,67 ...
seken	<i>second (adj)</i>	TL4/8
sem	<i>same</i>	TL3/13,69,71,73,83
sesi(?)	<i>change(?)</i>	TL4/107
seven	<i>seven</i>	TL4/3
ship	<i>ship</i>	TL4/96
shipin	<i>chip (cane) (v)</i>	TL4/82
Shosh	<i>George</i>	TL4/109
shuga	<i>sugar</i>	TL2/16,24;TL3/68;TL4/39

shuga bol	<i>sugar bowl(?)</i>	TL2/27
shuga bola	<i>sugar boiler</i>	TL2/27
shugakein	<i>sugarcane</i>	TL4/18,81,82
si,si:,siim	<i>see (v)</i>	TL1/12,24,41;TL3/76,100,121;TL4/43,82
sik	<i>sick</i>	TL1/73
siks,sikis	<i>six</i>	TL4/3,51;TL1/55,56;TL4/3,51
sim	<i>steam (v)</i>	TL2/25
singaut	<i>call out</i>	TL2/38
smol,smal	<i>small, little</i>	TL2/30;TL4/38
so	<i>so, thus</i>	TL1/84
sou	<i>so, thus</i>	TL4/20
spos,bos	<i>suppose, if</i>	TL3/58
stæn(dap),stanap, stan(?)	<i>stand (up)</i>	TL1/9,15,17,18;TL3/12;TL4/61
stap	<i>live, remain, be in a place</i>	TL1/27,30,48;TL2/10,18,30,33;TL4/11, 12,13,18,21,56,61,62,63,66,107
stei	<i>stay</i>	TL2/34
stiki	<i>stick (n)</i>	TL3/95
stima	<i>steamer, ship</i>	TL4/98
stri:t	<i>street</i>	TL3/47
strong	<i>strong</i>	TL3/85,87;TL4/5
swim	<i>swim</i>	TL3/110
swol ap	<i>swell up</i>	TL1/4
tabaka	<i>tobacco</i>	TL3/66
taim	<i>time</i>	TL2/15;TL4/8,18,21,49,55,65
taka	<i>tucker, food</i>	TL3/75;TL4/32,90
talyn	<i>Italians</i>	TL3/100
tangk	<i>tank</i>	TL2/25,26,28
tæt,thæt	<i>that</i>	TL1/36,78,89;TL3/6,102;TL4/10
taun	<i>town</i>	TL1/25;TL3/15,17
taunsvil	<i>Townsville</i>	TL3/17,21;TL4/98
tædei	<i>today</i>	TL3/36
teikəm aut	<i>take out</i>	TL4/73
tekim,teikim	<i>take</i>	TL1/70;TL2/13;TL4/82
tekim kam	<i>bring</i>	TL3/89
telim	<i>tell talk about</i>	TL1/25,26;TL3/12 TL1/78,86
ten	<i>ten</i>	TL4/70,71
tə (wok)	<i>to (work)</i>	TL2/47
tha	<i>the</i>	TL3/36
thæts,thets	<i>that's</i>	TL3/9,53;TL4/43,63,88,96,104
thə	<i>the</i>	TL4/18,21

