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CONCEPTUAL-ASSOCIATIVE SYSTEM IN ABORIGINAL ENGLISH: A STUDY OF ABORIGINAL CHILDREN ATTENDING PRIMARY SCHOOLS IN METROPOLITAN PERTH

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A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
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ABSTRACT

National measures of achievement among Australian school children suggest that Aboriginal students, considered as a group, are those most likely to end their schooling without achieving minimal acceptable levels of literacy and numeracy. In view of the fact that many Aboriginal students dwell in metropolitan areas and speak English as a first language, many educators have been unconvinced that linguistic and cultural difference have been significant factors in this underachievement. This study explores the possibility that, despite intensive exposure to non-Aboriginal society, Aboriginal students in metropolitan Perth may maintain, through a distinctive variety of English, distinctive conceptualisations which may help to account for their lack of success in education.

The study first develops a model of conceptualisations that emerge at the group level of cognition. The model draws on the notion of *distributed representations* to depict what are here termed *cultural conceptualisations*. Cultural conceptualisations are conceptual structures such as *schemas* and *categories* that members of a cultural group draw on in approaching experience. The study employs this model with regard to Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal students attending schools in the Perth Metropolitan area.

A group of 30 Aboriginal primary school students and a matching group of non-Aboriginal students participated in this study. A research technique called *Association-Interpretation* was developed to tap into cultural conceptualisations across the two groups of participants. The technique was composed of two phases: a) the 'association' phase, in which the participants gave associative responses to a list of 30 everyday words such as 'home' and 'family', and b) the 'interpretation' phase,

in which the responses were interpreted from an emic viewpoint and compared within and between the two groups. The informants participated in the task individually.

The analysis of the data provided evidence for the operation of two distinct, but overlapping, conceptual systems among the two cultural groups studied. The two systems are integrally related to the dialects spoken by Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Australians, that is, Aboriginal English and Australian English. The discrepancies between the two systems largely appear to be rooted in the cultural systems which give rise to these dialects while the overlap between the two conceptual systems appears to arise from several phenomena such as experience in similar physical environments and access to 'modern' life style. A number of responses from non-Aboriginal informants suggest a case of what may be termed *conceptual seepage*, or a permeation of conceptualisations from one group to another due to contact.

It is argued, in the light of the data from this study, that the notions of 'dialect' and 'code-switching' need to be revisited in that their characterisation has traditionally ignored the level of conceptualisation. It is also suggested that the results of this study have implications for the professional preparation of educators dealing with Aboriginal students.

DECLARATION

I certify that this thesis does not, to the best of my knowledge and belief:

i. *incorporate without acknowledgment any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any institution of higher education;*

ii. *contain any material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text; or*

iii. *contain any defamatory material.*

Signature

Date

28 Feb 2003

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Australian Aboriginal people have inhabited the continent for more than 60,000 years. Traditional Aboriginal people lived a hunter-and-gatherer life in which men hunted large animals such as kangaroos, emus and turtles, while women and children hunted smaller animals and collected fruits, berries and other plants. Aboriginal people on the coast caught fish and collected many types of shellfish including mussels and oysters. To maintain the fragile environment, and because of seasonal variations, people would only stay in an area for a certain time. This helped ensure they did not hunt, fish or harvest an area too much so there would be food for the next season. Aboriginal people divided the land up using geographic boundaries such as rivers, lakes and mountains (Maddock,1982). Australia today is a much different place from when the First Fleet arrived in 1788 with convicts and marines. Just as in the past, Aboriginal Australians live throughout Australia but now this includes cities, towns, the coast, rural areas and the outback. Today Indigenous people make up 2% of the entire Australian population (about 265 000 people).

The Aboriginal cultures of Australia are the oldest living cultures in the world. Over thousands of years, these cultures have been passed down by the Elders to the younger people through yarns, songs, dance, paintings, storytelling, etc. Aboriginal people belonging to different groups have also exchanged ideas, technology and cultural practices with each other. As a result, many communities share aspects of their cultures. Indigenous people have been influenced by a range of cultures over time and in most recent history have managed to survive and fight against the threats to their cultures and ways of life brought about by Europeans since 1788. The complexity and richness of Aboriginal cultures was poorly understood by the majority of early colonists. Government legislation and policies largely disadvantaged

Aboriginal people but greatly benefited the pastoralists who rapidly spread across Australia, setting up farms and sheep and cattle stations, often with the labour of Aboriginal people. Lack of understanding of Aboriginal cultures and the ways in which they used the land resulted in many clashes between settlers and Aboriginal people, particularly over land and access to land, which for Aboriginal people meant food and spiritual well-being. Throughout history, Aboriginal people have expressed their cultures through their languages. Aboriginal languages have been deeply rooted in Aboriginal cultures and worldview and have in fact acted as tools for the maintenance of Aboriginal belief systems and cultures (e.g., Lakoff, 1987; also see Walsh & Yallop, 1993). Aboriginal people view their languages as more than just a system of communication. Jeanie Bell, an Aboriginal linguist, maintains that

> They're [Aboriginal languages are] part of us as the Indigenous people of the land. Our languages are the voice of the land, and we are the carriers of the languages. (Boyer lectures, unpublished, 1993).

Before 1788 there were approximately between 200 to 250 distinct languages, with their own range of dialects, spoken by Aboriginal people throughout Australia (Schmidt, 1990). More than 150 of these languages have become extinct since the white contact and there are some that are only spoken by a few remaining elderly people. Among the Aboriginal languages spoken today, which are not more than 90, less than twenty appear to be in a reasonably safe status and the other 70 are facing the threat of extinction (Schmidt, 1990). From the time of the onset of white settlement in Australia, Aboriginal people started to draw on English in order to communicate with the white people as well as with each other. In other words English

– initially pidginized – became a means of communication between Aboriginal people and the invaders and it also became a lingua franca for Aboriginal people speaking different languages to communicate with each other (Donaldson, 1985; Malcolm & Koscielecki, 1997). In doing so, Aboriginal people managed to express their own cultural conceptualisations in English thereby developing an indigenised dialect of English, called Aboriginal English (Harkins, 2001). Today Aboriginal English is a very strong dialect with its own varieties spoken by Indigenous Australians right across the continent. What acts as a uniting thread in these varieties is the underlying complex of conceptualisations which are largely rooted in Aboriginal cultures. It is the conceptual level that also appears to account for a lot of misunderstandings between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Australians (Malcolm & Sharifian, 2002). Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people often appear to draw on different conceptualisations of experience in communicating with each other and this has largely disadvantaged Aboriginal people in various contexts including classrooms and courtrooms (e.g., Christie & Harris, 1985; Eades, 2000; Malcolm, 1982).

1.2 The genesis of this study

As mentioned earlier, Aboriginal people today live in country and city areas. City life is often assumed to have disrupted Aboriginal culture and language. In a study done in Western Australia, Palmer and Collard (1993) found that young Nyungar Aboriginal people in Perth were viewed as having lost their culture. They maintain that "urban dwelling Nyugnar people are often accused of "losing their culture", no longer engaging in "traditional" practices and of not being "fully or real Aborigines""(p. 117). Many teachers also believe that Aboriginal children attending metropolitan schools hardly speak anything different from Australian English. This point of view has resulted in attributing the educational underachievement of

Aboriginal children to factors other than language and culture. This observation set the motivation for the investigator to explore patterns of cultural conceptualisation in the English spoken by Aboriginal children attending Perth metropolitan schools. During the course of a three-year study, including the doctoral study which is reported in this dissertation, the investigator embarked on several theoretical as well as empirical studies of conceptualisations in Aboriginal children. The studies in general led to the development of several theoretical notions and a model of conceptualisations. The study undertaken for this doctoral study in particular explored conceptualisations in two groups of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal students employing an innovative technique called *Association-Interpretation*, detailed later in this dissertation.

1.3 Dissertation outline

This dissertation is organized in six chapters presenting the framework developed and the data obtained for this study. Chapter 2 begins with a description of Aboriginal English and concludes with a review of research on Aboriginal cognition. Chapter 3 commences with a review of the recent studies of language and conceptualisation, which is then followed by a detailed review of research on conceptualisation in Aboriginal English. The latter part of Chapter 3 is a presentation of a model of cultural conceptualisations that emerged out of the study of Aboriginal conceptualisations.

Chapter 4 begins with a review of the history of the word association technique, which served as the basis for the development of a methodology in this study. The review is followed with a description of the instrument, the informants, the procedure, and the analysis employed in this study. The analysis of the data along with samples of the data are presented in Chapter 5. Finally Chapter 6 includes the

concluding discussion, limitations, and the implications of the findings for the studies

of language variation and code-switching, and the educational implications of the

study.

Chapter 2
Aboriginal English and Aboriginal cognition

This chapter reviews the research on Aboriginal English and presents the rationale for the exploration of cognitive-conceptual dimensions of this dialect of English. In order to provide a prelude for the study of conceptualisation in Aboriginal English, presented in Chapter 3, this chapter also reviews research carried out throughout the twentieth century on various aspects of Aboriginal cognition.

2.1 Aboriginal English

Aboriginal English is a cover term referring to dialects of English, except Standard Australian English, spoken by Aboriginal Australians. For many speakers of Aboriginal English, this dialect is a successor of Aboriginal languages that are largely extinct now (Malcolm, 2000b). As Eades (1991, p. 57) observes, "Aboriginal English is a distinctive dialect of English which reflects, maintains and continually creates Aboriginal culture and identity". Aboriginal English includes features from Aboriginal languages, as well as from English. It also includes features that belong neither to the former nor to the latter. Koch (2000) notes that Central Australian Aboriginal English includes a) features that are derived from an earlier Australian Pidgin English, b) features from colloquial English, and c) features from Aboriginal languages of central Australia. Malcolm (1995, p. 19) defines Aboriginal English as:

> A range of varieties of English spoken by many Aboriginal people and some others in close contact with them which differ in systematic ways from standard Australian English at all levels of linguistic structure (sounds; word forms; syntax; vocabulary; meanings) and which are used for distinctive speech events, acts and genres.

Harkins (2000, p. 60) observes that Aboriginal English is "the most truly Australian variety of English, more so than current Standard Australian English", and argues that "Aboriginal English may well exert a powerful influence on Australian English in the years to come". Diachronically, different varieties of Aboriginal English have evolved out of diverse processes (Malcolm, 1994b; Malcolm, 2000c), such as the following:

1) Pidginisation>creolisation>decreolisation, following language contact, particularly in northern communities (Kaldor & Malcolm, 1991; Sharpe, 1975).

2) Pidginisation>depidginisation, in communities where creoles did not develop.

3) The residual effect of language shift, in communities where indigenous languages are no longer spoken.

4) Interlanguage construction, by individuals in the process of learning English as a second language in contexts where Aboriginal languages are spoken.

Aboriginal English is different from Australian English both at the surface level of formal features and also the deeper level of semantic content (e.g., Arthur, 1996; Eades, 1991, 1995; Harkins, 1994, 2000; Malcolm, 1994a, b; Malcolm et al., 1999). Malcolm (2001b) observes that Aboriginal English is mostly noted for its distinctive phonology by observers. Harkins (2000) notes that Aboriginal English is characterised by a high degree of variation in terms of its sound system. She observes that there is a continuum of accents in Aboriginal English, with a 'heavy' or basilectal accent at one extreme and a 'light' acrolectal accent at the other. The basilectal accent appears to be close to the sound system of traditional Aboriginal languages and the acrolectal accent is close to the sound system of Australian English (Harkins, 2000;

Malcolm, 2001b). The following have been observed (e.g., Harkins, 2000; Malcolm, 2001b) among the phonological features of Aboriginal English:

a. simplification of consonant clusters

b. vowel lengthening, accompanied by high key, as a means of emphasis, and

c. optional use of initial /h/.

Harkins (2000) notes that Aboriginal English has the same number of phonemes that Australian English has and argues that it is at the allophonic and prosodic levels that Aboriginal English differs from Australian English. Malcolm (2000b) also notes that stress and intonation patterns of Aboriginal English contrast with those of Australian English (p, 215). He observes that stress is usually placed on the first syllable and the final tone is commonly 'even-high'.

At the lexical level, research has shown that 'even where Aboriginal English seems to employ the same vocabulary as Australian English, it is informed by a semantics deeply rooted in Aboriginal culture' (Malcolm & Rochecouste, 2000, p. 98). The Aboriginal English lexicon is mainly composed of the following categories of words:

a. Aboriginal words with Aboriginal meanings (e.g. *moorditj* meaning 'good').

b. Aboriginal words with new meanings (e.g. *monach* originally meaning 'black cockatoo' is used for 'policeman').

c. Aboriginal words suffixed with English morphemes (e.g. *yorgas*, composed of yorga [woman]+ s).

d. Modified English words with English meanings (e.g. *unna* [isn't it?])

e. English words with Aboriginal meanings (e.g. *deadly* meaning 'great' or 'enjoyable')

f.   English words with additional meanings (e.g. *learn* meaning 'learn' as well as 'teach').

Malcolm (1994a, 1994b) observes that Aboriginal English employs distinctive means to represent reality. Among these are

1) Aboriginal English achieves economy of expression

2) Aboriginal English is highly context dependent

3) Aboriginal English foregrounds aspect, duration, dual number, participant relations, and oral art and backgrounds gender, existence, and plurality

4) Aboriginal English discourse reveals unique rhetorical structures.

Malcolm has also demonstrated how Aboriginal English achieves certain unique functions for its speakers, such as a) creating a convivial atmosphere among Aboriginal speakers, b) reinforcing common Aboriginal Identity c) providing for certain Aboriginal genres (Malcolm, 2000a), and d) achieving ironic humor (Malcolm, 1995).

At the level of syntax, Aboriginal English appears to be more variable than Australian English (Malcolm, 2001b). It has been noted that less structured varieties of Aboriginal English share many features with creoles and substrate languages (Dixon, 1980; Harkins, 1994). Malcolm (2001b) observes that the most dominant syntactic feature characteristic of most varieties of Aboriginal English is "a reduced dependence on the copula for linking subjects to their complements and on the auxiliary for the expression of verb tense and aspect" (p. 215). Malcolm also finds the following among the syntactic features of Aboriginal English:

a. regularisation of subject-verb agreement (i.e., absence of third-person singular "*s*"),

b. the use of *gonna* to mark future tense

c. the use of intonation to signal questions

d. optional marking of plurality and possession

e. marking of pronouns for dual/plural (e.g., *twofella/allabout*, cited in Koch, 2000, p. 38) and inclusive/exclusive

f. optional marking of gender

g. the use of resumptive pronoun (i.e., *That man he* …)

h. post-clausal use of adjectives and adverbs (…*yellow one;* ...*quick-way*)

i. interchangeable use of locative prepositions (i.e., *in, at, on*)

Koch (2000) observes that in Central Australian Aboriginal English, *belong* is used as a preposition to mark possession and purpose (comparable to *of* and *for* in Australian English). Koch notes that English prepositions such as *for* and *from* are used in Aboriginal English to express a wide range of semantic relations which are usually marked by means of case suffixes on the noun in Aboriginal languages. Koch also notes that speakers of Central Australian Aboriginal English express a feature of many Central Australian Aboriginal languages that he has called Associated Motion (Koch, 1984). Associated Motion is a motion, such as going or coming, which is related to the main activity denoted by the verb and is marked by suffixes and auxiliaries. Koch observes that in Aboriginal English this feature is marked either by the use of verbs such as *go, come*, and *come back* prior to the verb to mark Prior Motion (e.g., *I might go there talk*, cited in Koch 2000, p, 49) or by the use of *(all the way) along* to mark Concurrent Motion (e.g., *Me'n'you keep talking all the way*

along. When we walking, cited in Koch, 2000, p. 54). Koch (2000) cogently argues and provides evidence that Aboriginal English speakers treat the activity plus the motion as one single grammatical unit.

Pragmatic aspects of Aboriginal English have also been a subject of extensive studies (e.g., Eades, 1982, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 2000). Eades has observed radical differences in communication strategies in general and information seeking in particular between the speakers of Aboriginal English and of Australian English. She has also cogently shown that pragmatic differences have often seriously disadvantaged Aboriginal people in legal settings.

Eades (1994, 2000) has observed, for instance, that Aboriginal speakers rely on more indirect strategies for seeking information whereas Anglo-Australians usually try to elicit information in a direct and repeated manner. Eades has also observed that silence achieves certain functions for Aboriginal speakers which are non-familiar to non-Aboriginal speakers. She observes that such cultural differences in communication style have had serious implications for legal cases involving murder and allegations of deprivation of liberty by police officers (Eades, 1995, 1996, 2000).

Cultural differences, it should be noted, may also affect communication through cognitive structures and processes that mediate linguistic production (e.g., Shore, 1996; Shweder, 1991). That is, communication breakdown may not only be caused by linguistic differences but may also occur due to discrepancies in cognitive elements that are somehow formed or informed by cultural factors and parameters. This observation provided an impetus for the present investigator to review studies that have explored various aspects of Aboriginal cognition. The following section presents this review.

2.2 Aboriginal Cognition

Aboriginal people of Australia share a unique and rich cultural background which pervades every aspect of their life including their cognition. Many researchers have found Aboriginal cognition and behaviour quite a challenge in terms of exploration. This is clearly echoed in the following statement from Kearney (1973):

> There is probably no group in the world which represents more difficulties for the research worker in the behavioural sciences than the Aboriginal inhabitants of Australia. Their origin is uncertain and their mode of entry to Australia unclear. Their way of life is complex, their religion is not understood and their magic is powerful and baffling. Their cognitive ability is difficult to measure and the subject of controversy. (p. 16)

The norms and perspectives in psychological research, which mostly come from Western society, have not been applicable to Aboriginal contexts and this has often resulted in flawed or biased research. As Serpell (as cited in Klich and Davidson, 1984) observes:

> Far too much of human psychology is based on studies of White, Male, Middle-Class, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant, Undergraduates for us to attach much confidence to the claim that the models it generates describe general characteristics of human beings. (p, 155)

The bulk of early psychological research with Aboriginal people characterized Aboriginal cognition as exhibiting "intellectual deficit" (Klich, 1988). Only recently

have psychologists given credit to Aboriginal cognition as representing context-sensitive cognitive processes and mechanisms (e.g., Harris, 1982).

The first systematic examination of Aboriginal cognitive skills took place in 1898 under a project called *the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to the Torres Strait* by trained psychologists working among culturally different people in their natural settings (Haddon, 1935; Rivers, 1901). They gathered ethnographic, linguistic, physiological, and psychological data from Aboriginal Australians for a period of seven months. Among the subjects investigated by this team of researchers were memory, vision, reaction time and choice time, and estimation of intervals of time. The results indicated that in many areas there was little difference between the sensory and perceptual skills of the subjects and English norms. In fact, the data gathered revealed that the visual acuity of the average Aboriginal person was slightly superior to that of a European. Rivers (1901) attributed this to particularised knowledge developed through exclusive attention to minute details of objects in their everyday environment.

Modern psychometric techniques were first used in Australia by Porteus around 1915 (as cited in Klich, 1988). He studied retarded and deaf children as well as delinquents. He administered the *Porteus Maze Tests*, which he designed to measure planning capacity, to Aboriginal children. The results showed a mental age slightly below the chronological age (Mental age: 9Yrs & 9 m, chronological age: 10Yrs and 2 m) (See Kearney (1973) for a tabular presentation of the results).

Porteus also made an attempt to measure the performance of Aboriginal people on visual versus auditory memory tasks (as cited in Klinch, 1988, p. 431). Aboriginal performance on devised measures of the two processes showed that mean mental age scores on the visual memory task were more than 2 years ahead of

auditory memory scores. Porteus attributed this visual memory superiority to Aboriginal people's keenness of observation.

Porteus further developed a *Footprint Test* to assess the visual skills which are more relevant to Aboriginal experience. Porteus found the performance of Aboriginal students on this test equal to that of the white students who took part in his research (Porteus, 1931). Later, Porteus (1965) summarized the results of 50 years of research with *Porteus Maze Tests.* The results suggested that the level of cognitive ability of the Aboriginal Australians was lower than that of the European races (Kearney, 1973, p. 22).

McElwain and Kearney (1970) constructed *the Queensland Test* which was a "culture-free" individually administered test of cognitive ability. The results of the testing of more than 1000 Aboriginal children showed that Aboriginal groups were inferior to Europeans, to approximately the same degree that they had lacked contact (McElwain & Kearney, 1970). McElwain and Kearney argued that environmental experience was a major determinant of performance on their measures of cognitive ability and attributed the inferiority in Aboriginal performance to the possibility that Aboriginal people may focus on those features of the task which may be irrelevant from the perspective of the test designer's culture.

The following section is a summary of the cognitive research carried out with Aboriginal Australians during the second half of the twentieth century. Watts (as cited in Klich, 1988) has identified three main categories in studies of Aboriginal cognition from 1960 to 1980: intelligence testing, psycholinguistic testing, and Piagetian tasks.

2.2.1 Aboriginal Intelligence

Money and Nurcombe (1974) employed the *Draw-a-Man Test* and the *Bender Visual-Motor Gestalt Test,* which involved graphic, nonverbal tasks. In research with Aboriginal children, they found higher mean scores for Aboriginal male participants than females and attributed this to male and female roles in Aboriginal culture.

McIntyre (1976) compared the cognitive styles of Aboriginal and white Australian children and also measured their cognitive ability, using the *Queensland Test*. In measuring cognitive style, she focused on field dependence-independence, reflective-impulsive style, and conceptual style. Four groups participated in her study: Urban part Aboriginal, urban part non-Aboriginal, rural full blood Aboriginal, and rural white non-Aboriginal.

McIntyre (1976) found no significant difference on the *Queensland Test* scores between the cultural groups in the urban locations. White children, however, performed significantly better in the more remote rural environment. She found geographical location, but not culture, to be a determining factor in cognitive test performance. Reflectivity was the only cognitive style which showed a cultural difference in both urban and rural environments. Rural Aboriginal informants were the most impulsive of all the four groups (McIntyre, 1976).

Recently Hayes (1999) administered the Kaufman Brief Intellingence Test (KBIT; Kaufman & Kaufman, 1990) and the Matrix Analogies Test-Short form (MAT-SF; Naglieri, 1985) to a group of white and Aboriginal adolescents, in juvenile justice centres. KBIT is a measure of verbal and nonverbal reasoning and MAT-SF is a language-free intelligence test in which cultural factors are reduced. Hayes (1999) did not find any significant differences between boys and girls, and Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal groups on any of the two tests.

2.2.2 Aboriginal Psycholinguistic Abilities

The main research tool in investigating psycholinguistic abilities of Aboriginal peoples has been the Illinois Test of Psycholinguistic Abilities (ITPA) (Kirk & McCarthy, 1961). Teasdale and Katz (1973) used ITPA and the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test (PPVT) (Dunn, 1965) to compare the psycholinguistic abilities of Aboriginal and white schoolchildren. In their study, white children from upper socio-economic status groups outperformed white children from the lower socio-economic status groups and children of part-Aboriginal origin but there was no significant difference between the performance of white children from the lower socio-economic status group and children of part-Aboriginal origin (p. 152). Teasdale and Katz (1973) attributed language handicap to the limitations in the language models at home.

Using ITPA, Nurcombe and Moffit (1970) found no difference between white and Aboriginal preschoolers. Harries found Aboriginal children of preschool age in Northern New South Wales to be "within the normal range" of scores on the *Visual Decoding* and *Visual-Motor Sequential* sub-tests of ITPA (as cited in Klich, 1988). In a study by Bruce, Hengeveld, and Radford (1971), Aboriginal primary school children outperformed non-Aboriginal children on ITPA *Visual Closure Scale.* These studies all point to favourable results for Aboriginal Australians in terms of visual processing.

2.2.3 Piagetian Research with Aboriginal Australians

In his famous theory of cognitive development, Piaget (e.g., 1926, 1970) observed that children go through four different stages of cognitive functioning as follows:

1- *The sensory motor period.* During this period, which starts from

birth and lasts for about 2 years, children construct their own reality in the motor patterns they develop. They are unable to represent their experiences and cognitions symbolically, but the beginning of symbolization is the internalisation of the action schema (motor patterns) with which they learned to deal with the world. During this period children begin to develop symbols or mental images in order to represent objects to themselves. The child has now begun to *think*.

2- *The pre-operational period.* During this period, representational thought develops, which is characterized by the development of internal symbols. For Piaget, it is the symbolic development of this period that enables children to learn language, not the learning of language that brings children to this symbolizing period.

One of the important cognitive characteristics of this period is that children are said to centre on one single, striking aspect of an object or array. It is this characteristic that prevents children from *conserving*. Thus, if pre-operational children see liquid being poured from a short, wide glass into a tall, skinny one, they will see that the tall glass contains more water.

Another aspect of this period is that children's thoughts are not *reversible,* which means they cannot conceive of something changing in shape or arrangement, then changing back to the original. This state extends from about the age of two until six or seven years.

3- *The period of concrete operations.* This period extends approximately from seven to eleven. In this period, children have a well-organized cognitive system that underlies their cognitions and perceptions. Their thinking is reversible and they are able to *decentre* and *conserve* volume and other physical dimensions.

While a child's cognition is well-organized and stable during this period, it operates very much in the here-and-now and tends to have as its object concrete

things and events in the world. The word "operational" refers to the observation that children are capable of operational reasoning, which means carrying out operations in their head on the information provided by the senses.

4- *The period of formal operations.* Children enter this period around adolescence. This period frees them from the world of the actual and allows them to enter the world of the possible. They can conceive now not only of what is, but what might be. Their temporal worldview expands enormously, and they develop a sense of historical time. This period ushers a lifetime of cognitive maturity.

Although Piaget acknowledged the role of social factors in human cognitive development (Piaget & Inhelder, 1969, p. 114), he did not however elaborate on the nature and the size of the effect of social factors that can somehow influence the processes of cognitive development.

De Lemos (1969) administered a series of conservation tests to groups of children in northern Australia. She compared their performance with that of European children. She believed that sociocultural factors might affect the route but not the rate of cognitive development.

In her study, a small proportion of Aboriginal children succeeded in the Piagetian tests and the majority did not. Those who succeeded did so at a later age than European children, with some exceptions, and those who succeeded made the same judgment errors as do white children who are successful on the same tests. Her results also showed that whereas European children acquire the conservation of quantity, weight, and volume invariably in that order, Aboriginal children seemed to develop conservation of weight before the conservation of quantity.

Dasen carried out some follow-up studies (1972, 1975; Dasen, de Lacey, & Seagrim 1973). A main variable in his studies was European contact. Aboriginal

Australians who participated in Dasen's studies basically followed the same stages of cognitive development as detailed in Piaget's theory; however, their development rate was relatively slow. A difference was also observed in the sequence of operational acquisition between the two cultural groups; urban white children acquired logico-mathematical operations before spatial operations, while Aboriginal Australians in this study acquired spatial operations earlier than logico-mathematical operations (Dasen, 1975).

Seagrim and Lendon (1980) carried out a longitudinal and comparative study of cognitive development in central Aboriginal Australians. The results of their extensive study showed that:

> Aboriginal children of Central Australian origin are capable of matching white children in thought forms which were identified by Piaget as forming the cornerstones of his epistemological position: they can achieve and use concepts of identity (conservation), of order (seriation), of classification and of abstract forces (the surface level of liquids) at comparable ages and without special tuition. This lays to rest finally, for us at least, the issue of competence: they have the same capacity to acquire the forms of knowledge of the physical world that Piaget has ascribed to white middle-class children brought up in a Western culture. (p. 181)

Seagrim and Lendon (1980), however, believed that Aboriginal children could match white children in competence only if they were subjected to a total immersion in white culture. They could not however specify for how long or at what age this immersion should occur. They also believed that Aboriginal children have to be more

or less totally isolated from Aboriginal culture for this transmogrification to occur (p. 181).

It is, however, unclear whether the competence Seagrim and Lendon are targeting would equip Aboriginal people with the required mental faculties to survive in a white society or in their own environments. This would certainly raise the question of context-appropriate intelligence. That is, intelligence, as defined by the Western norms and measured by Piagetian tests or the like, may not operate successfully in an Aboriginal context and we should allow for the possibility of variations in intelligence as demanded or determined by the environmental forces. Moreover, the idea of removing Aboriginal children from their natural families is "manifestly unacceptable as an educational goal, and an abhorrent prospect from any other point of view" (Klich, 1988, p. 438).

In general there are several methodological concerns in the administration of cognitive tests to Aboriginal people. First, using hypothetical and decontextualized queries within a question-and-answer framework is at odds with traditional Aboriginal communication strategies (Harris, as cited in Klich, 1988).

The lack of familiarity with the culture of test taking on the part of Aboriginal people might also mask the results of cognitive tests. Western children have become adapted to the testing rituals currently common in Western education and this may place them in an advantage concerning the direction of the results of comparative research. As Rowe (as cited in Kearins, 1986) states "intelligence does not operate in a vacuum … if assessment of intelligence is to increase in validity … we shall have to observe the individual's functioning in real life, rather than in a laboratory or in a standardized testing situation" (p. 212).

Another complicating factor involved in the administration of psychological tests to Aboriginal people is the fact that the English language on which these tests are based is "Standard English", which reveals a lot of discrepancies with English spoken by Aboriginal people (Malcolm et al., 1999). It would then be unrealistic to expect similar results from speakers of Standard English and Aboriginal English in tasks which are language-based (Watts, 1982).

2.2.4 Aboriginal Cognitive Expertise

Under the title of Aboriginal cognitive expertise, Klich (1988) describes the distinctive cognitive abilities of Aboriginal people. One of the most amazing cognitive abilities of Aboriginal Australians is their capacity for route finding and geographical orientation, done on the basis of their *cognitive maps*. Cognitive maps are mental representations abstracted from our experiences of the world (Laszlo, Artigiani, Combs, & Csányi 1996, P. 3).

Laszlo et al. (1996) borrow the concept of *projection* from cartography and apply it to the context of cognitive maps. In cartography projection refers to a systematic representation on a flat surface of features of a curved surface, like that of the Earth. Flat maps representing the earth have different appearances depending on the nature of the projection used. Laszlo et al. believe that "If the metaphor of projection is carried over to cognitive maps, then different projection systems would be equivalent to different ways of organizing reality" (p. 10).

Laszlo et al. (1996) contend that cognitive maps are not exclusive to human beings but all animals develop cognitive maps. Animals focus on those aspects of the environment which are essential for their survival. This consideration could also apply to human beings. That is, in certain circumstances, human beings select, for perception and representation, only those aspects of the environment that are

necessary for their survival. These aspects would then provide the raw material for developing cognitive maps of the environmental stimuli.

Information encoded as cognitive maps may also be cultural, that is, based on society's approved system of thought and behaviour, moral values, aesthetic preferences, and spiritual beliefs. Within a single culture, of course, different individuals have different cognitive maps depending on their unique experiences and personalities. Laszlo et al. (1996) view culture as an evolving system including physical objects (e.g., works of art, books, clothing, cities, etc.) and the cognitive maps of its members.

Aboriginal people are equipped with solid cognitive maps. Berndt (as cited in Klich and Davidson, 1984) refers to an integrated body of mythical knowledge, in which the whole Western Desert is criss-crossed with the meandering tracks of ancestral beings, mostly though not invariably following the known permanent and impermanent waterholes routes.

Lewis is quoted by Klich and Davidson (1984) as observing that:

It would appear then, that the essential psychological mechanism was some kind of *dynamic image* or *mental 'map'*, which was *continually updated* in terms of time, distance and bearing, and more *radically realigned at each change of direction*, so that the hunters remained all the times aware of the precise direction of their *base and/or objective* [emphases all original]. (p. 173)

These cognitive maps have provided Aboriginal Australians with exceptional visual-spatial memory capacities. Kearins (1986) conducted a study in which groups

of Aboriginal and white adolescents and children attempted a series of spatial relocation tasks. In each task, the location of objects arranged on a rectangular grid had to be memorized during a 30-second period. The objects, disarrayed, then had to be replaced in their original position. She found that both Aboriginal adolescents and Aboriginal children performed significantly better than white Australians. These results supported the findings of previous research on visual spatial memory of Aboriginal Australians (Kearins, 1976, 1981; Klich and Davidson, 1983).

In her early research on visual spatial memory, Kearins (1976), adopting an evolutionary/ecological approach, attributed this Aboriginal superiority of performance on visual-spatial tasks to environmental adaptations and genetic selection. However, she later considered cultural experiences (child-rearing practices in the case of Aboriginal Australians) equally important in the development of particular cognitive characteristics (Kearins, 1981, 1986). She also attributed poor cognitive performance of Aboriginal Australians in previous research to "the tasks (Western in Origin) and the research setting (Western)" (1986, p. 212).

Davidson and Klich (1980) administered 2 free-recall tasks, one involving pictures and the other one objects, to 9-26 yr. old Australian Desert Aboriginal people. They found that Aboriginal children, unlike western children, generally preferred spatial over temporal recall order. These results did not significantly decrease with age. Davidson and Klich argued that this continued preference for spatial order was interpretable as a purposeful adaptive response to socio-ecological or habitual demand.

Research has also shown that Aboriginal Australians develop specific cognitive skills such as pattern recognition as a result of playing a card-game called

baby kad or *kuns* (Klich & Davidson, 1984). Davidson and Kishor (1984) showed that indigenous games can be used to foster cognitive and memory development.

In the area of learning strategies, Harris (as cited in Klich, 1988, p. 438) has identified five major strategies employed by traditionally oriented Aboriginal coastal people at Milingimbi: a) learning through real-life performance rather than practice in contrived settings, b) the mastering of context-specific skills rather than abstract, generalisable principles, c) learning through observation and imitation rather than through oral or written verbal instruction, d) learning through personal trial-and-error as opposed to verbally mediated demonstrations, e) and an event orientation towards people rather than tasks, information, or systems. These learning strategies appear to be somehow demanded by Aboriginal cultural practices and would naturally arise from and form certain cognitive preferences.

The studies reviewed so far on Aboriginal cognition clearly reflect an earlier trend associated with the notion of deficit and a more recent trend that has explored cognitive strengths of Aboriginal people. These recent studies, while illuminating, do not however address cognitive dimensions that bear upon communicative practices of Aboriginal people. Cognition is not confined to visual perception and learning strategies. It also extends to conceptual structures that feed into communication, either verbal or non-verbal. During the process of communication we employ language and gesture to express our conceptual experience, formed by our cognitive faculties and represented in our cognitive stores. It is obvious that an investigation of conceptual experience that underlies human communication would require a close examination of the features of linguistic and paralinguistic repertoire of the interlocutors. This area might in fact be located at the fringe of psychological research and this is naturally where linguistic research on conceptualisation can

provide significant contribution. This topic is taken up in the next chapter, where a

review of recent research in this area is presented.

CHAPTER 3
CONCEPTUALISATION IN
ABORIGINAL ENGLISH

This chapter begins by presenting a review of recent research on language and conceptualisation. It then focuses on research on conceptual dimensions of Aboriginal English and also presents a model of cultural conceptualisations that has evolved out of this research. The research that was carried out to further explore the model presented in this chapter is reported in the next chapter.

3.1 Language and conceptualisation

There has recently been a growing interest in the study of the human conceptualisation across several disciplines and sub-disciplines. Cognitive linguists, for instance, have been investigating the contents of the human conceptual system and how they are reflected in language (Lakoff, 1987; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Langacker, 1987, 1991, 2000). Cultural linguists (Palmer, 1996) and cognitive anthropologists (D'Andrade, 1995; Strauss & Quinn, 1997) have on the other hand been exploring conceptualisations that are culturally constructed. The following section briefly reviews the basic principles of cognitive and cultural linguistics before turning to the study of Aboriginal conceptualisation.

3.1.1 Cognitive Linguistics

Cognitive Linguistics is a rapidly developing branch of linguistics which attempts to explicate the intimate interrelationship between language and other cognitive faculties (e.g., Bernd, 1997; Casad, 1996; Chafe, 1994; Janssen & Redeker, 1999; Lakoff, 1987; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Langacker, 1987, 1991, 2000; Liebert, Redeker, & Waugh, 1997; Talmy, 1988). The basic tenets of Cognitive Linguistics are:

a) Meaning is conceptualisation.

b) There is a difference between the real world and the conceptualized world.

c) There is no direct correspondence between these two worlds.

d) The cognitive theory of language describes only the organization of this conceptualized world.

What differentiates the various theoretical frameworks in Cognitive Linguistics from each other is the nature of the specific facet each has set out to explore (Dirven & Verspoor, 1998; Casad, 1996). Chafe (1994), for example, explores the relationship between discourse units, thought, and consciousness. Lakoff (1987) deals with the question of how people use metaphors in understanding different aspects of concepts. Talmy (1988) applies "force concepts" to the organization of meaning in language and aims to demonstrate the pervasiveness of force-dynamics thinking.

One of the many strands of research within the paradigm of Cognitive Linguistics is Cognitive Grammar, which was founded by Ronald Langacker (e.g., 1987, 1988, 1991, 2000) in an attempt to formulate a conceptually-grounded description of grammar. Langacker's view of language is a symbolic one. He maintains that grammar is a speaker's knowledge of the linguistic conventions created by the community of speakers of which he/she is a member. Langacker's conception of grammar allows the ascription of only three kinds of entities to a linguistic system: a) semantic, phonological, and symbolic units; b) schemas for such structures; and c) categorizing relationships among the permitted elements.

Another influential development in Cognitive Linguistics has come to be known as "thinking-for-speaking" (McNeill, 2000; Slobin, 1987, 1996). This research area addresses a level of thinking that "involves picking those characteristics that (a) fit some conceptualisation of the event, and (b) are readily encodable in the language" (Slobin, 1987, p. 435). Thinking-for-speaking is different from the Whorfian

linguistic relativity hypothesis in that Whorf's theory emphasizes the effect of language on general patterns of cognition, whereas thinking-for-speaking refers to how, in real-time, speakers organize their thinking in order to meet the demands of linguistic encoding. "Whatever else language may do in human thought and action, it surely directs us to "attend" – while speaking – to the dimensions of experience that are enshrined in grammatical categories" (Slobin, 1996, p. 71).

A major strand of research in cognitive linguistics is what has become known as *conceptual blending*, or *conceptual integration*. These terms in fact refer to the process of mapping from two cognitive spaces, called 'mental spaces', into a third one, called 'the blend', to create a novel concept (Coulson, 2001; Coulson & Fauconnier, 1999; Fauconnier, 1997; Fauconnier & Turner, 1998; Lakoff & Turner, 1989; Turner, 1996). Conceptual blending is a powerful meaning construction process which usually leads to the coinage of words, phrases, and even grammatical structures. Through entrenchment, blending can have an impact on the conventional aspects of a language and the blends themselves can become conventionalized. Metaphoric use of language is largely based on this cognitive phenomenon. Blending can in fact account for a wide range of linguistic phenomena, from lexical to syntactic and discoursal.

3.1.2 Cultural Linguistics

In his seminal work *Toward a theory of cultural linguistics*, Gary Palmer (1996) defines cultural linguistics as a synthesis of cognitive linguistics and linguistic anthropology. Linguistic anthropology is mainly governed by three frameworks: Boasian linguistics, ethnosemantics, and the ethnography of speaking. These traditions, Palmer observes, share an interest in the native's point of view. According to Palmer, what is missing in traditional anthropological linguistics is "a more

systematic cognitive approach that would embrace the goals of grasping the native point of view and of studying language in use in its social and cultural context" (1996, p. 35) and this can be provided by cognitive linguistics.

Cultural linguistics can in fact be regarded as an extension of cognitive linguistics into cultural domains. Palmer (1996) regards cultural linguistics as an approach which foregrounds certain culturally constructed cognitive structures, which he refers to as 'cultural imagery', in explanations of linguistic behaviour. In this sense 'imagery' refers to cognitive models, symbols, schemas, prototypes, basic categories, complex categories, metaphor, metonymy, social scenarios, etc. (Palmer, 1996, p. 46). These are in fact among the major analytical concepts that cultural linguistics borrows from cognitive linguistics.

Palmer and his collegues (e.g., Palemr, 1993, 1996, in press; Palmer, Bennett, Stacey, 1999; Palmer & Arin, 1999; Palmer & Woodman, 1999) applies cultural linguistic theory to the study of phenomena such as Kuna narrative sequence, Bedouin lamentations, spatial organization in Coeur d'Alene place names and anatomical terms, honorifics in Japanese sales language, the domain of ancestral spirits in Proto-Bantu noun-classifiers, Chinese counterfactuals, and perspective schemas in English. It has been noted, for example, that Kuna Indians of Panama do not construct their narrative structure based on temporal ordering (Sherzer, 1987). In other words, the speakers do not seem to rely on temporal schemas in their narrativization of experience. Palmer attributes this to the salience and valuation of the imagery in the narrator's worldview.

3.2 Conceptualisation in Aboriginal English

The history of research on conceptualisation in Aboriginal English is very recent. In a series of attempts, Malcolm and his colleagues identified schemas that fed larger units

of discourse in more than 200 naturalistic oral narratives produced by Aboriginal children from Yamatji and Nyungar cultural subgroups living in urban and non-urban areas in Western Australia (see Malcolm, 2001a; Malcolm & Rochecouste, 2000; Malcolm & Sharifian, 2002).

In these attempts various features of ordinary discourse were closely examined for what they could reveal about underlying schemas. These clues were certain linguistic features, such as lexical items, that recurred across samples of discourse in a particular language or dialect. As Palmer (1996) states: 'vocabularies relate to schema, so that in a particular instance of usage each word corresponds to a part of some schema or a perspective on a schema' (p. 66). Often the recurrent textual features and their associated schemas pointed to some cultural practices, institutions, beliefs or values.

There were overall 22 schemas identified in the Aboriginal English narratives analysed. Some of these schemas appeared to be strongly rooted in Aboriginal cultural values and others could be described as 'blends', representing an accommodation to wider cultural values and institutions. The following five schemas appeared to account for over 70 percent of the occurrences (Malcolm, 2001a):

Travel schema: the representation of the experience of known participants, organized in terms of alternating travelling (or moving) and non-travelling (or stopping) segments, usually referenced to a time of departure and optionally including a return to the starting point (see Malcolm, 1994a, for more details).

Hunting schema: the representation of experience of known participants, organized with respect to the observation, pursuit and capture of prey, usually

entailing killing and sometimes eating it. Success is usually associated with persistence expressed with repeated and/or unsuccessful actions (e.g., shoot and miss, look and never find). There are a number of subschemas associated with hunting, including Cooking, Fishing and Spotting.