thea, the	<i>there</i>	TL4/17, 61
thei, ei, tha	<i>they</i>	TL1/27, 41, 70; TL2/52
then	<i>then</i>	TL1/28; TL2/25, 30; TL4/15, 16, 20, 21, 43 ...
thing, ting	<i>thing</i>	TL1/41; TL2/23, 27; TL3/106
thinkg	<i>think</i>	TL1/55, 56, 57, 66, 84; TL4/38
thingking about	<i>think about</i>	TL1/55
ti, ti:	<i>tea</i>	TL3/69, 70; TL4/39
timba	<i>timber</i>	TL4/45
ting, thinkg	<i>think</i>	TL1/36, 86; TL2/15; TL3/79, 106
tis	<i>this</i>	TL1/35
tok	<i>talk (v), speak to</i>	TL2/40, 51, 54; TL3/8
to:k	<i>talk</i>	TL1/67
tok along mi	<i>speak to me</i>	TL2/55
tokəm about	<i>talk about</i>	TL4/6
tri	<i>three</i>	TL4/3, 14, 51
	<i>tree</i>	TL4/73
tshə:tsh	<i>church</i>	TL1/69
tshilrn	<i>children</i>	TL1/44, 46
tu	<i>to</i>	TL1/5
tu, tu:	<i>too, also</i>	TL1/19; TL2/51; TL4/38, 84, 110
	<i>two</i>	TL1/20, 21; TL2/33, 35; TL3/93, 95; TL4/3, 48
tufala	<i>two</i>	TL1/52, 54
tuhai	<i>too high</i>	TL2/65
tumeni	<i>too many</i>	TL4/30, 60
wai	<i>why (reason)</i>	TL3/78
waif, waip	<i>wife</i>	TL1/55; TL3/91, 92; TL4/93
waitmæn	<i>whiteman</i>	TL1/25, 26; TL3/100
wan, wani	<i>one (n and adj)</i>	TL1/19, 29, 65; TL2/30, 41, 63; TL3/43, 49, 78, 112, 113, 116, 117; TL4/11, 36, 37, 38, 93, 107
wana, wona, wani	<i>want to</i>	TL1/78; TL4/38, 50, 61
wandem, wonem	<i>want (v)</i>	TL4/67, 69
wanem, wonem	<i>why (interr.)</i>	TL3/20, 21
	<i>what (interr.)</i>	TL3/112
wanfala, wanfəla, wanpela	<i>one</i>	TL1/21, 48, 63; TL2/16, 62; TL4/4, 66
wan(i)	<i>want to</i>	
want	<i>want</i>	TL2/44
watə (+ verb)	<i>what do you (v)</i>	TL3/21
we, we:, wə	<i>where (relator)</i>	TL3/18, 28, 33; TL4/58
	<i>where (interr.)</i>	TL1/11; TL2/34, 45, 51; TL3/9, 10, 14
wə	<i>was, were(?)</i>	TL2/5
wei	<i>way</i>	TL1/15; TL3/84, 125; TL4/15
weit	<i>wait</i>	TL2/42; TL4/23

wel	<i>well</i>	TL1/79
wen,wən	<i>when</i> (connective)	TL1/39,73;TL2/15,25,38,54;TL4/36,49,64,80,90,93,96
wi,wə	<i>we</i>	TL2/59;TL3/3,4,69,73,79,80 ... TL4/29,41,55,67 ...
	<i>with</i>	TL3/38
	?	TL1/13
wi:d	<i>weed</i>	TL4/82
wi:k	<i>week</i>	TL1/88,89
wil(?)	<i>real</i> (?)	TL3/6
wish	<i>which</i>	TL1/15;TL2/2
wishwe	<i>how?</i>	TL2/46,50;TL3/24
wok	<i>work</i> (n and v)	TL2/8,9;TL4/9,17,19,20,22,75,80,81,90
wok	<i>walk</i>	TL1/3
wokabout	<i>walk about, stroll about, roam around</i>	TL1/2,10,11,22;TL3/16,23
wokəm,wokim	<i>work</i> (v)	TL2/15,16,36
won	<i>won't</i>	TL3/59
wonem [v. wanem]		
woni,wan(i)	<i>want to</i>	TL1/18
wos,wats	<i>what's</i>	TL2/22,41,44;TL3/74,102
wosh	<i>wash</i>	TL3/90
wot,wat	<i>what</i>	TL3/25,35,36,44,103,104
wota	<i>water</i>	TL3/110,111
wumən	<i>woman</i>	TL4/95,96
wut	<i>wood</i>	TL2/29
ya:d	<i>yard</i>	TL1/3
yang	<i>young</i>	TL4/110
yangfala	<i>young (chap)</i>	TL1/39
yes,ye,ye:is	<i>yes</i>	TL1/75,78;TL2/5;TL3/9,73;TL1/1,2 ...
yet	<i>yet</i>	TL1/67
yia	<i>years, year</i>	TL1/27,36,56;TL2/30,33,35;TL4/11,14
yo:	<i>your</i>	TL3/45
yu,yə	<i>you</i>	TL1/3,11,12 ... TL2/18,23,27,30 ... TL3/2,15,17,18 ... TL4/5,13,16,22 ...
yumi	<i>we</i> (incl.)	TL2/31;TL3/76
yupəla	<i>you</i> (pl.)	TL3/124,125