Observing schema: the representation of experience, usually shared experience, in terms of observed details, whether of natural or social phenomena.

Scary Things schema: The representation of experience, either first-hand or vicarious, of strange powers or persons affecting normal life within the community and manifest in the expression of appearance and disappearance or seeing or not seeing/finding evidence of the phenomenon in question.

Family schema: The representation of experience in relation to an extended family network.

The following excerpt was among those analyzed by Malcolm and his colleagues:

Y14 Warwick Cooke

1 This is a story when I was out in the bush.

2 Ingada Village, Carnarvon.

3 Um When I was out on W__ Station

4 Me and Tom Roper my cousin we went out

5 we went out drivin drivin a automatic car

6 And we's cartin rubbish up and down

7 And so we finished our cartin rubbish

8 And we went up to the shearing shed

9 And we chased a emu up the flat

10 Then, then we caught 'im

11 then we killed 'im

12 And we came back with 'im

13 And so, so, his father cooked it

14 And we 'ad a good feed

15 And then, that'll be the end of the story.

16 See ya later.

It can be seen that the narrative instantiates the Aboriginal schema of Hunting. The recurrent lexical items associated with Hunting schema, which are also used in the above text, are "went out", "driving along", "out in the bush", "chasing", "catching", "killing", "coming back", and "having a feed". It should however be noted that in many cases the texts were found to be associated with more than one schema. In this case, part of the organization is based on Travel schema (lines 4, 5: moving; lines 6, 7: stopping; lines 8, 9: moving; lines 10, 11: stopping; line 12: moving; lines 13, 14: stopping).

Malcolm and Rochecouste (2000) found certain discourse strategies have also been found to be associated with schemas. For example, the discourse strategy 'surveying' has been frequently observed to be associated with Hunting and Observing schemas. Surveying is defined as:

...an inclusive way of describing a scene or a succession of actions so that nothing is highlighted above the rest. Thus, undeveloped detail may be included simply because it's there, rather than because it progresses a particular narrative trajectory. (Malcolm & Rochecouste, 2000, p. 270)

It has also been observed that certain recognizable discourse forms, called 'genres', are also associated with these schemas. For instance, the following genres appear to be associated with the Hunting schema in Aboriginal English discourse:

Hunting yarn: a narration of hunting experience following the Hunting schema.

Fishing yarn: a narration of fishing experience following the Hunting schema.

Sporting yarn: a narration of sporting experience following the Hunting schema.

The analysis of discourse in Aboriginal English has also suggested that sometimes the narrator drew on an Aboriginal cultural schema, such as the Hunting schema, in framing certain activities that Aboriginal people share with the non-Aboriginal society, such as describing a game of football. The following text exemplifies this phenomenon:

Y18 Sporting Exploits

1 K:No I'll tell you one about . . yesterday when we played footy

2 J: Go on den

3 A:go on then

4 K:First off I started off in the back line . . standin up you know . .

5 then . . . footy come towards me boy

6 I just made 'em jump

(laughter)

7 X:come looking for dat-8

K:– got it out of the back line . .

9 next minute . . they brang it back down dere again.

10 I was playing on on Arnold Arnold Garvey . .

11 den they xx then so they put-12

X: (laugh) Arnold Garvey?

13 K: so they put Chester on Arnold . .

14 and I went full forward den.

15 X: ayy

16 K: So dey got . . knocked the ball down . .

17 tossed it up again you know . . .

18 then . . dey . . got down to our . . end . .

19 got the first goal

20 and then brother . . snap. Me.

21 Went straight down the foward line

22 snapped the first goal

(laughter)

23 K: I snapped two dere . . two yesterday . .

24 and thas all.

25 Not yesterday . . Sunday.

26 J: You must be wicked you . . .

27 K: hyehhh (Source: Malcolm & Sharifian, 2002, p. 176)

The above text reveals a relatively high degree of attention to the details in the environment, the suspensory use of parataxis and also foregrounding of 'persistence'. These are all features that are frequently observed in texts associated with the Hunting schema (Malcolm & Sharifian, 2002).

The analysis of discourse in Aboriginal English has also revealed certain other distinctive patterns which provide us with clues about Aboriginal conceptualisation (Sharifian, 2001; Sharifian, 2002). These include the way certain devices such as demonstratives operate to the overall organization of texts in Aboriginal English. The following section presents a detailed review of this research strand.

3.2.1 Schema-based Processing in Aboriginal English Speakers

This section presents a detailed review of schema-based processing in Aboriginal English carried out by the present investigator, reproduced from Sharifian (2001b). The analysis suggests that during the processing of discourse, sometimes schemas appear to trigger one another in an exponential fashion. That is, consecutive sentences in a text may be attributed to different Aboriginal schemas. In fact several schemas seem to underlie the production of a relatively short piece of discourse. It is to be noted that the activation of a new schema may not always be marked by any discourse markers. The following story written by an Aboriginal student may exemplify this pattern.

Text 1

1. like doing washing at Camp

2. and my name is Rosalyn

3. I live at McLaren

4. and my brother Peter Stevens Ricky Simon

5. and sisters Josephine Sussanne Lorraine Jane Lisa Mirelle

6. and my sisters and brothers tell Some Story for me

7. and they always went hunting for Emo and Truckey

8. I like to drive bus

(Source: Gillespie, 1991)

As evident, this story is something of an autobiography, in which the author introduces herself (lines 2–3) and the members of her family (lines 4–5) and then mentioning the names of the family members activates Story Telling (line 6) and Hunting (line 7) schemas. The activation of Hunting schema in turn triggers 'bus driving' (line 8), a Travel schema, which seems to be a sub-schema of the author's Hunting schema.

This pattern of schema activation also suggests the existence of cultural associations such as 'family' with 'hunting' and 'hunting' with 'bus driving'. Aboriginal researchers suggested that 'bus driving' could reasonably be associated with Hunting schema in Aboriginal children. This is because usually Aboriginal people have to travel a long way to get to the hunting ground and this could be by bus and that would usually be a good chance for Aboriginal children to learn how to drive. Patterns of association like this may make Aboriginal discourse less transparent to non-Aboriginal people. Schemas or sub-schemas which are associated with each other in Aboriginal cognition may not necessarily be considered as related by non-Aboriginal speakers and that is where culture and life experience leave their footprints on human cognition.

Another distinctive feature of discourse in Aboriginal English is the pattern observed that pieces of a text refer to different topics and one topic is introduced and reintroduced in the same text. It is as if a schema gets activated and then inactivated, or backgrounded, and then after a few sentences it is reactivated, or forgrounded. The following text exemplifies this phenomenon in Aboriginal English discourse:

Text 2

1. Oh. .um my uncle David

2. he's at the station

3. and he was driving along

4. from Windmill run …

5. cos he drives that slow …

6. and he still comin back …

7. comin back ome …

8. an e's goin to this one windmill …

9. big mob o emus …

10. seen it …

11. y' know dey got pad

12. goin along de road …

13. an e was drivin along

14. an e seen

15. he looked in is revision mirror

16. and big light was

17. behin im …

18. so e didn't worry about it

19. e jus kept on goin along …

20. an when e looked again it wasn't dere …

21. it was in front of im

22. den … e was driving along

23. and e got to one windmill

24. and bi-i-iggest mob o emus …

25. packed …

26. at that emu …

27. yeah you make emu farm outta dat …

28. yeah about sixty … seventy

29. Dey jus all scatter

In the above text, the narrator starts talking about driving (Travel schema) and then seeing emus (Observing schema) and from line 14 to 21 the text is about some kind of 'light', which is associated with a spiritual presence (discussed later in this chapter) and therefore it may be identified as a Scary Things schema. As of line 21, the narrator seems to have refocused on, or reactivated, the previous schemas of driving and observing. The repetitions of 'going along' (lines 10 and 15) and 'driving along' (lines 11 and 18) seem to have the function of maintaining the Travel schema in the background.

Text 3

1. On the way back from Mullewa

2. We saw a goanna

3. And my um uncle he was hitting it on the head with a rock

4. and we caught it

5. and we ate it up for dinner

6. and um it tastes nice

7. and we went to Geraldton

8. and we had lots of fun

9. and we had to go 'ome for dinner

10. and my uncle ate most of it

11. He had it knock it on the head twice

12. And it was really fun....

13. Bye.

In the above text, the pattern discussed in the preceding section is evident in the repetition of 'dinner' event (lines 5 and 9) and also 'knocking the goanna on the head' (lines 3 and 11). The narrator seems to have finished the story by line 8, but the next sentence (line 9) refocuses on 'dinner' and line 11 also refocuses on 'knocking the snack on the head' previously mentioned in line 3.

The above-discussed features point to an ability on the part of Aboriginal English speakers to shift abruptly and seemingly unpredictably between schemas. Consultation with several Aboriginal research assistants suggests that such patterns of schema-based processing could be attributed to the fact the Aboriginal children are reared within their extended familial environments where they are usually exposed to several simultaneous conversations carried out by the members of their family and/or friends. This exposure to several simultaneous communication channels may lead to the development of certain cognitive habits, reflected in the processing and production of discourse by these children. This suggests that language may reflect

cognitive preferences and habits which may be formed or informed by cultural practices.

3.2.2 Schema-based or image-based referencing

Another salient feature of the Aboriginal English texts analysed for this study is what may be called schema-based or image-based referencing. In Aboriginal English discourse, sometimes referential devices such as demonstratives reveal no 'anaphoric' or 'cataphoric' referencing functions. It seems that these devices retrieve their antecedents from schemas activated or images evoked – depending on how canonical the situation is – in the mind of the person, rather than the discourse preceding or following their reference (i.e. linguistic context). In other words, their referencing seems to be schema-based or image-based rather than discourse-based. Such referential devices do not even appear to refer to any referents in the immediate context of the discourse (i.e. physical context) either.

Overall, in Halliday's terms (Halliday & Hasan, 1976), such referencing appears to be neither endophoric nor exophoric. The following discourse extracts exemplify this feature of Aboriginal discourse processing:

Text 4

G: Michael e's just on the farm out there

EH: Where I' is here?

G: E- e's out the B- farm

EH: He came back

G: I think e went back down there for **that** funeral

Text 5

J: My sister she went to … she went to put er rubbish away …

K: Yeah

J: an she was messin roun playin like dat

an … she was gunna git cut

K: mmm

J: she came out like dat dere …

she nearly killed **dat** snake

A she stepped on the snake like dat

J: Yeah.

It can be noted that the underlined demonstratives in the above texts do not seem to refer to any elements in the discourse preceding or following their occurrence. It is as if the speaker visualises the scene or the schema and is making a reference, using the demonstrative "dat", to the elements of those images or schemas, rather than tracing back the antecedents to the preceding discourse.

This view was partly supported by an observation made concerning the following text.

Text 6

We seen **that** biig pretty snake, unna

It was mostly green

Real pretty green on it had some bits of other colours to

But mostly pretty green

It was cruel long …

(From an unpublished text by Glenys Collard, Nyungar Aboriginal)

When the writer of the above text was asked, 'Which snake?', she replied, pointing her index finger upward, 'That snake!'. This gesture somehow suggested that she was referring to an image evoked at the time in her mind rather than to any element of the discourse.

Schema-based referencing may be pertinent to the assumption of shared cultural schemas. That is, referential devices discussed above may refer to default elements in Aboriginal cultural schemas. The reliance on visualisation, or image-based referencing, in the process of formulating discourse may also arise from the superior visual-spatial skills of Aboriginal children. Research has shown that Aboriginal children outperformed non-Aboriginal children in tasks requiring visual memory (e.g. Kearins, 1986). Kearins attributes this visual superiority to certain Aboriginal child-rearing practices.

3.2.3 Minimal verbal processing

The texts analysed for this study reveal another salient recurrent feature and that is the prevalence of minimal discourse. I use minimal discourse to refer to discourse marked by the pervasive use of elliptic utterances denoting and describing complete propositions and events. Verbal interaction in Aboriginal English is heavily marked by minimal discourse. Malcolm (1982) observed a similar feature in responses given to non-Aboriginal teachers by Aboriginal students which he refers to as unelaborated response. The breakdown in communication between Aboriginal English speakers and non-Aboriginal speakers may partly be attributed to this feature of Aboriginal English discourse. The following fragment of Aboriginal discourse exemplifies this phenomenon:

Text 7

1. No big boy A … reckon

2. he help K …

3. was drivin back from Wiluna or whatever some place

4. an light behind,

5. look in revision mirror 1

6. no he's gone,

7. drivin along

8. saw i',

9. look in the 'vision mirror again,

10. look in the back seat,

11. an ole ole blackfella sittin in the back seat, lookin at im

Minimal discourse in the above text is best reflected in the use of short fragments of utterances in lines 4 to 8. This discoursal feature may in fact be a surface reflection of a cognitive phenomenon where, using the terminology of network models of memory (e.g. Sharifian & Samani, 1997), certain nodes that are activated in the memory network of the speaker are not verbally processed (i.e. not verbalised). This may be called minimal verbal processing. This 'economy' principle in verbal processing may stem from the assumption of shared cultural schemas made by a speaker about the audience. In such cases the speaker may find complex or detailed verbal processing unnecessary. For example, in the above text (Text 7), light behind (line 4) activates a schema that is shared at least by Aboriginal people coming from the same cultural background, and therefore makes it unnecessary for the speaker to elaborate on her sentences. This 'light' is known as the minmin light and is variously associated with spiritual presence for different Aboriginal cultural groups. The following analytical

note summarises a discussion by Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal research team members concerning this light:

> This light is known to Wadjelas [non-Aboriginal people] as the 'minmin' light, based on the name given to it by an Aboriginal group in the east of Australia. This type of story is very common in Western Australia. Nyungars [an Aboriginal cultural group] don't look in the rear vision mirror because they know they'll see someone sitting in the back seat. GC gives an example of her partner's experience driving from Mt Morgan east of Kondinin. A light followed them all the way back, but he didn't look in the back. It goes with a smell. You can't let the light sidetrack you, or you get lost. Don't look in the mirror or a spirit will take you away. FS notes that these stories seem to operate by means of a general frame rather than a script. (Aboriginal English Analytical Database, 2000)

As can be seen, a word or a phrase may suffice for a cultural group to activate in their mind a schema containing a lot of cultural knowledge, while the same word or phrase may mean nothing or may activate a wrong schema in people from other cultural groups. This is an example of a case where certain texts engage schema-driven processing in the interlocutors who share their cultural schemas, while engaging data-driven processing in those who do not. Such instances reveal how culture may impinge upon conceptual systems and processes and also how these may facilitate intracultural communication while impairing intercultural communication.

3.2.4 Chaos in Aboriginal English discourse

Often non-Aboriginal speakers of English perceive discourse in Aboriginal English as 'chaotic'. This chaos is perceived in the way utterances are put together to form larger strings and stretches of discourse. It is this chaos that somehow disrupts the flow of communication between Aboriginal students and non-Aboriginal teachers. As part of the metaproject on conceptualisation, the present investigator undertook a close analysis to detect the factors that may be responsible for this discoursal phenomenon. The following is a detailed report of this analysis, reproduced from Sharifian (2002).

The analysis drew on more than 100 texts, mainly oral narratives from Aboriginal child speakers of Aboriginal English in Western Australia and a number of written texts in Aboriginal English from Aboriginal child speakers living in the Northern Territory in Australia. The term "chaos", as it is used here, is borrowed from chaos theory, which aims at describing and explaining dynamic complex systems (Hilborn, 1994). Research on chaotic systems has revealed patterns of order within disorder, made possible through the use of computer programs modeling sizable amounts of data. Along the same line, the present study is an attempt to detect possible order in "chaotic" discourse in Aboriginal English.

Part of the chaos perceived in Aboriginal English discourse, particularly narrative discourse, arises from its frequent non-reliance on, but not necessarily absence of, *temporal ordering*. This feature of Aboriginal English is in parallel with the non-linearity observed in chaotic systems. Consider the following text written by an Aboriginal student (Source: Gillespie, 1991):

Green birds Text

On the weekend we went to look for Green birds

57

and we came to camp

and we went to watch videos

and we went to sleep

and eat meat

and we were plaing marbles

and we went to the lard to Look the big bulloc.

An Aboriginal research assistant was asked to number the clauses in the above text according to their most probable original order of occurrence of the represented events. In other words, the aim was to construct the order of events in *fabula* (i.e., what actually happened) from the order of presentation in *sjuzhet* (i.e., what is presented). The ordering given was as follows:

line 2>line1>line 7> line 6>line 5> line 3> line 4

This means that the above text could be temporally rewritten as:

and we came to camp

On the weekend we went to look for Green birds

and we went to the lard to Look the big bulloc

and we were plaing marbles

and eat meat

and we went to watch videos

and we went to sleep

The lack of preference for temporal ordering in Aboriginal English discourse is also reflected in the relatively high frequency of the occurrence of the connective "and" instead of temporal connectives such as "first", "second", "next", etc. The following text shows how an Aboriginal English speaker may connect the utterances by means of"and":

The Bloke with the Shotgun Text

(The speaker is an Aboriginal boy aged 9, in a group of 5 boys and 4 girls 5, Aboriginal and 4 non-Aboriginal. R is an Aboriginal boy aged 11)

L: And last time when we were livin over the (street address)

well we went over dis bloke's house

and e's had dis dog

and e ad a double barrel shotgun

R: that's goin

L: and..

I: it's going

L: we went through de tunnel

and a dog.. de dog came..

and.. we took off

and.. we went to the caravans park

an this other bloke he ad.. he ad dis um gun

and e's two dogs..

and.. we um tried to jump the fence of the caravan park

but it was too high for me

so my hu- cousin Henry well he chucked me over

and and I landed on my head.

 I jarred him!

(others laughing)

Temporal ordering has been believed by some to lie at the very heart of narrative (e.g., Labov, 1972). For these scholars, "temporally ordered clauses (and only these) are labeled 'narrative clauses'" (Reinhart, 1984, p. 779). For them, in narratives, the order of presentation (i.e., sjuzhet) is the same as the original order of occurrence of the events (i.e., fabula). Narratives should have a temporal axis called 'skeleton' of the text, around which the non-narrative flesh is organized (Labov, 1972).

A writer may of course, according to this interpretation of narrative, choose to avoid any overlap between the order of events and the order of presentation (Reinhart, 1984). This may for example be achieved by the use of certain lexical and syntactic devices, such as embedding and subordination. The following sentence from Reinhart shows how syntactic embedding may be used to distort the original temporal order of events:

- A friend of mine came in just in time to stop this person who had a little too much to drink from attacking me.

This temporal ordering avoidance strategy may be employed where story telling is not the appropriate genre or where the writer wants to create a special effect. A good example would be news report, where the report may include temporal materials but the news report genre does not allow 'narrativity'. In these cases the writer makes

every attempt to avoid the overlap of the two orders (see Reinhart, 1984). It is to be noted here that the avoidance of temporal ordering in Aboriginal English discourse may not be attributed to the requirements of school genres or stylistic appropriateness. Thus, we should move beyond the level of text to search for answers.

Thus far, we have mentioned two different levels of temporal ordering: order of events in fabula, and order of presentation in sjuzhet. There is however a third level, which is representation of temporality in the mind of an author. This is perhaps what Onega and Landa (1996) call "story", the level of representation between fabula and text. "A text is a linguistic construct, while a story is a cognitive scheme of events" (p. 8). It is at this cognitive level that this study is seeking explanations for non-linearity. It is the contention of this study that certain perceptual and cognitive principles of organization should be at work in determining the order of presentation in Aboriginal English discourse.

Non-linearity in discourse may be attributed to the modes of information processing. (TenHouten, 1995, 1997, 1999). Having observed a non-linearity in Aboriginal discourse, TenHouten maintains, "[t]oday's Australian Aborigines are the bearers of the world's most ancient civilization. Their thinking patterns do not feature logical-analytic, linear information processing, but rather a gestalt-synthetic mode of information processing" (TenHouten, 1999, p. 127).

Based on his observation of differential patterns of time-consciousness, TenHouten (1999) constructs a conceptual model, in which he introduces *patterned-cyclical* as opposed to *ordinary-linear* form of time-consciousness. He characterises pattern-cyclical time-consciousness as having the following features:

a) It is *dualistic,* which means it is based on two levels of reality: "the sacred inner reality and the profane outer reality" (TenHouten, 1999, p. 128)

b) There is *fusion of the past and the present.*

c) It is *irregular, discontinuous,* and *heterogeneous.*

d) It is *event-oriented.*

e) It is *cyclical and based on overlapping and interdependent patterns and oscillations.*

f) It is *qualitative,* which refers to non-numerical assessment and "now" being the anchor point.

g) It is *based on the experience of long duration,* which refers to subjectivity of time passage.

TenHouten (1999) contrasts these characteristics with the linear form of time-consciousness, which is one dimensional, continuous, quantitative, and which can be partitioned into past, present, and future. Employing a Neurocognitive Hierarchical Categorization Analysis (NHCA), which is a lexical categorization method using *Roget's International Thesaurus,* TenHouten analyzes 168 life-historical interviews with Aboriginal and Euro-Australian people and concludes that time-consciousness in Aboriginal people is predominantly pattern-cyclical while it is primarily ordinary-linear in Euro-Australians. TenHouten (1999) relates these two patterns of time-consciousness to cerebral hemisphericity as follows:

> Linear time-consciousness, it is proposed here, is an aspect of the logical-analytic mode of informational processing of the left cerebral hemisphere (of the adult right-handed person); and patterned-cyclic time-consciousness is

proposed to be an aspect of the gestalt-synthetic information processing that is characteristic of the right hemisphere. (p. 133)

TenHouten (1985, 1986) had previously used several other cognitive tests and tasks and the results he had found all gave evidence of right hemisphericity in Aboriginal children. For example, TenHouten (1985) found that Aboriginal children outperformed non-Aboriginal children on Closure 79 (a right-hemisphere dependent visual closure test), in spite of their lower performance on WISC-R (a left hemisphere dependent word-pairs test). He also found higher percentages of leftward conjugate lateral eye movements in Aboriginal children than non-Aboriginal children, which reflects right-hemisphericity on the level of hemispheric activation. Hemisphericity is in fact a tendency to rely more on the resources of one hemisphere than the other and is hypothesized to be partly determined by socio-cultural factors (see TenHouten, 1999).

A point that may be worth raising here concerns the association of linearity with "logic", as reflected in TenHouten's use of "logical-analytic" in the above quotation. "Logic" is used here as though logic is a single objectively-definable reality either perceived or conceived by the human mind. We should keep in mind, however, that studies in logic during the past century have shown us alternative ways of defining, modeling and applying logic. One of these alternative *non-linear* "logics" is what came to be known as *fuzzy logic*, which extends the concept of logic to encompass much more than a binary possibility of formal logic, and which can handle non-linear, time-variable systems as well (Zadeh, 1996). It may well be that non-linearity in Aboriginal cognition is a reflection of some alternative "logic" of representation and processing of information.

Gell (1996) uses syllogistic logic and shows that, "there is no reason to suppose that 'temporal logic' is part of the foundations on which all intelligible thought must rest … Ordinary logic is time-indifferent" (p, 243). In the hypothetico-deductive method of logical reasoning (e.g., Sharifian, 1999), for instance, the major premise is a strict universal statement not bound by place or time.

TenHouten does not provide any textual examples for the features that he identifies with the pattern-cyclical time-consciousness; nor does he mention the language or the dialect of the speakers in his study. However, based on his definitions and descriptions, it appears that some of these features are in consonance, more or less, with the features observed to be prevalent in Aboriginal English. The following texts from the data analyzed for this study will illustrate some of these characteristics:

Devil's visit (Text 3)

(IM is a non-Aboriginal researcher and the others are primary-school Aboriginal students)

Gavin: One devil came to me

IM   : A devil came to you?

Gavin: Yeah.. (at Onslow

IM   :   (well tell me all about it Gavin

Gavin: Out the window.

IM   : Out the window…(What do you mean?

Gavin: (Yeah… I was 'wake for a looong time..

Dat's out xxxx (an I was

IM: (Yes.. you were in the house were you?

Raymond: (xxxxx dere?

Gavin: (Yeah.. an I looked..

An I was..

Wiped the window..

Then I seen sumpin come aroun the corner dere...

Feather-foot stories (Text 5)

...

  Like dese blackfellas we saw dey was featherfoot

ey was singing a s song in the bush dere..

Yamatji song

Singing Story (Text 7)

R: um the last um.. last um.... well next year..

IM: [yes

R: [Well

we- we um we was eatin these eatin our tea..

well um.. we had the lights on

and dis um sing.. an dis man.. he come..

it was a umm blackfella..

an e come

an e.. e sing..

he was sing...

I don't know what he was doing..

And sing..

Then all of the uh lights switched off..

An we didn't switch them off.

Hunting (Text 13)

T: At the station

Me and my dad and my mother and my brother

We went we went camping out

Sporting exploits (Text 18)

….

First off I started off in the back line standin up you know..

then footy come towards me boy …

Little man story (Text 20)

Um.. when I 'as asleep at 'ome

When I 'as asleep at 'ome ..

One.. one little man was dere.

I was.. I was I went under the rug

An it it come right up to me …

Granddad and the bobtail (Text 27)

When we was at.. Mavis's house..

well..

we make our shed…

there was a little tire there …

In texts 3, 5, 7, and 20 the Aboriginal speakers talk about experiences belonging to a world, called *The Dreaming*, that transcends the world boundaries experienced by many non-Aboriginal people. Maddock (1982) maintains that, "Aboriginal cosmology supposes that nature and culture were formed at the same time, and it attributes both to powers who lived in the world during The Dreaming and are present in it still, though no longer generally visible, for they have withdrawn from view" (p. 105). Durkheim (1912/1965) believed that Aboriginal people conceive of "two heterogeneous and mutually incomparable worlds" (p. 250). This, according to TenHouten (1999, p. 128), accounts for the "irregularity, discontinuity, and heterogeneity" in time-consciousness. It should however be noted here that Aboriginal people may not necessarily tend to draw a separating line between these "two worlds" and may even find the label of Dreaming inappropriate, as it may suggest "an unreal experience".

Text 13 shows a frequent feature of Aboriginal English discourse: mentioning the name of a place (i.e., "At the station") rather than a specific point in time, as the starting point of the recount. Marking the timing of a recount in Aboriginal English discourse is often in the form of "When + an event and/or a place". In Texts 20 and 27, for example, the opening lines of the story clearly show this pattern of "place/event-orientedness". Note that a non-Aboriginal speaker of English may tend to mark the specific point in time when something happened and thus say, "When I was asleep at home *last night*" or "We were at Mavis's house *last week/the other day*" as the description of the setting in a story.

Event-orientedness is also reflected in Text 3 where the speaker starts off the recount without marking the time of the event. Note how the first line of Text 7 reveals an attempt made by the Aboriginal child speaker to accommodate to non-

Aboriginal ways of talking by trying to build a time frame. The "synchronic ordering of events" in Aboriginal English discourse may be equated with a non-reliance on temporal ordering exemplified earlier by the Green Birds Text.

The "Fusion of past and present" may be reflected in using the present and the past form of a verb in describing a single event. This pattern can be observed in Texts 7 (lines 7-8), Text 18, Text 20 (lines 4-5), Text 27 (lines 3-4). It should be admitted here that the fusion of past and present as marked in a verb is related to the structure of "tense" and may or may not be a reflection of "time-consciousness" as a cognitive notion.

Overall, the above features of Aboriginal English discourse point to a non-reliance on temporality on the part of Aboriginal English speakers in structuring their discourse. This is in parallel with the findings of research conducted on cognitive skills of Australian Aboriginal people. Davidson and Klich (1980) observed a preference for spatial ordering and a lack of preference for temporal ordering in Aboriginal children in two free-recall tasks with pictures and objects. They attributed this preference for spatial ordering to cultural and environmental influences. Davidson (1979) also refers to evidence suggesting that, in traditional tasks such as card playing and orienting, Aboriginal people seem to store and retrieve spatially information that was sampled temporally.

Since temporal ordering is closely associated with the notion of "time", a brief discussion of how time is viewed in relation to cognition may prove of some insight here. The notion of "time", as we apply it to the 'temporalization' of experience, is mainly a cognitive construction (see Bender & Wellbery, 1991). Construction of linear time and setting it out as a framework within which life forms are embedded appears to be a preference and a demand in certain societal systems, such as the

clock-and calendar oriented ones. Leach (1961) believes that "the idea of Time … is one of those categories we find necessary because we are social animals rather than because of anything empirical in our objective experience of the world" (p. 125).

Cognitive research on temporal memory (e.g., Friedman 1993; Larsen, Thompson, & Hansen, 1996) also reveals that people do not store and retrieve temporal information directly. Rather, they reconstruct the temporal location of past events on the basis of fragments of information remembered about the content of the event (i.e., *temporal cues*) and general knowledge about time patterns (i.e., *temporal schemas*).

The concept of time is not a single, unique notion in human life. At least two different conceptions of time have been identified across cultures by social anthropologists. Several dichotomies have been developed to label these two conceptualisations of time: cyclical/linear, sacred/secular, repetitive/non-repetitive, etc (Gell, 1996). It has been suggested, for example, that time in The Dreaming is sacred and eternal, whereas time in the non-Dreaming is secular and chronological. (Berndt, 1974; Bain, 1992). It seems possible that the conception of The Dreaming by Aboriginal people has diminished their need to rely heavily on chronology. In cognitive terminology, Aboriginal speakers may not find it so necessary to either represent temporal cues or to construct temporal schemas. Instead, other cues or criteria may be used for the retrieval and recall of information from memory. For example, certain recurrent features in Aboriginal English discourse suggest that the order of recall of the events may be determined by consideration of "place" and "event", realized in a sequence like WHERE>WHAT>WHY. That is, a recount may start with the description of a place and/or an event, then moves to what happened

and finally the reasons why it happened. The following passage would exemplify this pattern of recall:

Text 97 (Tormenting Story)

1) FT: Thas what happened to me once..

2) I was out bush..

3) I went to this hill..

4) and this ole fella said 'Oh don't go near that ill'..

5) but me nah..

6) I went up the 'ill..

7) when I was mustering sheep..

8) and I went in

9) lookin in aroun..

10) FT: An these little fellas lived..

11) an that night they come out an

12) tormented me..

13) got me an chucked me outa my bed..

14) chucked the bed on me an all..

15) I had to go back to that hill

16) because I took somethin from the hill

17) what I shouldn'ta taken

18) an I took it back

19) EH: Put it back

20) FT: An those little xx didn't come no more

21) JR: So they knew

22) FT: Oh yeah I took a little a grinding rock

23) FT: I'll take it back

24) I-I'll take that thing back..

25) but they jumped all over me..

26) chucked me out o my bed didn't e..

27) this was out Wiluna..

As it can be seen in the above text, lines 2 and 3 describe where the incident happened, then up to line 15 is a description of what happened and finally lines 16 and 17 explain the reason why "little fellas" tormented the narrator. Therefore, the order of recall here can be said to have been contingent upon where/what/why consideration in that order.

Part of the chaos perceived in Aboriginal English discourse seems to come from a recurrent feature that is called "surveying" (Malcolm, et al. 1999). Malcolm et al. observe that Aboriginal child speakers make a picture, in their discourse, of the whole event surveyed. "Surveying is a discourse strategy (perhaps a sub-genre) exhibited in the oral narrative of Aboriginal child speakers whereby they depict an event in the context of the whole communicative setting in which it takes place" (Malcolm, et al. 1999, p. 50). The italicized section in the following text, transcribed from an oral report of a football game by a six-year-old girl, exemplifies this feature of Aboriginal English.

Koongamia Football Text

1   K: What about football?

2   Did you go an watch your brother play football?

3   A: Yeah na.. I play- I watch myself play football

(laughter)

4	K:	Watch yourself play
5	A:	Yeah
6	K:	Did you go an see.. Christopher play.. er
7	A:	at the WACA
8	K:	at the WACA?
9	A:	Nuh
10	K:	You didn't..
11	A:	Nuh.. cause we [h]as ten games to play
12		Many Ohhh no
13	K:	E's brother was in the.. Little league in Essendon on Sa- um Sunday
14	A:	an Eagles
15	L:	Hey don't.. did he win...when..what day.. you didn't get....
16		ohh don't that would've been solid ay....

(laugh)

17		oh boy I would've been.. I'd've been there standing at the fence..
18		tryin to look through the fence
19	*S:*	*Dey got little cousin*
20		*crawled in the way*
21		*and...Uncle Simon...he-*
22		*O he got hit...*
23		*an there..*
24		*annnd like we watched Fiona Buckley play*
25		*thas her name...*
26		*an er baby was like..*

27		*she's a nice girl wid about ten names..*
28		*an I was only watchin Uncle Simon watchin football*
29	L:	mmm
30	S:	An Jade man he's like my brother
31	A:	My brother e lives at Cue
32	S:	about four five years older then me...e's five
33	L:	mm
34	K:	yeah.

As lines 19 to 26 suggest, the speaker seems to have sampled several aspects of her immediate environment, which are not scenes of the football game, and in reporting the game gives equal prominence to all of the sampled aspects. It is as if the speaker has taken shots from different things happening around her. This recurrent feature of Aboriginal English seems to reflect certain patterns of *selective attention* (Neisser, 1980) in Aboriginal speakers. That is, the scope of vision adopted and attended to by Aboriginal speakers, as reflected in the coverage of events in Aboriginal English discourse, appears to be much wider than that of at least urban non-Aboriginal speakers. This is endorsed by the visual spatial superiority observed in Aboriginal children by cognitive psychologists. Research has constantly shown an advantage for Aboriginal children in tasks requiring spatio-visual processing and memory (e.g., Kearins, 1976, 1981, 1986; Klich & Davidson, 1983).

Aboriginal speakers' vision seems to capture a broader perspective, often with equal prominence given to several aspects of the environment being observed. When observing, a variety of aspects of the environment would be selected for attention by an Aboriginal speaker and these are represented internally to build a gestalt. These

fragments of perceptual information may also be represented as *spatial cues*. It was mentioned earlier in this chapter that research suggests that people represent temporal *cues* and the chronology observed in their retrieval is created by the help of these temporal cues. It may well be that Aboriginal speakers sample and store information about different, apparently unrelated, aspects of the environment as spatial cues, instead of temporal cues, for later recall. The same spatial cues may also be imparted to the interlocutors involved in communication in order for them to construct gestalts, required to develop a global image of the event being described.

Aspects of the environment which are selected for attention are usually somehow perceptually salient to the viewer. This perceptual saliency could be determined by cultural and ecological systems. Aboriginal people attend to features of land and environment that may not be salient to non-Aboriginal people. This could be attributed to survival skills and also to the fact that physical environment, particularly Aboriginal land, has a symbolic significance for Aboriginal people.

Cultural practices such as child-rearing practices may also play a role in determining what is salient to the observer. Kearins (1986) observes that Aboriginal mothers draw their children's close attention to different aspects of the environment from infancy. In fact, she attributes the visual superiority that she observes in Aboriginal children to such cultural practices. Cultural and environmental factors may also have had a bearing in developing a preference in some Aboriginal groups for a certain type of spatial conception called *the absolute system* (Levinson, 1997, 1998). The absolute system of spatial conception, as opposed to the *relative system*, employs linguistic distinctions encoding fixed directions, such as uphill/downhill, upstream/downstream, windward/leeward. The relative system, on the other hand,

would employ terms such as *right, left, back*, and *front*, which encode angles on the horizontal relative to an individual's point of view.

Thus far I have presented the work that has been carried out on various aspects of Aboriginal conceptualisation. An important question which may now be raised is whether the conceptual processes and structures that have thus far been explored are equally shared by the members of the cultural group or not. Often one encounters the word "shared" in discussions of group conceptualisation. The reality however is not so neat as some scholars might think it is. Conceptualisations are in reality *more* or *less* shared and this has serious implications for the studies of conceptualisation at the group level. Thus there appears to be a call for a model of how conceptualisations are spread across the group. In the following section I present such a model by drawing on the notion of *distributed representation*. I first make an attempt to explicate the notions of 'conceptualisation' and 'cultural conceptualisations' and then explore how they are represented across a cultural group.

3.3 A model of Cultural Conceptualisations

Human conceptualisation is largely formed or informed by cultural and ideological systems. Cultural groups are formed not just by physical proximity of individuals but by relative participation of individuals in each other's conceptual world. The degree to which individuals can participate in a cultural group's conceptualised sphere would determine their membership of the group. This participation, or non-participation, is often mirrored in discourse between the members of a cultural group as well as that between people from different cultural backgrounds.

But what are the units or components of the human conceptualisation and where are they? Conceptualisations are various templates that may be formed by our belief systems or derived from our experience of the world. These templates are then

used to organize and predict experience. *Categories* and *schemas* are two primary components of our conceptual systems (e.g., Bartlett 1932; Bobrow & Norman, 1975; Rosch 1978; Sharifian 2001a). While categories organize experience based on certain prototypical characteristics, schemas organize experience based on thematic relationships. There are also secondary units of conceptualisation and they are phenomena such as *metaphor* (e.g., Lakoff & Johnson, 1980), *metonymy*, and *blend* (e.g., Fauconnier 1997). These are secondary in the sense that they are the artefacts of the manipulation of the primary units. In this chapter I will refer to all these units of conceptualisation collectively as *conceptualisations*. My main concern in this chapter, however, will be with the primary units rather than the secondary ones.

What about images? Images are in fact mental pictures that can be recalled from categories and schemas. The word *bird* may recall the image of a sparrow and the word *pizza* may recall the image of sitting on the couch in front of the TV and having pizza with a friend or spouse. On the other hand, categories and schemas are primarily abstract knowledge. Images may also be constructed through various processes of mapping and integration within categories and schemas as well as across categories and schemas. One may integrate 'wings' with an 'elephant' and come up with the image of a flying elephant.

Back to the question of where conceptualisations are, we may at least identify two levels of representation for conceptualisations. Representation simply refers to how information is laid out in certain spaces, such as a computer memory or a neural net. Clearly the individual is the locus of conceptualisations but they may ultimately be distributed across groups. In other words, although they may be initiated in individuals' cognition, conceptualisations may well emerge as *cultural cognitions*.

Thus far, theories dealing with conceptualisations have largely been exploring them at the level of individual cognition and have, therefore, lost sight of group as a level of representation. Augoustinos and Walker (1995, p. 58) observe that "[s]chema theory has been criticised for being too cognitive in nature and lacking a dynamic social and contextual perspective". This has in fact acted as an impetus for researchers to explore conceptualisations which embody knowledge that people have *about* their social world (e.g., Augoustinos & Innes, 1990; Augoustinos & Walker, 1995; van Dijk, 1988). However, this thesis targets society and cultural group as a level of representation and gives an account of conceptualisations that are distributed across the minds in a group.

Recent accounts of human cognition, referred to as *connectionism*, view knowledge as being represented over a network consisting of large numbers of units joined together in patterns of connection (e.g., McClelland & Rumelhart &, 1986; Rumelhart & McClelland, 1986). These models use the human brain as their source of modelling. The units in such models, for example, are analogues to neurons in the human brain. Individual concepts, according to these models, are represented in a distributed fashion across a network of units, or 'neurons', rather than in single units (Churchland & Sejnowski 1992). The key notion in these models is 'distributed representation', as opposed to 'local representation'. Local representations allow for the representation of single concepts in single units but distributed representations are 'spread out' over large networks of units. Eliasmith (2001, p. 1) maintains that "a distributed representation is one in which meaning is not captured by a single symbolic unit, but rather arises from the interaction of a set of units, normally in a network of some sort". The concept of 'day', for instance, does not appear to be

represented by a single 'day cell,' but is rather distributed across a network of 'neurons' (Churchland & Sejnowski 1992).

Schemas and categories, in connectionist models, are viewed as configurations of strongly interconnected units in the network. McLelland, Smolensky, Rumelhart and Hinton (1986, p. 53) define schemas as "coalition of units that cohere". Schemas and categories are basically viewed as emergent properties of the networks. Emergent phenomena occur due to the pattern of interactions between the elements of the system over time. In connectionist models, schemas and categories are not "things" in the mind but patterns which emerge from knowledge that is represented in a distributed fashion across the network (McLelland, Smolensky, Rumelhart, & Hinton, 1986).

A similar model appears to be legitimate at the cultural level of cognition. That is, a cultural group's cognition may be best described as a network of distributed representations across the minds in the group. Cognitive networks do not necessarily end in individuals' skulls but often enter into larger networks of cognitive interconnection with those of others in a group. The units in a cultural cognition would be roughly analogous to the minds that participate in the network, that is, the minds of the members of a cultural group. Distributed accounts of human cognition view meanings as arising from the interaction of a set of units. Similarly, meanings and conceptualisations arise from the interaction at the level of cultural cognition. The basic principle of distributed representations is that the representational interactions among the units can produce emergent group properties that cannot be reduced to the properties of the individuals. Again similarly, interactions between the members of a society can produce emergent conceptualisations that can not be reduced to conceptualisations in individuals.

Cognition at the level of cultural group is also composed of *cultural schemas* and *cultural categories* that can be described as patterns of distributed knowledge across the society. Cultural schemas and cultural categories, which I will refer to from now on collectively as *cultural conceptualisations* (CCs), may embody any kind of knowledge which is formed and represented at the group level, including language, and even science and technology. Communities of people, such as scientists and economists may develop CCs that act as the loci in their intra-group communications.

CCs are developed through social interactions between the members of a cultural group and enable them to think, *more or less*, in one mind. These conceptualisations are negotiated and renegotiated through time and across generations. Both intergenerational discourse and intra-generational discourse often reflect such negotiative processes. Discourse is also a tool for the *maintenance* of CCs. Aboriginal Australians, for instance, heavily rely on oral narrative for the maintenance of their CCs. They also often associate these conceptualisations with certain aspects of the environment to keep them alive (see *schema-based images* below). Here is where the environment enters the domain of cognition. Several scholars have in fact included aspects of the environment in their account of cognition. In an account of what he calls 'distributed cognition', Salomon maintains that "people think in conjunction and partnership with others and with the help of culturally provided tools and implements" (Salomon, 1993, p. xiii). Several others have also observed that cognition is often situated in the material world in such a way that the environment becomes a conceptual medium (e.g., Hutchins, 1995; Hutchins & Klausen 1996; Rogers & Ellis 1994; Zhang & Norman, 1994).