APPENDIX 5

A Complete Listing of the Vocabulary used by Peter Santo in his Text

a	<i>ah</i>	9
agein	<i>again</i>	88
ai	<i>I</i>	4,44,84,97,108
along	<i>at</i> <i>on</i>	7 28
an	<i>and</i> ?	30 71
aulfala	<i>old</i>	86,113
bædman	<i>badmen, evil</i>	13
bi fo	<i>before</i>	82
bikfala	<i>big</i>	77
bilong (yu)	<i>of (you)</i>	49
bilong (mi)	<i>of (me)</i>	93
bin	<i>have been in</i> <i>past tense marker</i>	44 76
bi:n	<i>have lived in</i>	4
boi	<i>boy</i>	77
bos	<i>boss</i>	23,93
dai	<i>died</i>	10
dasfala	<i>this person</i>	9
dasn	<i>doesn't</i>	65
datfala	<i>that person</i>	93
dea	<i>there</i>	1
ded	<i>dead, died</i>	30
dei	<i>they</i>	59
dəm	<i>time</i>	99
den	<i>than</i>	42
dis	<i>this</i>	7,44
e	<i>eh?</i>	10,73
eiti	<i>eighty</i>	44,45
əm,em	<i>him, it (object)</i>	23,97
ere(?)	<i>ready(?)</i>	72
erere(?)	<i>already</i>	77
faia	<i>fire</i>	88
fala	<i>fellow, person</i>	9
finish	<i>completive aspect</i> <i>had it</i>	8,10,38,69,82 66
foa,fofla	<i>four</i>	104,105

go	<i>go</i>	21,26,36,51,82,85,88,93,94,98
go ap	<i>go up</i>	66
go dai	<i>go and die</i>	10
go daun	<i>die, go down</i>	8,12,13,28,36,38,87
got,gat	<i>got, have</i>	65,77
gras	<i>grass</i>	6
gro	<i>grow</i>	69
gud	<i>good</i>	86
gudfala	<i>good one</i>	14
gud gud	<i>very good</i>	22
handet (paun)	<i>a hundred pounds</i>	110
hatem	<i>cut (v)</i>	6
haus	<i>house</i>	49
hia	<i>here this</i>	4,5,6,22,25,35,42,67,74,75,76,80 24
houm	<i>home</i>	112
hu	<i>who (interr.)</i>	33
i	<i>he (other)</i>	21,22,25,52,65,74,75,76,79,94 8,10,12,14,39,51
in	<i>in</i>	1
kais	<i>Christ(?)!</i>	66
kam	<i>come</i>	43,76
kan,kant	<i>can't</i>	60,62,63,65,112
kantri	<i>country (countrymen(?))</i>	44,59
karim	<i>take</i>	109
katim	<i>cut (v)</i>	108
klos	<i>close to</i>	28
kot	<i>God</i>	15
long	<i>to for at about at (?) in with (?)</i>	36,51,62,82,83,85,94,98,109 23,97,99 6,86 52 49 80 96
longtaim	<i>long time</i>	23,29,84
lukim	<i>see</i>	82
mai	<i>my</i>	2,4
maiwəd	<i>my word, gee, gosh</i>	17,32,34,38
man	<i>men</i>	37,74
mæn	<i>men</i>	24
mani	<i>money</i>	53,57,61,109