CCs appear to be more coherent in some cultural groups than others. CCs may develop at various levels and group sizes, such as family and clan. There is no direct

relationship between the size of a society and the construction of CCs. The development of CCs depends, to a large extent, on the integrity, uniformity, and solidarity of cognitive systems and subsystems in the target group. This is parallel to the view of schemas held by connectionists, discussed earlier in this chapter. McLelland, Smolensky, Rumelhart and Hinton (1986, p. 53) maintain that "[t]he rigidity of the schema is determined by the tightness of bonding among the units that constitute the schema" (p.37) They also maintain that "units may cohere more or less strongly to their mates and in this sense be more or less a part of the schema" (p. 37). CCs can even emerge in very small cultural groups, where people have rather uniform lifestyles and cognitive systems of beliefs and values. Obviously, 'collectivist' societies develop more coherent CCs than 'individualist' societies. The network in Figure 3.1 can model how knowledge and conceptualisation may be distributed across the minds in a culture.

A CULTURAL SCHEMA
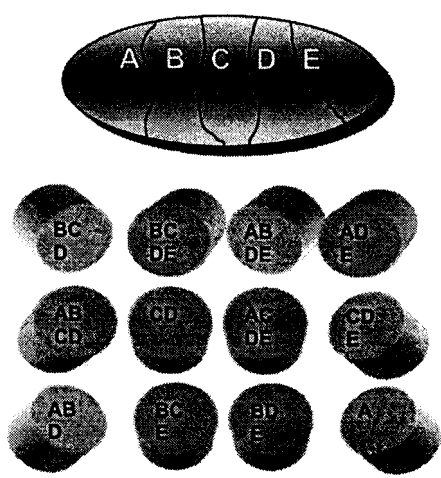
A CULTURAL GROUP

Figure 3.1. A distributed model of a cultural schema

This model reveals how individuals may draw more or less on a higher-level collective schema that operates at the level of cultural group. It clearly shows how knowledge can be represented in a distributed fashion across the minds in a cultural group. In this model, A, B, C, D, and E are elements of a cultural schema. The minds that constitute the cultural network, modeled by the circles in the figure, do not necessarily share all the elements of the schema, nor does each contain all the elements of the schema. The cultural schema is the pattern that emerges from the elements that are more or less deployed in the cultural cognition.

The model also accounts for variations in knowledge between the individual members of a cultural group in that different people may know different elements of a schema and what one shares with another may not necessarily be shared with some others. This patterns of knowledge representation clearly accounts for "fuzzy" understandings which characterise the reality of our communications. In reality people draw *more or less* on a schema, they do not exactly share the same schema. Consider a situation where the mind that knows ABC communicates with the one who knows BCD. Although there is a certain amount of knowledge shared between them (i.e., BC) there is still a certain amount that is not shared (i.e., A & D) and this may result in partial understanding of a message in communication.

An important characteristic of this model which enhances its validity is that a disruption to part of the network does not affect the entire network. Cultural schemas of course are not static, they change over time. The minds which take part in the cultural cognition change, partly as a result of further interaction, and this can naturally change the cultural schemas. Also, minds will go out of the network, due to death for example, and others join in and this also has implications for the states of the cultural schemas. It often happens that when a member of the cultural group

leaves the society to join another society an element in his cognition remains constant while it may change in the original society. People may experience this for example when they go back to their home country after a while.

The reason why a person has A and another one has ABCD may have to do with the degree of participation in the cultural group or the degree to which an individual experiences what others in a cultural group experience. This is true of researchers too, in the sense that the degree to which they interact with various members of a cultural group and the degree to which they experience what others experience would determine the degree to which they can get an understanding of CCs in a particular cultural group.

Obviously, the individual variation, which is most reflected in a situation where one person knows A and the other one BC, may be accounted for in terms of differences in age, gender, etc. This type of variation may also have to do with differences in experience or absence of social interaction.

Of course one may ask the question "So how come we can call the one with A and the one with BC members of the same cultural group?" The answer is by virtue of the fact that they still draw on the same collective cultural schema and also by virtue of the fact that they may share more of other cultural schemas. Consider the model in Figure 3.2.

CULTRUAL SCHEMA X
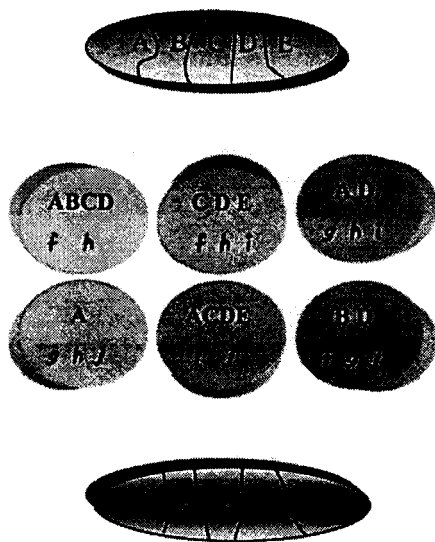
Figure 3.2. A distributed model of cultural schemas

It can be seen that two people can share more elements from the cultural schema X

and less elements of the cultural schema of Y or visa versa. Thus, it is not by virtue of

the knowledge of only one schema that one becomes a member of a cultural group. It

is the overall degree of how much a person draws on various cultural schemas that

makes an individual more or less representative of their cultural group.

3.3.1 Instantiation of CCs

CCs may be instantiated and reflected in cultural artefacts such as painting,

rituals, language, and even in silence. Aspects of these conceptualisations may also be

instantiated through the use of paralinguistic devices such as gesture. In fact different

societies and cultural groups may devise certain unique 'devices' for instantiating

their own CCs. Aboriginal dot painting is one of the media through which Aboriginal

Australians have long instantiated, maintained, and reinforced their CCs. One can often hear several stories associated with one dot-painting. One story, for instance, can be owned by a particular group, another one shared by several groups and yet there would be a sacred-secret story and a public one, all associated with one painting. These stories usually convey Aboriginal conceptualisations which embody Aboriginal worldview and its distinctive account of land, animal, and people, as well as Aboriginal morals, law, and cultural values. The paintings and the stories are passed on to later generations to maintain Aboriginal CCs. It is often observed that, for example, the same schema is instantiated through different stories among different Aboriginal cultural groups. Different levels and units of language such as speech acts, idioms, metaphors, and discourse markers may somehow instantiate aspects of such CCs. As mentioned earlier, discourse is a vehicle for the representation of CCs. Aspects of discourse that heavily draw on these conceptualisations can in fact facilitate intra-societal communication, while debilitating inter-societal communication. Within a cultural group, communication based on CCs would involve much more fluid transfer of messages and would also yield more homogeneous interpretations than communication based on 'idiosyncratic' conceptualisations, which are formed out of intra-personal life experiences of individuals.

3.3.2 CCs and labels

Literature on schema theory abounds with terms and labels for schemas, among them *event schemas, story schemas, attitude schemas* (Augoustinos & Walker, 1995; Mandler, 1984; Palmer, 1996; Schank & Abelson, 1977). Labels such as these primarily highlight the *content* of schemas. A potential problem with developing taxonomies for human conceptualisation based on the content of experience is that the

categories and the labels needed may in practice lead to *at infinitum*. This is due to the fact that human experience is vast and varied in nature and scope. On the other hand, however, such labels have the advantage of making the content of conceptualisations transparent.

I would like to argue here that all of the above-mentioned schemas may be cultural, as far as they deploy in cultural cognition, by being represented in a distributed manner across the minds in a cultural group. Cultural schemas may embody *any* ideational system that emerge at the collective level of knowledge.

Augoustinos and Walker (1995, p. 32) have employed the term *social schema* to refer to "cognitive structures which contain knowledge of the social world". The term 'social' in this context still refers to the *content* of schemas rather than their representation. Social schemas are still knowledge at the level of individual, but "about people, groups and events" (Augoustinos & Walker, 1995, p. 32), whereas cultural schemas embody a group's collective knowledge, which is distributed across the minds in the group. In their eloquent work, Augoustinos and Walker classify *self schemas, role schemas, person schemas* and *event schemas* under the general category of social schemas. These schemas are in fact not only *about* the social world but also usually emerge at the cultural level of cognition. I will elaborate more on role schemas and event schemas later in this chapter.

Other labels which have been used for schemas include *frame* and *script* (Mandler, 1984; Schank & Abelson, 1977). Such terms are appropriate metaphors that are the result of mappings from external domains to the domain of cognition. By raising the issue of labeling, by no means do I intend to discourage the use of such terms. I merely intend to draw the attention of the readers to another important aspect of conceptualisations, which is their representation. While the term *attitude* in

'attitude schema' reflects that such schemas include attitudes that a person may have towards certain groups, it does not reveal anything about how these schemas are represented. This can clearly be reflected in the use of the term *cultural schema*. In what follows I review some of the schema types that have been identified in the literature and also propose that a framework may be developed out of these notions for the analysis of cultural conceptualisations in discourse. One can of course explore these conceptualisations at the level of individual, for therapeutic purposes, for example. It should however always be kept in mind that an individual's cognition largely reflects certain cultural dimensions.

3.3.3 Event schemas

Event schemas are abstracted from our experience of certain events (Mandler, 1984; Schank & Abelson, 1977). People usually have schemas for events such as 'funerals' and 'weddings'. The categories that are embedded in a wedding schema may include, for example, *guest*, *gift* and *food*. It should be noted here that schemas may be related to each other in various sorts of ways. They may be associated with each other through certain macro-schemas and they may also comprise sub-schemas. Such is usually the case with event schemas; they usually encompass sub-schemas about events within events. The western Christian schema of wedding, for example, usually includes sub-schemas of church ceremony, reception, etc.

3.3.4. Attitude schema

Van Dijk (1988) notes that discourse about ethnic groups can derive from certain attitude schemas shared by members of a social group. He maintains that interaction between these relatively constant schemas and more context-based models shapes a particular discursive expression. He observes that discourse, at all levels of

production and structure, can show the power position of the speaker/hearer as well as the power structure of the cultural group. In terms of content, attitude schemas may be classified as 'social schemas' but they are also in that they are usually represented in a distributed fashion across the cultural group and ultimately emerge in a group's knowledge, rather than being confined to an individual's knowledge about the group.

3.3.5 Role category and role schema

Augoustinos & Walker (1995, p. 39) define *role schemas* as "knowledge structures that people have of specific role positions in society." Nishida (1999) maintains that these schemas include "knowledge about social roles which denote sets of behaviours that are expected of people in particular social positions" (p. 758). These schemas appear to be associated with the instances of the category of 'role', which includes concepts such as 'secretary', 'teacher', and 'bus driver'. That is, 'role' appears to be, in the first place, a category, which includes various social roles, and people have schemas about each role in the category. Such schemas include knowledge about different characteristics associated with each role, such as clothing, age, and language. It is obvious that people across different cultures construct different schemas about each role and such discrepancies may even give rise to misconceptions and stereotyping, particularly when people move to new societies. Role schemas and attitude schemas are just two among many others which relate to the issues usually discussed in social psychology.

3.3.6 Image-schema

Image schemas are those that provide structure for certain conceptualisations (Johnson, 1987). Palmer (1996, p. 66) regards them as "schemas of intermediate abstractions [between mental images and abstract propositions] that are readily

imagined, perhaps as iconic images, and clearly related to physical (embodied) or social experiences". For example, in talking about "the foundation of our nation" we are drawing on the image-schema of 'building' to capture our conceptualisation of 'nation'. The sentence *Tom has gone a long way toward changing his personality* implies the mapping of the image-schema of 'path' onto the domain of personality change (Johnson, 1987).

The 'path' image-schema is often used, especially in western trends of thought, to frame various conceptualisations. Sentences such as *He's off the track* clearly show the application of this image-schema to the domains of 'thinking' and 'discourse construction'. However, Aboriginal people of Australia do not often view thinking and construction of discourse as 'moving along the road' and rather view it as a circular or spiral pattern of interconnections of ideas, events, places, and people. The image schema of 'path', and of course a straight path, has often been mapped onto ideologies, where, for instance, people talk about 'the way to God', 'the path to God', and 'the right path'. Aboriginal ideology does not, however, appear to rely so much on this image-schema as it does on circular images. Much of Aboriginal art that embodies Aboriginal worldview includes circular patterns. Even the journeys of the Ancestor Spirits in the Dreamtime were in circular patterns and the passage of 'time' is viewed as circular and cyclic rather than linear (Sharifian, 2002).

3.3.7 Proposition schema

Proposition- schemas may be defined as abstractions which act as models of thought and behaviour (Quinn, 1987). These schemas specify "concepts and the relations which hold among them" (Quinn & Holland, 1987, p. 25). Quinn analysed interviews about marriage that she had collected and transcribed from 11 North American couples. She maintains that proposition-schemas such as *MARRIAGE IS ENDURING*

underlie the use of certain metaphors by American spouses in talking about their marriage.

Watson-Gegeo and Gegeo (1999) identified the proposition-schemas FAMILIES SHARE FOOD WITHOUT EXPECTATION OF RETURN, WORDS CAN KILL, and WORDS ARE POWERFUL from the interactional events that they recorded in Kwara'ae (Solomon Islands). These proposition-schemas may in fact provide a basis for different patterns of reasoning across different cultures. It should however be kept in mind that single sentences formulated as above are merely partial metalinguistic representations of schemas, which are in fact cognitive conceptual systems.

3.3.8 Emotion schemas

Lutz (1987) observes that emotion concepts may be instantiations of certain schemas. Palmer (1996, p. 109) maintains that "emotions are complex configurations of goal-driven imagery that govern feeling states and scenarios, including discourse scenarios". Lutz views emotions as social and cognitive in nature and observes that the Ifaulk "define, explain, and understand emotions primarily by reference to the events or situations in which they occur" (1987, p. 292).

Aboriginal people also associate the feeling of 'shame' with certain situations. 'Shame' here of course does not necessarily involve guilt but some form of discomfort. One may experience 'shame' when meeting people for the first time or after a while. They may also feel 'shame' for having done something good or bad or simply for being watched by other people. This feeling can also be associated with activities which involve some degree of spotlighting such as dancing and singing. It can also arise from the respect that one has for even close people such as mum and dad. Aboriginal schema of Shame is a very complex schema that runs through many

aspects of Aboriginal life. Harkins (1990, p. 302) explicates the Aboriginal concept of 'shame' as follows:

X (is) SHAME

X feels like someone who thinks:

I am here: this is bad

I don't know what things are good to do here

Something bad could happen because of this

People can think (and say?) something bad about me because of this

I want not to be here because of this

I want not to say anything because of this

X feels something bad because of this

The very statement "X feels like someone who thinks" and also the propositions that describe this thinking reflect the fact that this emotion is rooted or associated with certain conceptualisations, which are of course particularly constructed by the members of a particular group of people.

The Aboriginal schema of Shame is partly associated with a higher-level schema that I call *group schema*. Group schemas of course exist across many cultures and largely characterise groups which strongly operate on the basis of conceptualisations. Such schemas may differ across different cultures. Some cultures have group schemas that encourage its members to be constantly conscious of the group and situate themselves against the group. Such group-consciousness often leads to severe competition between the members of the group and also gives rise to certain other schemas such as *face schemas*. Iranian society operates strongly on the basis of

the Iranian schema of Group, which also gives rise to the Iranian schema of face (called *Aberoo* in Persian). Iranians reveal a strong tendency to be conscious of the group and their standing in relation to the group. Any deviation from the group norm usually leads to the loss of *Aberoo*.

On the other hand, there are societies in which group schemas encourage the members to observe group harmony and uniformity across the group. Such group schemas would then discourage any 'standing out' from the group or being singled out from the group for any reason. Such schemas may render 'others' more important than 'self' and therefore psychological traits that encourage self-appreciation, such as self-esteem, may not be valued so positively in those societies. The exact nature of such schemas differs across societies and of course certain societies may have schemas which overlap with both of the group schema types discussed here. Extensive research is needed in this area to identify such schemas and the way they may be different across different societies.

The Aboriginal schema of Group is of the latter type discussed above. That is, this Aboriginal schema encourages Aboriginal people to hold to the group and also discourages 'standing out' from the group. The same Aboriginal schema includes reluctance to being singled out from the group, which usually evokes the schema of Shame, or discomfort with being singled out.

As mentioned earlier, CCs are largely reflected in the discourse constructed by people across societies. There are however certain CCs that specifically relate to knowledge of language. These may embody knowledge as to how to produce and interpret certain linguistic structures. After all, language is a knowledge system that operates at the level of cultural group. Any theory of cognition, therefore, should be able to account for the linguistic knowledge that enables the members of a cultural

group to engage in verbal interactions and establish certain conventions. CCs that encompass linguistic knowledge may of course relate to different levels and units of language.

Traditionally, linguistic knowledge was described in terms of notions such as "rule" and speech communities have been posited to share these rules. Rules, however, are usually conceived to be rigid propositions that are consciously applied to particular instances to regulate them. Studies of language in the last 50 years, however, have shown that linguistic knowledge is not as rigid as those that are usually captured in rules (e.g., Langacker, 1987, 1991, 2000). We also now know that "homogenous speech community" is no more than a myth. Knowledge of language is largely unconscious and 'spread out' across a speech community, rather than equally shared by the speakers. I maintain that knowledge of language possessed by a speech community may best be captured in the idea of CCs. Certain schemas, for instance, appear to be derived from our exposure to discourse in the language we speak. These schemas may of course relate to various aspects of the way discourse and language work. Since the knowledge embedded in such schemas is distributed, or 'spread out', across the minds in a society, not everyone knows *exactly* what everyone else knows and this can account for the variation which marks the discourse of individual speakers. In what follows I will discuss two schemas that lend themselves readily to the level of cognition.

3.3.9 Story schema

Story schemas are templates about the way in which stories conventionally proceed (Mandler, 1984). Such schemas usually comprise certain categories. Mandler mentions *setting, episode, beginning, development, complex reaction, goal path, outcome,* and *ending* as examples of such categories, which of course in this case

represent the western schema of Story. Story schemas would equip us with certain expectations when reading stories. In reading typical western stories we usually look forward to reaching the climax or the complication of the story and we also expect the events in the story to follow a 'logical' linear order, unless they are part of a flashback or are there to create an effect.

Aboriginal story schemas, however, reveal certain distinctive features in that they often do not rely on temporal ordering for the development of the events (Sharifian, 2002). The settings also usually highlight event, place, and groups and families rather than time. This may be attributed to the Aboriginal worldview, or The Dreaming, which is not partitioned into past, present, and future. Aboriginal story schemas may not in fact include a climax and all parts of the story may receive more or less equal significance and salience. The outcome may in fact be in the form of proposition schemas that spread throughout the story and there may not necessarily be a clear outcome at the end.

3.3. 10 Reference schema

Speakers of different languages may develop schemas about patterns of referencing in their discourse. Speakers of Standard Australian English, for example, draw on a reference schema that would discourage the use of a pronoun after a certain distance from the antecedent. Instead, the schema would provide for the choice of certain devices such as reiteration. On the basis of the same schema the first time a noun is used it should usually be followed by an indefinite article and then onward it could either be replaced by a pronoun or the head noun plus a demonstrative or a definite article. This schema, however, discourages the speakers to use pronouns, as they may have 'political' consequences. Notice that this schema may be instantiated differently across individuals and even across different instances of discourse produced by the

same individuals. The differences may lie in the distance that one would allow between the antecedent and the anaphor, for using a pronoun, or the exact choice of the anaphor.

Speakers of Aboriginal English, however, draw on a reference schema that includes a different set of constraints and principles. The first use of a noun, for example, may sometimes be preceded by a demonstrative pronoun, such as *dat* or *that,* rather than a definite article, and the demonstrative may not necessarily refer to a referent in the immediate context or any part of the text. It appears in fact that the demonstrative retrieves its antecedent from the speaker's image or schema rather than the discourse or the physical context (see section, 3.2.2).

The Aboriginal schema of reference places less constraint on the use of pronouns than does the Australian English schema of reference. Speakers of Aboriginal English also often employ pronouns more frequently and with less constraint than speakers of Standard Australian English. Names may often be used only when they achieve certain functions such as highlighting family connections to establish rapport and solidarity between the speakers. Stanner (1998) even observes that in some Aboriginal societies

> a man's name, spirit, shadow are 'him' in a sense which to us may seem passing strange. One should not ask a blackfellow: 'What is your name?' To do so embarrasses him and shames him. The name is like an intimate part of the body, with which another person does not take liberty. (p. 229)

The Aboriginal schema of reference also allows the use of one and the same pronoun (i.e., "*e*") to refer to a male, a female, a plant, and even an animal. This may

be attributed to the Aboriginal worldview, in which human beings, animals, and plants are not categorised separately. Human beings have totemic connections with animals and the land is the mother of all.

With regards to schemas that embody knowledge of language I have just now scratched the surface and further research will be needed to identify similar schemas in more detail, and across different speech communities. Here I would like to argue that the above-reviewed conceptualisations may all be constructed at the cultural level and this is usually the case. These schemas do not just reside in an individual's mind, nor are they equally and exactly shared by the members of a cultural group. The usual state of affairs is that they are represented as knowledge in a distributed fashion across the minds in a cultural group and in being so, they constitute cultural schemas. While I do not deny the appropriateness of such labels for certain purposes, we should not lose sight of the true nature of their representation.

The model described above may be explored employing a variety of approaches and methods. The technique which was used in the present study to examine CCs in Aboriginal students drew on the classical word association technique as well as ethnographic tradition. The next chapter presents in detail various aspects of this technique.

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY

4. Methodology

This chapter begins by presenting a detailed review of word-association as a research technique and its place in various paradigms of research followed by a discussion of how it is adopted and modified for the collection of the data in this study. The chapter then presents information about the participants, instrument, and the procedures followed in the collection as well as the analysis of the data. The following section discusses various formats of word association and also reviews the major studies that recruited this technique to explore constructs of various sorts.

4.1 Word Association

Word association has proved to be a powerful technique employed by researchers in all the human sciences for more than a century (e.g., Bahar, Johnstone, & Sutcliffe, 1999; Cramer, 1968; Deese, 1965; de Groote, 1989; Galton, 1880; Kent & Rosanoff, 1910; Schmitt, 1998; Shavelson, 1974; Stacy, Leigh, & Weingardt, 1997; Zeelenberg, Shiffrin, & Raaijmakers, 1999). Amongst the major fields which have used word association as a tool in research are psychology (e.g., Lucariello, Kyratzis, & Nelson, 1992; Nicolas, 1998a, 1998b; Srinivas & Roediger III, 1990; Zeelenberg, Shiffrin, & Raaijmakers, 1999), linguistics (e.g., Clark, 1970; Schmitt & Meara, 1997), and education (e.g., Anderson, 1992; Conlan, 1993; Zakaluk, Samuels, &Taylor, 1986).

In psychology, this research method has been adopted widely by researchers across different branches such as cognitive psychology (e.g., Gerschitz, 1979; Wu, 1996; Zeelenberg, Shiffrin, & Raaijmakers, 1999), clinical psychology (Harvey & Siegert, 1999; Shean, 1999;), developmental psychology (Johnson, 1989; Mefferd, Dufilho, & Dawson, 1979; Sell, 1992), personality psychology (Dollinger, 1994; Isaccs & Chen, 1990; Merten & Fischer, 1999), educational psychology (Bahar,

Johnstone, & Sutcliffe, 1999; Fisher, 1985; Jonassen, 1987), and social psychology (Kowatsch, 1974).

In studies of human cognition, word association has been used to investigate aspects of human implicit memory (Nicolas, 1998a, 1998b; Zeelenberg, Shiffrin, & Raaijmakers, 1999), conceptual processing (Wu, 1996), knowledge structures (Lucariello, Kyratzis, & Nelson, 1992; Sell, 1992), cognitive structures (Bahar, Johnstone, & Sutcliffe, 1999; Fisher, 1985; Preece, 1976; Jonassen, 1987), reading ability (Conlan, 1993; Cronin, Pratt, Abraham, Howell, Bishop, & Manning, 1986;), bilingualism (Appel, 1989; Chacon, 1995; Söderman, 1993), L2 acquisition (Kruse, Pankhurst, & Sharwood Smith, 1987; Schmitt & Meara, 1997), and language testing (Read, 1993; Read, 1998; Schmitt, 1998).

In a classic word association task, informants are presented with a word as the stimulus and are instructed to supply one or more words which come to their mind. Word association tasks can take different forms, which are described in the following section.

4.1.1 Formats of Word Association Tests

Word association tasks can be classified according to two main factors: type of restriction placed on the response to be given to a stimulus (*free/controlled*), and the number of responses expected to be given to each stimulus (*discrete/continued/continuous*) (Cramer, 1968; Kruse, Pankhurst, & Sharwood Smith, 1987).

4.1.1.1 Free vs. Controlled Word Association

Controlled, or bound (de Groot, 1989), association tasks are those in which the participant's response behaviour is constrained. The constraint in the subject's response may be in terms of the category (e.g., antonym or synonym), word class

(e.g., noun or adjective), or the concept (e.g., colour terms), from which the response may be selected. The restriction in the response type may also be created by test format (e.g., multiple-choice tests).

In a *free* word association test, on the other hand, the response to be given by the subject to a stimulus is not restricted to any specific category or class of words. Such tests are commonly referred to as *free-association* tests. Word association tests may further be distinguished in terms of number of expected responses. The following section describes the most common formats of a word association task (Cramer, 1968).

4.1.1.2 Discrete vs Continuous/Continued Word Association

Discrete word association is a method in which the participant is required to supply the first word which comes to his/her mind when hearing or reading a stimulus word (de Groot, 1989). This method is usually employed in establishing word association normative data.

In the method of *continued word association,* the participant is presented with the same stimulus several times at certain intervals (e.g., 60 second) and is required to continue giving associative responses. The participant may also be given instruction as to whether or not he/she can give the same responses. Certain modifications with the continued word association method are possible depending on the purpose of the task. For instance, it is possible to present the whole list of stimuli several times, instead of one stimulus in each trial. This method is called *successive association* (see Cramer, 1968, for more details and other variants).

In the *continuous word association* method, the subject is presented with a stimulus word only once and is instructed to generate as many associates as he/she can, usually in a pre-specified period of time. The speed of emission of the response

clusters in this method is positively related to the semantic similarity of the words forming the cluster. This technique may be used to elicit chains of association to map the associative network of individuals. Fosmire used another method called *discrete serial association* for the same purpose (as cited in Cramer, 1968). In a discrete serial association test, the response to the first stimulus would act as the stimulus for the next trial and the response to the second stimulus would act as the stimulus for the third trial and so on.

Robertson (as cited in Cramer 1968) has proposed a *time-limit free association* task in which the subject is instructed to generate as many phrases or sentences as possible within a specified amount of time (20 min optimal).

4.1.2 Word Association Response Classification

Several systems of classification have been developed for word association responses. It seems, however, that there is some degree of overlap and confusion involved in some of these categorizations. The term *contiguity* has been used to refer to responses of a different grammatical class than the stimulus which might be contiguous with that word in a sentence. Also, the term *homogeneous* has been used to refer to any responses of the same grammatical class *heterogeneous* to refer to any responses of a different grammatical class to the stimulus word (Brown & Berko 1960).

A widely-used dichotomy (i.e., syntagmatic vs. paradigmatic) for classifying word association responses was proposed by Jakobson and Halle (1956) and Jakobson (1971). *Paradigmatic* denotes any logically related responses that fall into the same syntactic category as the stimulus and *syntagmatic* refers to responses that are of a different part of speech but which can co-occur with the stimulus in a sentence. A shift for example has been detected in children, along the line of

development, from syntagmatic to paradigmatic responses, happening from about five to nine years of age (Jarmon, 1980). The shift occurs at different times for different syntactic categories, with nouns first, adjectives second, verbs third, and adverbs last.

Summarizing the literature on adults' word-associations, Clark (1970) posited a number of rules for paradigmatic/syntagmatic responses as follows:

PARADIGMATIC RULES

a. *The minimal-contrast rule*: If a stimulus has a common antonym, it will always elicit that opposite more often than anything else.

b. *The marking rule*: There is a tendency to change a feature *from*, rather than *to*, its *marked* value in word association data (e.g., dogs-dog; better-good)

c. *The feature-deletion* and *–addition rule*: There is a tendency to delete features from, or add features to the *end* of the feature list and the deletion rule has a precedence over the addition rule.

d. *The category preservation rule:* Stimuli tend to elicit responses from the same class of words, that is, paradigmatic responses.

SYNTAGMATIC RULES

a) *The selectional feature realization rule.* "Take the features specified by a selectional feature, adding as many features as necessary for a surface realization; in addition, restrict yourself to the 'significant' part of the selectional feature, the portion specifying a lexical word" (p. 281). *Selectional features* are those that partially characterize the meaning of the potential context of that word. For instance, *young* has +Det, +Animate, &

be— selectional features. Syntagmatic responses most often include these features. Thus, responses to *young* would be *boy, girl* etc.

b)   *The idiom completion rule.* There is a tendency of producing a main word from an idiom of which the stimulus is part.

c)   *Left to right production rule.* Syntagmatic responses are influenced in important ways by the normal left-to-right production of sentences (i.e., *cottage* often elicits *cheese,* but *cheese* rarely elicits *cottage.*

Clark (1970) summarizes both the syntagmatic and paradigmatic rules as one generalized rule which he calls *the simplicity-of-production rule:* "Perform the least change on the lowest feature, with the restriction that the result must correspond to an English word (p. 280)".

Emerson and Gekoski (1976) introduced the *interactive/categorical* dichotomy. They used *interactive* to refer to an association between the object named by the noun and some other object with which it interacts (e.g., horse-saddle). They used *categorical* to refer to an association between the named object and either some other object of the same category (e.g., horse-cow) or the name of the category to which that object belongs (e.g., horse-animal). Emerson and Geskoski demonstrated that interactive/categorical responses follow the same pattern for pictures as for words, thereby supporting the idea that word association patterns reflect actual thinking and not just patterns of word production.

Emerson and Geskoski also found that interactive associations between both pictures and words precede categorical associations in development. The shift from predominantly interactive to predominantly categorical takes place around the age of six or seven, around the same time as the syntagmatic/paradigmatic shift.

It is to be noted here that the syntagmatic/paradigmatic distinction is a grammatical one whereas the interactive/categorical has a cognitive basis. They are however empirically related as they both occur around the same time.

4.1.2.1 Ambiguities in Word Association Classification

Polysemy, or having multiple meanings, is one of the problems in classifying word association responses. One solution may be to use a homogeneous/heterogeneous dichotomy, which is based on grammatical class rather than meaning. But again there are words with meanings that belong to different parts of speech, like "fly", and unless we know which one the subject is referring to, we may assign the responses to incorrect categories.

A solution to this problem would be to use the method *of retrospective probing*, in which the subjects are asked to provide an explanation of their responses, in conjunction with the word association test.

Some studies have made use of classes other than the ones mentioned so far for the responses which are either ambiguous or difficult to classify. These have been termed "unclassifiable", "anomalous", etc. (Emerson & Gekoski, 1976; Goldfarb & Halpern, 1981, 1984). Retrospective probing can also be employed in identifying and disambiguating these responses.

4.1.2.2 Non-dichotomous Response Classification

Riegel (1968) introduced a more refined classification of word association responses. Using syntagmatic/paradigmatic dichotomy, he divided paradigmatic responses into several logically different subtypes, such as "super-ordinate", "coordinate", "substance", "location" etc. For example, the responses to the stimulus "table" would be classified as follows:

"furniture": superordinate

"chair": coordinate

"wood": substance

"kitchen": location

"leg": part

Riegel (1968) found a change with age in the predominance of different paradigmatic response subtypes. He reported that these changes and the logical relations which they represent are better indicators of developmental stages and processes than the mere syntagmatic/paradigmatic dichotomy. He found that older subjects respond to free word association tasks more often with superordinates and coordinates, whereas all possible relations appear in the responses of younger subjects.

There is a relationship between Riegel's subtypes of paradigmatic responses and the interactive/categorical response classification. All superordinate and most coordinate responses would be classifiable as categorical, whereas all substance, part, location responses would be classifiable as interactive.

Riegel's finding of increases in superordinate responses with aging would be consistent with the finding of Goldfarb and Halpern (1981) that categorical responding increases with aging. Thus it seems that a combination of both classifications would give a clearer picture of the nature of word associations responses (Conley, 1987).

In a study of the development of verbal structures in children, Folarin (1989) used the following classification for word association responses:

PARADIGMATIC

a) *Denotive:* superordinates and synonyms

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b) *Connotative:* contrasts and exemplars of a category or supercategory

SYNTAGMATIC

a) *Enactive:* Noun-Verb responses and phrases

b) *Experiential:* responses that are spatially, functionally, or temporally related to the stimulus word (e.g., butterfly-flower; Knife-iron; infection-rashes)

c) *Perceptual:* properties and descriptions of an object.

In developing a measure of second language vocabulary knowledge based on word association, Read (1993) added a third category to the paradigmatic/syntagmatic system of response classification. This category, called *Analytic*, was used for the responses that would represent one aspect, or component, of the meaning of the stimulus word and is likely to form part of its dictionary definition (e.g., edit-publishing; team-together).

Lucariello, Kyratzis, and Nelson (1992) developed a fairly complex classification of word association responses. This classification was used to investigate the development of knowledge structures in children (see section 2.2.4.3). The following is the exact reproduction of this classification, including its response categories and their definitions.

TAXONOMIC

A. Horizontal

1- *Slot-filler category response:* response denoting an object that shares the same function as the test word object within an event or spatio-temporal context. The object must be in the same superordinate category as the test

word object and at the same hierarchical level within the taxonomic hierarchy (e.g., tiger-zebra; boots-hat).

2- *Conventional category response.* Response denoting an object that shares the same function as the test word object but is from a different event or spatio-temporal context. The object must be in the same superordinate category as the test word object and at the same hierarchical level within the taxonomic hierarchy (e.g., dog-tiger).

B. Vertical

1- *slot-filler label response.* Response denoting the name of the contextually restricted superordinate category of which the test word object is an exemplar (e.g., dog-pet).

2- *Conventional superordinate label response.* Response denoting the name of the superordinate category of which the test word object is an exemplar (e.g., dog-animal)

3- *Superordinate response.* Response denoting an object category that is in the same basic level category as the test word object but that occurs at a less inclusive level (e.g., cookie-chocolate chip cookie).

THEMATIC/SCHEMATIC (NON-TAXONOMIC)

1- *Function response.* Response denoting a characteristic function of the test word object, that is, a use to which it can be put or an action that can be performed by or upon it (e.g., dress- put on; ice-cream-eat).

2- *Complementary response.* Response denoting an object that occurs in the same event schema as the test word object but that does not share the same

function. Although it can enter into a functional relation with the test word object, this object is also from a different taxonomic category than the test word object (hot dog-plate).

3- *Spatiotemporal organizer (STO) response.* Response denoting a place, time, or event in which the test word object typically occurs (e.g., tiger-zoo).

OTHER CATEGORIES

1) *Feature response.* Response denoting a characteristic perceptual attribute or part of the test word object referring to an aspect of how the object appears (e.g., tiger-stripes: elephant-gray).

2) *Idiosyncratic response.* Responses representing either non-conventional or more primitive bases of association:

3) *Atypical association:* Response specifying a non-characteristic complement, context, feature, or function of the test word object (e.g., chicken-tree; cake-puppy)

4) *Vicinity:* Response specifying an object in the immediate vicinity of the experimental situation.

5) *Clang:* Response sharing a sound association with the test word. These included words that rhymed with the test word and/or began with the same letter (e.g., cake-take)

6) *Part-Whole relation:* Response specifying a part-whole or componential relation with the test word object (e.g., cake (pie)-piece; peanut butter-sandwich; ice cream-cone). The latter two examples are not coded as

complementary because the result of their combination is not two objects, but one, and because there is no bridging of taxonomic categories in these cases.

7) *Specific object/proper noun*: Response that either denoted a specific object or was a proper noun (e.g., cat-my best teddy; cat-Frassow; peanut butter-Peter Pan).

8) *Respecification*: Response specifying the test word object in another form (e.g., hot dog-frank).

9) *Family relation*: Response denoting an object that shared a family relation with the test word object (e.g., elephant-baby elephant).

10) *Transformations*: Response representing a physical transformation of the test word object (e.g., pig-bacon; bread-toast)

          a.   (Lucariello, Kyratzis, and Nelson, 1992; p. 997)

In an attempt to detect a universal structure of the child's cognitive dictionary, Moran (1981) administered a free association test to participants from several nationalities and categorized the responses using a classification he had developed. His classification had the following categories:

a) *Enactive*. The word pair is linked by an action upon the referent (e.g., bread-eat, hit-ball). These would be Noun-Verb or Verb-Noun pairs.

b) *Iconic*. The word pair is linked by ascribing a quality to the referent (e.g., green-grass, Lemon-Sour). These would be Adjective-Noun and Noun-Adjective pairs.

c) *Functional*. The word pair is combined as cofunctional physical referents (bread-butter, pencil-paper). These were Noun-Noun pairs.

d) *Logical.*

    1) *Definition.* The word pair is combined either by the principles of synonymy (e.g., joy-happiness), subordination (e.g., animal- dog) or by superordination (e.g., lemon-fruit).

    2) *Contrast.* The words in the pair are place in opposition to each other, either by negation (e.g., large-small) or by coordination (e.g., green-red, eagle-hawk –immediate members of the same class, used as contrasts or alternates).

  e) *Other.* The word pair does not unequivocally fit one the above five categories or it might have fit more than one of the categories. Every effort is made to keep the first five categories "pure". The slightest ambiguity relegated the word pair to the Other category.

<div align="right">Moran (1981, p. 151)</div>

In a bilingual word association study, Appel (1989), made a distinction between semantic and non-semantic responses. Semantic responses are somehow related to their respective stimuli in one's semantic memory. Appel divided non-semantic responses to episodic and individual responses. Episodic responses are those which co-occur with the stimulus word in a traditional, commonly experienced episode, whereas individual responses have a subjective, intra-individually determined link with the stimulus (i.e., write-uncle). Appel excluded phonological responses (i.e., association based on phonetic similarity, as in finger-linger) and idiomatic responses (i.e., association based on co-occurrence in an idiom, as in finger-pie) from his data.

Appel based his categorization of semantic response on the classification of semantic relations developed by Kuczaj (1982). The classification had the following categories:

a) Lexical opposites (e.g., hot-cold)

b) Hyponymy (e.g., cow-mammal)

c) Part-Whole relationship (e.g., wheel-bicycle)

d) Collectives (e.g., sheep-herd)

e) Semantic set (e.g., always-sometimes)

f) Synonymy (e.g., ill-sick)

4.1.3 Factors affecting Word Associations

4.1.3.1 The Effect of Method

A number of studies have compared the response types obtained using different word association methods. The results of such research have revealed that, a) a correspondence between response hierarchies and an agreement for the primary response obtained from discrete and continued free association methods, b) a similarity between the categories of the responses, but not the actual responses, obtained from the discrete method and the continuous method, c) a decrease in the associative strength with each response obtained from the continued and continuous methods, more so with the continuous method. (see Cramer, 1968, for a detailed report of these studies).

4.1.3.2 Effects of Mode of Stimulus presentation and Response Elicitation

Research has also been conducted on the effects of the modes of stimulus presentation and response elicitation on the performance of subjects in a word association task (see Cramer, 1968, for a detailed report of the studies). In brief, it has been found that,

a) the number of associations given is almost equal for visual, aural, and visual plus aural stimulus presentation.

b) with children, the number of primary responses and contrast responses is greater to aural than to visual stimuli, while the number of superordinate responses is decreased and also the number of responses given by children to noun stimuli is greater for aural than for visual presentation (no difference is found for adjectives).

c) the responses obtained from the aural versus visual presentation differ and with a multiple-choice test, response frequency is dependent on the order of stimulus presentation for aural but not for visual stimuli.

d) upper-case single letters elicit more proper name responses and more capitalized non-proper nouns than do lower-case letters.

e) oral responses include more primary responses, more contrast responses, greater response commonality, more superordinate responses (when subjects are instructed to give either super or sub ordinate responses).

f) the social presence of the experimenter increases reaction time.

4.1.3.3 Effects of Stimulus characteristics

The results of a series of word association studies by Halpern and his colleagues (as cited in Conley, 1987) showed that the level of abstraction, part of speech, length, and the frequency of occurrence of the stimulus words used in a word

association task have an impact on the patterns of responses emitted by the participants.

4.1.3.4 Effects of Respondent Variables

Certain respondent variables have been found to influence the patterns of word association responses. These factors include age (Ervin, 1961), socioeconomic status (Goet; as cited in Nelson, 1977), intelligence (Mefferd, 1979), and mental status (Gewirth, Shindler, & Hier, 1984; Santo Pietro & Goldfarb, 1985). The effect of these factors on word association responses are summarized as follows:

- *Age:* the results with age have been mixed. In a study by Conley (1987) older subjects gave fewer syntagmatic and interactive responses than the younger subjects.

- *Socioeconomic status:* children of lower socioeconomic class produce more predicative (i.e., syntagmatic) responses than do those of higher socioeconomic class. Associations of non-literate adults are functional (i.e., interactive), whereas the associations of literate adults are taxonomic (i.e., categorical).

- *Intelligence:* verbal intelligence is negatively correlated with the number of idiosyncratic or non-classifiable responses.

- *Mental status:* the rate of paradigmatic responses is decreased and syntagmatic responses increase with a decrease in mental status scores.

4.1.3.5 Time Condition Effects

Riegel and Riegel (1964) reported that elderly participants gave significantly fewer paradigmatic responses than did younger respondents and that their paradigmatic responses were associated with significantly longer response latencies than were their syntagmatic responses.

Kawahata (1979) manipulated the time distance between the stimulus presentation and the response of the respondents. Under the "immediate-reaction" condition, each respondent was instructed to give his/her response as quickly as possible and under two "delayed reaction" conditions (i.e., 3 and 10 seconds delay), each subject was instructed to delay her/his response for 3 and 10 seconds respectively until the investigator said "now".

Kawahata found that under the immediate-reaction condition, subjects gave significantly more paradigmatic responses to adjective stimuli, whereas under the delayed-reaction condition, subjects gave significantly more syntactically-related syntagmatic responses to adjective stimuli. He did not find such time-related differences in responding for nouns, reporting that regardless of length of reaction time, the response words to noun stimuli were predominantly paradigmatic.