mi	<i>I</i> <i>me</i>	12,15,16,23,30,35,49,72,85 21,38,42,72
misas	<i>Mrs</i>	10,33
mista	<i>Mr</i>	11,19,20,40,49
mistat,mistash	<i>moustache</i>	68,69
mo	<i>more than</i> <i>more</i>	42,45 71
mobeta	<i>better</i>	87
mouv on	<i>move on</i>	70
narafala(?)	<i>another</i>	90
nau	<i>now</i>	45,69,70
neim	<i>name</i>	2,3,4
no	<i>no</i> <i>not</i> <i>know</i>	4,5,22,63 12,22,30,72,85,86 20,65,84
nomoa	<i>no more</i>	72
o,o:	<i>oh</i>	22,23 ...
ol	<i>?</i>	99
o:lfa	<i>old (chap)</i>	22
olgeta	<i>all</i>	8,12,24,37,38
olsem	<i>just like</i>	15,38,54,55
oltaim	<i>all the time</i>	97
onli	<i>only</i>	39
orait	<i>all right</i>	109
paun	<i>pounds</i>	110
planti,plenti	<i>plenty, much</i>	53,57,59
plisman	<i>policeman</i>	26
rout	<i>road</i>	27
sampla	<i>some</i>	74
sənap	<i>remains</i>	39
savi	<i>know</i>	49,52
se,sei	<i>say</i>	21,22,26
si	<i>is</i>	2
sposim	<i>suppose, if</i>	13
stap	<i>remain</i> <i>be with</i>	74,75,79,80 96
stop(?)	<i>stay</i>	28
taun	<i>town</i>	4
tə	<i>to</i>	59
teikem, teikəm	<i>take it</i>	59,60,62,65
tekim (mi go)	<i>take (me)</i>	21
telim	<i>tell</i>	26

torta	<i>daughter</i>	80
tshe:man	<i>chairman(?)</i>	64,65
tu:,tu	<i>too</i>	56,57,90
tufala	<i>two</i>	108
tumash	<i>too much</i>	61
wanfala	<i>one</i>	39,79,106
wanta	<i>want to</i>	21
wonte	<i>want to</i>	59
wot	<i>what</i>	2,3
we,wea	<i>where (interr.)</i>	37,46,50,93
wen	<i>when (interr.)</i>	76
wok	<i>work (v)</i>	6,7,25,27,35,97,99
	<i>work (n)</i>	7
wokabout	<i>walk about, roam around</i>	86
wokm	<i>work (v)</i>	23
yang	<i>young</i>	40,41,89
ye	<i>yes</i>	16,58,91,92
yes	<i>yes</i>	31,47
yet	<i>yet</i>	4,5,12,30
	<i>still</i>	39,40,41,71,89
yia	<i>years</i>	44
yo:	<i>you're</i>	66
yu	<i>you</i>	20,26,27,28,36,40,41,42,55,56,57,62,63, 66,69,70,76,82,88,98
yumi	<i>we (incl.)</i>	13
yutufala	<i>you (2)</i>	89

APPENDIX 6

List of Features Compared in Canefields English
and Other Southwest Pacific Pidgins

1. Word order
2. S1 and S2
3. S1 but S2
4. Comparative degree
5. It would be better to V
6. If ...
7. '-ing' complementation (e.g. I work here cutting grass)
8. 'That' complementation (e.g. N said that he would V; I'm telling you that S)
9. 'To' complementation (e.g. N asked me to V)
10. Orait as connective (S1 orait S2)
11. Juxtaposition of clauses to express range of meanings, e.g. and, but, in order to, and then
12. Causative verbs (N made me V)
13. Where does we occur in interrogative S's?
14. 'Until' clauses
15. 'When' clauses
17. Reason clauses (because)
18. Any relative clause markers
19. Nau as 'then' in past time
20. Use of taim as anaphoric head for 'when'
21. Predicative marker
22. Negative V
23. Any 'do', 'be' or 'have' support verbs?
24. How are yes-no questions signalled?
25. Any verbal inflection?
26. Past tense marker?
27. Future tense marker?
28. Present tense marker?
29. Perfect tense marker?
30. Repetitive aspect marker?
31. Continuous aspect marker?
32. Completive aspect marker?
33. Ability aspect marker?
34. Inability aspect marker?
35. Desiderative aspect marker?

36. Obligatory aspect marker? (have to V)
37. Transitive verb marker?
38. Definite article?
39. Indefinite article?
40. X is called Y
41. Prepositions?
42. Copulas?
43. There is/are (non-locative type)
44. Wan as anaphoric referent (e.g. this is a good machine; this machine (is a) good one)
45. N's not marked for number morphologically
46. Plural marker?
47. Subject pronoun forms
48. Possessive pronoun forms
49. Adjective forms (-pela?)
50. Demonstrative-form and position (this, that, these, those)
51. Numerals
52. Intensity (e.g. very + adjective)
53. No before N (e.g. no ka 'no car')

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