4.1.4 Variable and Constructs Underlying Word Associations

4.1.4.1 Meaningfulness

Under the influence of the centrality of quantification in Psychometric Theory, several psychologists tried to surmount the problem of non-quantifiability of meaning by proposing concepts which would overlap with meaning and devised some measures for them. One of these concepts was Noble's (1963) *meaningfulness,* which he defines as "the multiple-response evocation powers of verbal stimuli" (p. 84). Noble introduced an index for the measurement of *meaningfulness* of word association responses, which he defines as the mean number of continued responses elicited by a stimulus word from a representative sample of subjects during a standard

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time interval (60 sec). This index is symbolized as *m* and is measured by dividing the sum of the number of responses (R) by the number of subjects (N):

$$m = \sum R/N$$

A number of word association studies have employed this index in order to quantify word association responses.

4.1.4.2 Word Association as a Measure of Cognitive Structure

Cognitive theory views learning as a process of constructing models from the interactions with the environment. These models are internally represented as networks of related constructs or schemas. These networks are sometimes called *cognitive structures* (Jonassen, 1987). The notion of cognitive structure has become a popular one, adopted by many researchers working under the constructivist paradigm in education research (e.g., Bahar, Johnstone, & Sutcliffe, 1999; Fisher, 1985; Jonassen, 1987).

Learning, under this paradigm, is viewed as the modification of one's cognitive structure through experience. Obviously, assessment of cognitive structures would then lie at the very heart of educational measurement and evaluation. The appropriate organization of instructional materials would in turn be based on the nature of cognitive structures brought to the learning situation by the learner.

Among the methods that have been proposed for assessing cognitive structures, word association has received very considerable attention as a reliable method (Preece, 1976; Shavelson, 1974). Central to the assessment of cognitive structures is the concept of semantic proximity of two words and its possible representation by geometrical models. Semantic proximity of the stimulus words in word association tests is determined by the degree of overlap of response hierarchies.

The most popular methods of analysis for extracting cognitive structures from word association data have been *multidimensional scaling,* yielding a spatial representation of the structure (Kruskal, 1964), and *clustering procedure* (Johnson, 1967), which yields a rooted-hierarchy representation. The first has been shown to be appropriate if the underlying structure is linear and the second for taxonomic class-inclusion structures (Rapoport & Fillenbaum, 1972). Miyamoto, Suga, and Oi (1990) have developed a method which would yield both a diagraph representation and a cluster analysis of word association data. In educational research cognitive structures have been researched in relation to specific subject domains such as biology (Bahar, Johnstone, & Sutcliffe, 1999), physics (Jonassen, 1987), and mechanics (Preece, 1976).

4.1.4.3 Word Association as a measure of Knowledge Structure

Word association has been a powerful tool in research on knowledge structures (Kyratzis, Lucariello, & Nelson, 1988; Lucariello, Kyratzis, & Nelson, 1992; Nelson, 1977; Sell, 1992). In the context of studies of child language development *Knowledge structure* is used as a cover term referring to several types of knowledge such as taxonomic and event-based (Sell, 1992).

Taxonomic knowledge includes categories and classes and reveals a hierarchical structure of superordinate, basic and subordinate levels. Event-based knowledge includes sequences of events or routines. The relationships reflected in event-based knowledge are thematic, while in taxonomic they are category-instance.

Nelson (1985, 1986, 1988) traces the development of knowledge structures in children. Nelson observes that event-based knowledge emerges first and then taxonomic knowledge. This transition is mediated by slot-filler categories, which

derive from event-based knowledge. In slot-filler categories, the action typical of an event is complemented by an object (Lucariello, Kyratzis, & Nelson, 1992).

For instance, children first acquire and show event-based knowledge of "having lunch". In time, the child develops the slot-filler category of "things we eat for lunch" with *peanut butter, bologna cheese* etc as its instances. The action of eating in fact creates a slot which is filled by the above instances. Later on this category is detached from "having lunch" and attached to taxonomic knowledge as "food" category.

Lucariello, Kyratzis, and Nelson (1992) further refine taxonomic knowledge and make a distinction between *horizontal* and *vertical* taxonomic knowledge. Horizontal taxonomic relations represent links between items at the same level of a hierarchy, whereas vertical taxonomic relations represent links between items at different hierarchical levels. Lucariello, Kyratzis, and Nelson further identified three types of horizontal taxonomic relations: *slot-filler, conventional subcategory*, and *conventional superordinate*.

Slot-fillers, defined earlier, are intermediate, dominated by superordinate terms while dominating basic level items. Lucariello, Kyratzis, and Nelson (1992) do not give a clear definition of conventional subcategories but exemplify this category by words such as "frozen food" and "footwear". Conventional subcategories are also intermediate terms, dominated by superordinates. Conventional superordinates are items that share neither slot-filler nor conventional subcategory relations. Conventional superordinates are general categories (e.g. shoes and pyjamas) which may include less homogeneous items.

Lucariello, Kyratzis, and Nelson (1992) conducted three experiments –category production, word association, and force-picture-choice –in 4 and 7-year-old

children and adults. They found preschooler taxonomic knowledge to be restricted to slot-filler categories. Conventional forms of taxonomic knowledge (i.e., subcategories and superordinates) and vertical taxonomic knowledge emerged in 7-years-olds and were evident in the adult data.

Folarin (1989) administered a word association to a group of Nigerian children in Grades 1, 3, and 6. Grade 6 gave the most superordinate, temporally, spatially, and functionally related responses Grade 3 produced the most connotative responses and Grade 1 produced the most perceptual descriptive responses. These results agree with Saltz, Sollier, & Siegel's (1972) findings that 5- to 6-yr-olds were dependent on perceptual attributes and 11- to 12-yr-olds on functional and abstract attributes.

4.1.4.4 Word-Association as a measure of child's universal cognitive dictionary

Moran (1981) administered a free association test to groups of children and adults from Texas, Taipei, and Kyoto. He used a word association response classification that he had developed over the years. Moran found that in all cultures and at all ages, the primary response type of young children was *Enactive or* action-on-referent (e.g., bread-eat; hit-ball).

Adults' responses were greatly different from those of children and almost all non-Enactive. The dominant response type in American subjects was logical while it was iconic for the Japanese and between these two for the Taiwanese. Moran interpreted his results as strongly supportive of a Piagetian design for a universal preoperational, representational child's cognitive dictionary.

4.1.4.5 Word Association as a Conceptual Implicit Memory Task

Several researchers have used some form of word association in their experiments as a *conceptual implicit memory* task (Srinivas & Roediger III, 1990; Zeelenberg, Shiffrin, & Raaijmakers, 1999). *Implicit*, as opposed to *explicit*, memory tasks do not require conscious recollection of a prior study episode for their successful completion. In typical *explicit* memory tasks, however, respondents have to either recall or recognize items that appeared on a previously presented list.

Conceptual, as distinct from *perceptual*, memory tasks (Blaxton, 1989) do not rely on the physical attributes of the presented stimuli. Among perceptual implicit memory tasks are *word stem completion*, and *word fragment completion* and examples of conceptual implicit memory tasks are *free association, category-exemplar generation*, and *general knowledge question* (Zeelenberg, Shiffrin, & Raaijmakers, 1999).

In the context of these studies, a *priming effect* has been found with free association. In some studies the subject is presented in the study phase with a word (e.g., SAND) of an associated word pair (e.g., SAND-BEACH). The other word in the pair (i.e., BEACH) would be used as a cue in the test phase and the subject is instructed to respond with the first word that comes to mind and in many cases the studied word (i.e., SAND) has been given by the subject with an increased probability over situations when the word pair had not been presented previously—Hence a *priming* in the recall process (Nicolas, 1998a, 1998b; Vaidya et al, 1997).

4.1.4.6 Word Association in second language (L2) research

Word association has also been used in the area of L2 research (Kruse, Pankhurst, & Sharwood Smith, 1987; Meara, 1980, 1983; Schmitt & Meara, 1997;

Schmitt, 1998). One of the major questions for L2 researchers has been whether patterns of word association are the same in L1 and L2. Research findings suggest that native speakers have remarkably stable patterns of word association, whereas second language learners produce more diverse and unstable associations, often purely based on phonological rather than semantic similarity. It has been found that as proficiency in L2 increases, the patterns of responses develop towards native speaker norms (Meara, 1980, 1983).

Lambert (1972) compared the word association responses of three groups of respondents: an undergraduate group of North American students of French, a more proficient graduate group of French, and a group of French native speakers whose L2 was English. He used a continuous word association and found that the mean number of responses elicited by French stimuli had to do with the level of proficiency of the subjects in French. The undergraduates gave fewer responses than the graduates and the graduates gave fewer responses than the native speakers of French. Meara (1987) found that English subjects studying French gave responses to French stimuli that were translations of English primary responses.

4.1.4.7 Word-Association as a measure of L2 vocabulary knowledge

Read (1993) developed a language test, called *word associates format,* based on word association. In this test, test takers would be presented with a stimulus word together with several other words, some of which would be related to the stimulus and some not. The task for the testee would be to identify the related words, or *associates.* It is assumed that learners with a deeper knowledge of the word would be better able to identify the associates which should represent different aspects of meaning of the word than those with a shallow knowledge of the word. The following

is an example of a test item from a word associates format given by Read (1993, p.

359)

Stimulus word *Edit*
Among the following, choose the ones that are related to the above stimulus word:

Arithmetic	film	pole	publishing
Revise	risk	surface text	

4.1.4.8 Word-Association as a measure of episodic/semantic memory

Episodic memory is specific, biographical, time related, event related, and

date related memory, whereas semantic memory is a very general, generic

information based memory with no specific links to events and time (Tulving, 1983).

Petrey (1977) regards word associations as pointers to episodic and semantic

memories and thus uses the labels *episodic responses* and *semantic responses*.

Episodic responses occur together with the stimulus word in certain

'episodes', which are autobiographical experiences in one's episodic memory. It is

due to this co-occurrence in episodic memory that the presentation of one word in

word association tasks would elicit the other one as the response. *Grass* may elicit

cow due to their association in episodic memory (i.e., The cow was eating grass).

Semantic responses are somehow related to their respective stimuli in one's

semantic memory. This relationship may be categorical hierarchical (e.g., grass-hay;

grass-marijuana). Petrey (1977) maintains that adults' responses are grouped

primarily by semantic memory of word's internal content, whereas children's

responses mainly point to episodic memories of external context. "While

autobiographically experienced performances link stimulus and response in young

subjects' norms, older subjects associate so as to suggest the systematic relationships

which define competence" (p. 69). Children's responses are rather context-bound whereas adults' responses are context-free (Appel, 1989).

Luria's (1976, p. 49) *situational/ categorical* distinction runs parallel with Petrey's semantic/episodic distinction. Luria makes this distinction in relation to object classification.

> Categorical classification involves complex verbal and logical thinking that exploits language's capacity for formulating abstractions and generalizations for picking out attributes and subsuming objects within a general category. (p. 48)

As for situational, or concrete, classification, Luria maintains that:

> Subjects who gravitate towards this type of classification do not sort objects into logical categories, but incorporate them into graphic-functional situations drawn from life and reproduced from memory … clearly, the verbal and logical operation required to abstract certain aspects of objects in order to subsume them under distinct categories of thought do not constitute the psychological basis of this kind of classification. (p. 49)

4.1.4.9 Word-Association as a measure of word imageability and word frequency

de Groot (1989) used two word association tasks to explore the representational aspects of *word imageability* and *word frequency* in semantic memory. Word imageability refers to the extent to which the referent of a word evokes a mental image and is in fact a cover term for the dichotomy *abstract/concrete*. In network models of memory, in which concepts are represented

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in memory as nodes and relations between the concepts as associative pathways between the nodes (Sharifian & Samani, 1997), retrieval of information from the memory is determined by the *strength* and the *number* of links departing from the stored concept nodes. The more links branching out from a concept node, the less activation reaching each link and the more difficult it is to retrieve information along each of these links. The stronger the link between two concept nodes, the more activation it receives from the source node and the easier it is to retrieve information from along this link.

The *strength* and the *number* of links underlie the concepts of word imageability and word frequency. de Groot (1989) used a discrete free association as an index of the strength of links departing from a concept and a continued free association as an index of the number of links departing from a concept. She found word imageability, but not so much word frequency, a determining factor in word associations. The concept nodes for high-imageability words were found to contain more information than those of low-imageability words. It was also found that relatively strong links depart from the former type of nodes.

4.1.4.10 Word Association as a measure of prior knowledge

Zakaluk, Samuels, and Taylor (1986) developed a word association technique for measuring the prior knowledge of students, or their entering behavior, on a certain topic. In this task the key word or phrase encompassing the main idea of the topic under discussion is chosen to serve as a stimulus word. Up to 3 key words may be chosen and then presented to the students as stimuli. Students then write down as many words as they can think of in association with the keyword(s).

Responses are then quantified with one point for each reasonable idea unit. When generated words or phrases can be subsumed under a subordinate category.

One point is given for the superordinate category and one point for the full cluster of subordinate ideas. Then the scores would be interpreted using the following scale:

0-2 points -low prior knowledge
3-6 points -average prior knowledge
7 or more points -High prior knowledge

4.1.5 Word Association in ethnic and cultural studies

   Szalay and Deese (1978) employed word associations in studies of culture and cultural studies. Szalay and Deese maintain that word associations are simply the expression of knowledge systems that reflect cultural systems (p. 16). They consider word associations as an easy and efficient way of determining the contents of human mind. Using the terminology of cognitive psychology, they maintain that cultural experiences are internalized by some representational system and word associations provide a remarkably fruitful way of obtaining some insight into this system. Word association would reveal what aspects of the world have received representation. In other words, mental representations reflect those aspects of the experience that have been salient to the viewer.

   As for the choice of the word level over other units of language, Szalay and Deese (1978) state:

   It is apparently easier, as the earliest investigators of free associations

   discovered, to express one's thoughts when the relations among words are free

   from the demands of syntax and morphology. (p. 17)

   That they [associations] do not make use of the syntax and other grammatical

   features of ordinary statements does not disqualify them from being

   meaningful. Their simplicity and immediacy makes them, however, much

   closer to the stable, significant aspect of the subjective representation of the

world than an equivalent set of fully articulated sentences about the stimuli.

(p. 21)

Szalay and Deese (1978) believe that human beings would be able to express themselves more easily in associations than in tasks demanding them to spell out full propositions. Associations are free from the intent to communicate some particular, organized discourse and would simply express cognitive structure and content.

This method would be a preferred one for cultural groups that are not so expressive and also for those speech communities that do not so much structure their discourse according to the conventions of the observer norms, such as speakers of Aboriginal English.

Among the word association methods, Szalay and Deese (1978) regard the continuous method as having many characteristics of discourse and closest to narrative. Unlike discourse, continuous associations are not dominated by some topic about which statements are made in an organized way. In discrete and continued associations, the investigator has more control over what the respondents think about.

In their studies of culture using word associations, Szalay and Deese (1978) make use of three central concepts which they believe are universal characteristics of cultural representations: *Dominance, Affinity*, and *Affectivity*. Dominance has to do with the idea that within cultural representations some domains are more central and important than the other ones. Family and family relationship, for example, would be more dominant in some cultures and therefore occupy a prominent role in cognitive representations.

Under these domains, certain concepts may be more prominent than the others. Szalay and Deese (1978) give the example of *ancestor*, which is more

prominent to a Korean than to an American. Affinity refers to the closeness of certain concepts in cultural representations. Affectivity reflects attitudes, beliefs and values and is reflected in the value judgments attached to the concepts. Szalay and Deese believe that word associations would reveal these properties of cultural cognitive representations. They arrived at these concepts by analyzing cross-cultural association data with several cultural groups such as American, Korean, Hispanic, and Arabic over the years.

Szalay and Deese (1978) give some examples of word association responses from their cross-cultural studies. In their pool of data, the dominant response to the stimulus *educated* for the American sample was *learned*, whereas the dominant response for Colombians was *polite. Family* and *manners,* which did not appear in the American sample, received high scores in the Colombian sample (p. 32).

The stimulus *education* elicited *school, college, learn, book, teacher, and knowledge* as dominant responses in American college students and *children, parents, school, good, kindergarten,* and *mother* in Slovenian students. The stimulus *United States* elicited *country, America,* and *power* in Black American college students, *American, government,* and *freedom* in White American college students and *power, capitalism, and freedom* in the Spanish Americans. These responses reveal how different cultural groups differ in terms of their associative behaviour reflecting their underlying cognitive and affective structures.

Entwhisle (1970) found that word associations of first-grade children indicate that black and white slum children were more linguistically advanced (i.e., adult-like) than those of suburban children in the U.S.. This superiority however, had disappeared by the third grade and was followed by a cumulative decline. He also found more *Klang* responses among the word association responses given by black-

first graders in the US. Klang responses are nonsense or rhyming responses that have a phonetic rather than semantic relationship to the stimulus word, such as *crack* and *dak* in response to *black* (Drinkwater, 1973a). Klang responses are regarded as an index to linguistic development. The frequency of these responses is reduced as the child moves from Kindergarten through primary school, and almost drops to none in adult responses.

Wilcox (1968) found that the number of different responses obtained from culturally "disadvantaged" groups in a continuous word association is significantly less than that obtained from culturally advantaged groups of equivalent chronological age.

One of the concepts employed in word association studies is *stereotypy,* or "the extent to which subjects produce similar answers to a stimulus word" (Kruse, Pankhurst, & Sharwood Smith, 1987, p. 144). Miron and Wolfe (1964) found that the Japanese in their study were highly stereotypic in their responses whereas the Afghan-Farsi speakers were much less stereotypic. Rozenzweig (1964) made a comparison between American and French groups of workers and students and found that the American groups were more stereotypic in their responses than the French groups.

In a study of the effect of bilingualism on the cognitive-linguistic development of ethnic minority children in the Netherlands, Appel (1989) administered a word association task to monolingual Dutch children and bilingual Turkish, Moroccan, and Surinamese children. There were no significant differences between the four groups in terms of the proportion of *semantic* responses given.

4.1.6. Aboriginal Word Association studies

Drinkwater (1972) administered a word association task to a group of 13-yr-old Aboriginal students from Palm Island and a group of 14-yr-old non-Aboriginal students from Townsville. The respondents were required to give three responses for each stimulus word. Drinkwater found a high degree of similarity in the content of associative hierarchies of the two groups. Out of 55 stimuli, thirty-three elicited identical primary responses.

However, the number of responses given to each stimulus by Aboriginal informants was less than that for non-Aboriginal informants.

Drinkwater (1973a) administered a multiple-response free association test to second-graders in Townsville and Palm Island Aboriginal Reserve. She found no significant difference between the frequency of the Klang responses given by Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal informants. There was also a large range of individual differences within both groups, with Whites producing the highest.

Drinkwater (1973b) did not find any significant difference in the proportions of pragmatic responses given by the two groups. Still she found the Aboriginal semantic system more sophisticated in that they produced a higher proportion of paradigmatic responses (i.e., 85% as opposed to 82% from the White group) and a lower proportion of Klang responses. The white system, however, was more syntactically complex, including more inflections, function words, and negation markers. Drinkwater also found a limitation in her Aboriginal data in the number of responses, and, in particular, the number of abstract associations. She concludes from her overall results that:

Aboriginal English, as a language system, is no hindrance to the

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development of well-structured semantic systems or to the meaningful coding of verbal stimuli. What limitations appear in the Aboriginal data seem attributable to restrictions in the extent and availability of vocabulary (p. 294).

The present study employed a qualitative approach to the analysis of word-association responses to a number of English words which served as prompts to evoke conceptualisations across two groups of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal students in Western Australia. The rationale for the choice of this method was that in a word-association task, the stimulus words can activate schemas and categories in the members of a cultural group and the responses elicited thereby can reflect these schemas and categories.

Word association has so far been mainly used in quantitative studies of cognitive structures of various kinds. In this study the technique was modified to suit the qualitative analysis targeted to explore cultural conceptualisations. Previous studies of word association mostly confined the size of responses to single words and this could in fact mask significant information regarding conceptual structures reflected in larger units of languages. In this study, there was no limit imposed on the size of the responses given by the informants.

Previous studies of word associations mostly revealed a tendency for reducing the responses elicited into numbers and this does not appear to be maximally beneficial in terms of examining conceptualisations that underlie the use of language. It is obvious that the preference for turning responses into numbers arises from the reductionist-quantitative approach which has dominated psychology and its related fields in the past. This study employed an ethnographic approach to the analysis of

the responses given by the informants. The native viewpoint was drawn upon for the interpretation of associative responses. The native viewpoint, provided by the informants, other members of the target group, as well as the anthropological literature, was used to arrive at the CCs which in the first place give rise to the associative responses.

Overall, the novelty of the method employed in this study was its qualitative interpretive analysis of the responses informed by the native point of view and the absence of any constraint on the size and the nature of each response. I have called this technique *Association-Interpretation* (Sharifian, 2001a), as it is composed of two phases of word-association and interpretive analysis. The following section presents a description of the sample of informants, the research procedure followed and the analysis of the data carried out for this study.

4.2 Informants

This study recruited two groups of informants: an Aboriginal group and a non-Aboriginal group.

The Aboriginal group: A group of 28 Nyungar, 1 Yamatji, and 1 Yamatji/Nyungar Aboriginal students from three metropolitan primary schools in Western Australia participated in this study. The students were from various grades, ranging from Grade 1 to Grade 7.

Nyungars are the Aboriginal people whose country lies in the south-west corner of Western Australia. This group is made up of 14 sub-groups based on social and linguistic characteristics and location. The network of linked Nyungar families currently spread over much of Western Australia and as a result the word 'Nyungar' may sometimes be used to signify Aboriginal people from Western Australia generally (Horton, 1994). Nyungars show a remarkable degree of cultural continuity

with the other Aboriginal Australians. This is in spite of the relatively high degree of intermarriage between Nyungars and non-Aboriginal people, including Europeans, Afghans, Indians and even African Americans.

Like other Australian Aboriginal groups, Nyungars regard their land and language as spiritually significant and consider kinship values as the core of their existence (e.g., Birdsall, 1988; Collard, 1996). They also regard themselves as inseparable from the eternal process of nature (Green, 1984). Yamatji Aboriginal people live in Murchison and Gascoyne coastal areas of Western Australia as well as in north eastern parts of Western Australia (Collard, 1996). Yamatji people also share their core cultural values related to kinship, language, land, etc. with other Aboriginal people of Australia. The majority of Nyungars and Yamatjis speak English as their first language.

The non-Aboriginal group: A group of 30 non-Aboriginal Anglo Australian students from among the students attending primary schools in Perth metropolitan area in Western Australia.

The informants in the two study groups were matched for age, gender, and school level and represented a mixed socioeconomic population. There was no control of the intelligence of the informants either, as previous studies have shown that the intelligence tests developed for and standardized with non-Aboriginal informants are not valid for Aboriginal informants.

4.3 Instrument

A list of 32 words was prepared to be administered as part of the association-interpretation technique (see Appendix for the word lists). In choosing the stimulus

words, an Aboriginal research assistant, who was informed of the aim of the study, was called upon to think about a number of words that would be relevant to the life of Aboriginal children. A number of words were also selected from Arthur's dictionary of Aboriginal English (1996). These words appeared to be associated with contrasting concepts in Aboriginal English and Australian English. The list of the stimulus words was finally checked by a non-Aboriginal research assistant for their relevance to the life experience of non-Aboriginal children. This was done to ensure that the words would not be totally unfamiliar to non-Aboriginal children. The first two words were used as warm-up trials to establish a response mode in the informants. A pilot test was also conducted to confirm the suitability of the stimuli.

4.4 Procedure

Prior to the collection of the data, the consent of the students' parents regarding the participation of their children in the study was sought. This was done by sending them a consent form, which was specifically prepared to be used in this study. Those students who returned the consent forms signed by their parents participated in the study. Ethics approval was also obtained from the Committee for research involving human subjects, Edith Cowan University.

The collection of data for this study involved the following stages:

a) The investigator collected data from the informants in the presence of an Aboriginal Islander Education Officer (AIEO), who helped with the administration of the task.

b) The participants were briefed by the AIEO, who also assured them that the test was a group test and not a measure of individual performance.

c) Prior to the commencement of each data collection trial, the AIEO filled out a background sheet including information concerning the age, sex, grade, cultural background, and the duration of residence in Perth for each participant.

d) The informants were informed that the investigator would not be interested in their names.

e) The informants were tested individually on school grounds.

f) The stimuli were presented orally and the responses were also required to be oral.

g) The informants signalled the end of each response set.

h) The responses given by the respondents were recorded using a cassette note-taker.

i) The stimulus words were presented in a different random order for each informant.

j) The first two words were used as warm-up trials to establish a response mode in informants and were monitored by the investigator for respondents' understanding of the task.

k) The investigator and the AIEO gave positive feedback after each response.

l) The investigator sometimes made remarks about the responses given by the informants, to make the task more interactive. This was triangulated by inserting questions where the responses were either ambiguous, not clear, or not familiar.

m) The AIEO also contributed to the clarification of responses as needed.

4.5 Data Analysis

The data collected were transcribed by the investigator and then subjected to the interpretive analysis. The sources that were drawn on in the identification of CCs in the pool of responses from each group were:

a. the expertise and the knowledge of the investigator about CCs and also Aboriginal conceptualisation,

b. the intuition of the three AIEOs,

c. the expertise and the intuition of two Aboriginal research assistants and an Aboriginal research officer, and

d. the anthropological and linguistic literature on Aboriginal culture and society.

The basic assumption underlying the model of CCs presented in the previous chapter is that these conceptualisations are not equally shared by the members of a cultural group but rather they are distributed across the group. The implication of this assumption for the analysis of the data in this study was that responses given by the informants could be *more or less* similar and they needed to be considered collectively in the light of group's experience rather than the idiosyncratic experiences of individuals. The data were clearly in consonance with this assumption and turned out to support the model of CCs. The following chapter presents the analysis.

CHAPTER 5
DATA
ANALYSIS

5. Analysis

This chapter presents the analysis of the associative responses given to the stimulus words by the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal informants in the study. These responses are closely analysed for their reflection of cultural conceptualisations that each group drew on in producing the responses. In each section the analysis begins by taking one of the stimulus words and proceeding with the analysis of responses given to it. An attempt is made here to focus the analysis on responses that appear to arise from the conceptualisations that emerge at the cultural level of cognition. This has been endorsed by the intuition of several insiders to each group. In presenting the associative responses, each marked line shows responses given by a different informant.

5. 1 Responses to "Aboriginal"

Responses from non-Aboriginal students show various schemas, some of which reflect a 'difference' perspective and some a 'deficit' perspective held by non-Aboriginal people towards Aboriginal people. Consider the following responses given by different non-Aboriginal informants to the stimulus word 'Aboriginal':

S (stimulus word): *Aboriginal*

R (response):

– *Colour, skin, friends.*

– *Black, hunts a lot.*

– *Another culture that was here in Australia before the settlers came and my friends.*

– *People, culture, and nice people, they like to tell lots of stories.*

– *Cultural people, Dreamtime stories, spear, hunting, boomerang.*

- *They eat different food, they're different colour, they were first people at Western Australia.*

- *Hunting animals, culture, painting, spears and boomerang*

- *I think of Aboriginal people and the colours of their flag which is red, yellow, and black, and um they are black people.*

- *People with brown dark skin.*

- *A person who's different colour, has culture, eating different stuff like witchetty grubs but not like chips and stuff.*

- *They were here before us, they tell stories.*

- *Not everyone is Aboriginal and sometimes they just don't have a house and they live out in the bush or something because they can make houses out of sticks and paint out of rocks.*

- *Some types they speak different languages, different culture type thing, black, talented.*

The above associations overall show that these informants regard Aboriginal people, some of whom are their classmates, as having a different colour and culture, some speaking a different language, and eating different kinds of food. They also show an awareness that Aboriginal people inhabited Australia before white settlers arrived. Some of these responses, such as *eating different food* and *black,* however, reflect patterns of stereotyping. As we will see later in the section on 'food', a lot of responses given by Aboriginal informants reveal that snacks like fried chicken, hamburger, and chips are prototypical food for many Aboriginal speakers. Also Aboriginal people range in terms of skin colour from quite fair to very dark and it is often impossible to identify an Aboriginal person in terms of their skin colour.

Some of the responses that reflect stereotyping on the part of the informants may be associated with the school literacy materials that present Aboriginality and Aboriginal people as 'traditional' and 'living in the past'. Consider the following responses:

– *spear, hunting, boomerang.*

– *Hunting animals, painting, spears and boomerang.*

– *Aboriginal play didjeridoo, they draw good pictures, do Aboriginal painting, like don't have no water, they get it from the dam,*

These responses reflect a schema, which is prevalent in school literacy materials, that pictures Aboriginal people as only those who "paint themselves, make boomerang, throw spears and hunt". While these activities have constituted part of the rich culture of Aboriginal people in the past and even present, representation of Aboriginality and Aboriginal culture just through these notions and concepts would be far from a fair coverage.

The responses given by some non-Aboriginal children reveal how little they know about their fellow Australians. Consider the following:

- *They were born first, they were in Australia first, I don't know anything else.*

- *People, brown.*

- *Somebody who was already here.*

While Aboriginal life and Aboriginal culture have so many rich and complicated dimensions, some students almost know less about Aboriginal people

than they do about foreigners. This lack of knowledge about Aboriginal people may originate from a hidden segregation, between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal, operating in Australia, enforced mainly by people, rather than just the government. Many Australian people avoid contact with Aboriginal people in terms of their residence and socialization. Often, Australian people regard themes to do with Aboriginal people as 'sensitive' and 'political' and therefore drop them out of their speech and writing. Such avoidance may in fact account for the dearth of knowledge about Aboriginal people and their culture on the part of non-Aboriginal Australians.

Van Dijk (1988) has shown how discourse about ethnic groups can derive from certain *attitude schemas* shared by the members of a social group. Some of the responses given by non-Aboriginal informants in this study also reflect a downgrading attitude schema towards Aboriginal people. Consider the following:

- *I think they are just like people too.*
- *Scary, dangerous.*

The response *I think they are just like people too* appears to carry a positive attitude towards Aboriginal people. However, it presupposes the existence of the proposition 'Aboriginal people are not like people'. Unfortunately, such a barbarous attitude is not uncommon among some Australians.

The responses given by Aboriginal informants reflect a variety of schemas and categories associated with their life. Consider the following:

– *eat kangaroo*
– *Nyungars, Wangies, Yamatjis*

- *Nyungars*

- *Nyungars, Yamtjis*

- *Dream,*

- *Family,*

- *I like Aboriginal people if they are darker than me, any kinds.*

- *Aboriginal dance, Aboriginal song,*

- *culture, language, an' stuff*

Responses such as *Nyungars, Wangies, Yamatjis,* given by the Aboriginal informants, reflect their awareness of the existence of various Aboriginal cultural groups. This pattern of responses was totally absent in non-Aboriginal informants. Among the attributes which are reflected in the above responses are a) Aboriginal people are 'family-oriented', b) they are culturally and linguistically different from non-Aboriginal people, and c) they have access to the Dreaming. These will be elaborated on later in this analysis.

Some of the responses by the Aboriginal informants, however, reveal schemas that regard Aboriginal people as "other". Consider the following:

- *They draw some stuff, they make spears, boomerangs, and kangaroo skin, that's for jumpers and like walking in the round in the bush.*

- *Having medicine off leaves*

- *They're doing the painting, they play with animals like snakes, tiger, lion, kangaroo, a bull.*

- *They lived here before everyone else came here*

- *They live in the bush, desert I mean*

The "othering" (Said, 1978) of Aboriginal people here is reflected in the use of *they* by Aboriginal speakers and also in the fact that the prototype that the above responses evoke is 'someone living in the desert or bush, making spears, using kangaroo skin for making clothes, and having medicine off leaves'. While this image is undeniably representative of some Aboriginal people in the past and even at present, it is surely not a fair representation of the Aboriginal speaker himself, nor of the people living around him. Such an image appears to be a by-product of the way Aboriginal people are represented in mass media and even in school literacy materials. This reveals the impact that print and electronic media can have on conceptualisations of the experience and in shaping imageries about the world and people.

Some of the responses by Aboriginal informants to the stimulus word *Aboriginal* referred to animals such as kangaroo, emu, and lizard. Consider the following:

Didgeridoo, boomerang, lizard, people, kangaroos, emu,

F: Why did you say lizard?

I: cause lizard is part of it

F: Part of Aboriginal?

I: Yeah

F: Why did you say kangaroo?

I: I dunno

Animals such as kangaroo, emu, and lizard have totemic significance for many Aboriginal Australians. They are in fact part of the Totem cultural schema, which lies at the heart of Aboriginal conceptualisation and worldview. Totems act as links between many Aboriginal people, animals, and the past, and they have a bearing on Aboriginal social grouping. Totems unite Aboriginal people who believe in them with nature and impart to them certain spiritual essence. Many Aboriginal people believe they have descended from their Dreamtime spirits, which are the same as their totems, and therefore possess some of their life forces. Totemic spirits are celebrated in ceremonies and rituals and constitute a large part of Aboriginal art. Totemism has always cast a challenge on "conventional" views about human categorisation. As Shore (1996) puts it:

> In a world in which gathering and hunting have been replaced by the
> manufacturing and commoditization of food products, the empirical power of
> the organic totem as a fact of life is all but invisible and appears irrational. (p,
> 184)

5.2 Responses to "Home"

The Aboriginal cultural schema of Home is different from the schemas that most non-Aboriginal people have in several respects. The schema of Home for Aboriginal people is of much broader scope in the sense that 'home' conjures up all the places where one usually stays, such as the houses in which members of one's extended family live. Thus, the houses that 'belong' to one's auntie or uncle are considered as one's 'home'. Where Aboriginal people live next to each other, the concept of 'home', therefore, may comprise part of a suburb. This schema was reflected in responses associated with the members of the extended family such as the following:

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S: *Home*

R:

– *mum and dad, sisters an aunnies, an' uncles an' aunnies, and cousin, an'*

   brothers.

– *Families.*

– *I play playstation, I play nintendo, I play 64, wrestling,*

F: you do wrestling at home?

I: Yeah

F; With whom?

I: my brothers and my cousins and tonight tonight umm if you ask me the question

about who's sleeping over, ask me that, say it.

F: Who's sleeping over?

I: My cousins, Stacy and Broklin, she's Aboriginal, you know Beki?, you know

Robbie?

F: They're coming over?

I: Yeah, and Kyle, they are my cousins.

Aboriginal 'home' may not appear 'structured' as for space and time. That is, the whole space in the house is often shared by people who 'stay', in the Aboriginal sense, in the house and every person may not be given a dedicated room. Aboriginal children may stay up late playing with their cousins and sisters and brothers. There may not be a set time for various events happening in the house such as dinner, TV, bed, etc. This in fact appears to be associated with the cultural life style and norms, in the context of which it is not at all a deficiency. Aboriginal people often view putting

children into their rooms at a set time and for a set period of time in darkness a "cruel" act, when they are asked to do so with their children.

Several associative responses from Aboriginal informants referred to 'keeping the house clean':

S: *Home*

R:

- *Do dishes, cleaning up, be kind at home, sweeping, cleaning the table, cleaning the lounge room, cleaning your room, cleaning the laundry an the bathroom.*
- *Cleaning up at home.*
- *Keep your house clean, healthy.*
- *You look after it*

Aboriginal children are often reminded by their parents to keep the house clean and tidy otherwise "they" [government authorities] would come and take them. This in fact is associated with the event schema of "stolen generation", which captures the sad events of taking Aboriginal children away by government authorities from their parents and putting them into white institutions. A common practice was simply to remove the child forcibly, often in the absence of the parent but sometimes even by taking the child from the mother's arms. Aboriginal people tell heart-rending stories about such events, such as the following:

> Our life pattern was created by the government policies and are forever with me, as though an invisible anchor around my neck. The moments that should be shared and rejoiced by a family unit, for [my brother] and mum and I are

forever lost. The stolen years that are worth more than any treasure are
irrecoverable.

(A confidential submission to *Bringing Them Home*, 1997)

The Aboriginal cultural schema of Home also embodies norms regarding
responsibilities assumed by each member of the family. Overall, there is an emphasis
in Aboriginal Home to impart a sense of self-reliance to children as soon as possible.
Assistance, if needed, may be sought from older brothers and sisters, rather than from
adults (Dunn, 2001; Malin, 1997). This is to give older children a chance to
experience a sense of responsibility. Of course "self-reliance" as favoured by
Aboriginal families is embedded with 'group-orientedness'. In other words, a person
is encouraged to be self-sufficient but at the same time to attend to the needs of other
members of the "mob" and share willingly. This norm of conduct may be captured in
a proposition schema which may be partly explicated as follows:

It's good to be self-reliant but also help others, especially younger members of
the family, if they need it.

Malin describes this schema as follows:

Parents would allow their children both time and space to tackle new tasks
and situations cautiously so to avoid making mistakes, and they would expect
them to be both emotionally and physically resilient. To balance this
independence, the parents encouraged their children to be affiliative – that is,
to be affectionate and nurturant with those younger than themselves, to

maintain an awareness of the whereabouts of everyone, to help those needing

it and to trust that their peers will be similarly dependable. (1997, p. 143)

The following responses from a six-year-old Aboriginal child instantiate the above-

mentioned schema. In particular they suggest that Aboriginal children may assume

the role of a carer for younger children from a very early age:

S: *Home*

R:

- *help them put their clothes on and their shoes*

F: help who?

AIEO: What people do you help put on their shoes?

I: *(Sister's name)* and my cousin.

The Aboriginal cultural schema of Home is also reflected in several responses to

other stimulus words, such as 'Watch', discussed in details later in this chapter.

Consider the following:

S: *Watch*

R: watching them putting their shoe right way, watching if they've got everything for

their lunch

The associative responses from the non-Aboriginal informants largely instantiate the

Anglo Australian cultural schema of Home, where everyone is allocated a separate

bedroom and children spend a lot of time in their bedroom and play games. Consider

the following responses:

– *Home you can sleep in, you can you can put your stuff in your house, you can have a dinner in your house, lunch, play sony, have fun.*

– *Bedroom, bed, backyard, shed, driveway, ceiling, garden.*

– *My nice bed, that's nice and soft and I like going to sleep, because I just like going to sleep, and I think about my family at home, an my cat [F: who's your family? I: my mum, my dad and my sister].*

– *My bedroom, kitchen, and the dining room*

– *Dog, person, a bed.*

– *Is where I go every time I finish school, where I can sit down relaxed lay on my bed, and do whatever I want, whenever I want, I don't have to live up to the standard or anything at home like at school, so I can basically relax.*

– *Has a roof, doors, carpet, trees at the back, tiles, and carpet, the kitchen, the rooms, beds, lights, clocks.*

– *It's a good place, play different games, TV, hobbies.*

– *It's like Nintendo, mainly my mum and dad big hug and kisses*

– *Place where I live, place where I go to have food an drink*

It can be seen that a good number of responses refer to different parts and sections of the houses, specifically bedroom. It can also be seen that in terms of the activities carried out in the house, the responses mainly refer to 'eating', 'sleeping', and 'playing games'. People, if ever mentioned, are those of the nuclear family such as 'mum' and 'dad'. Apart from these differences, there are some elements common to the Aboriginal and the Anglo schemas of Home, which are reflected in various responses. The home schema of many people from other countries may not include

'backyard', 'front-yard', 'shed', 'lounge', and 'laundry'.

5.3 Responses to "Food"

The associative responses given to the stimulus word *food* were mainly similar across the two groups, in terms of the categories to which these responses belonged. It appears that both groups use 'food' as a super-category for 'fruit', 'snack', 'chocolates', 'cakes', etc. This might not be the case with other cultures and languages though. In Persian, the native language of the investigator, chocolate, cake, fruit and so on are not considered to belong to the category of food. Consider the following responses from the two groups:

Aboriginal	Non-Aboriginal
– *Bread, toast, Cornflakes, trupets[?crumpets?], salad, and spaghetti, and meat, biscuits, ice cream.* – *Noodles, Pizza, Macdonald's, Jacks, Red Rooster, pear, apple, banana, everything, I eat the plate.* – *Chocolate, bicies, cream, wheatbix, breakfast, meat, Lasagna, Pizza, steak,*	– *Chocolate, apples and pears.* – *Meat, vegetarians, sea food.* – *Bananas, oranges, mandarins.* – *Meat, potatoes, celery, and corn.* – *Apple, banana, orange, mashed potato, peas.* – *apples, vegetables, chips.* – *McDonalds, KFC, Red Rooster, Fish & chips, Hungry jacks, Sandwich, Spaghetti balanades, Pizza Hut, chips, steak,*

The above responses given by the informants in the two groups conjure up, more or less, a common cultural category of 'food' which includes items such as 'chocolate', 'fruit', 'fast food', 'vegetables', 'pasta', and 'meat'. This category may best be

labelled 'Australian food' category. This category is characterised by multinational food such as 'noodle', 'pizza', 'lasagna', and Western food such as McDonald and KFC.

The Aboriginal category of 'food' also includes Aboriginal cultural food which may not usually be consumed as food by non-Aboriginal people. Consider the following responses from several Aboriginal informants:

S: *Food*

R:

– *Kangaroo meat, Kangaroo soup.*

– *Kangaroo, kangaroo is meat.*

– *Tucker, berries, dugongs, yams, witchetty grub, emu, kangaroo, bush tomatoes.*

These responses mainly represent the category of bush food (also known as *tucker* or *bush tucker*). Bush tucker is Australian terminology for the huge variety of herbs, spices, mushrooms, fruits, flowers, vegetables, and for some people even birds, reptiles and insects that are native to the country. For about 60000 years, Aboriginal people have obtained fruits, vegetables, minerals and animals from the bush. These have been hunted and gathered in various ways by Aboriginal people who have employed many distinct processes for selecting and preparing animal, vegetable and mineral products for use. Aboriginal people have long perfected the skills of obtaining and preparing these natural materials into edible foods.

'Dugong' is a kind of sea mammal, which is also known as 'sea cow'. 'Yam' is a kind of root vegetable and 'Witchetty grub' is a salmon-colored caterpillar which lives inside the roots of the Mulga tree and Acacia bushes. They can be eaten raw or cooked.

As the above associative responses suggest, although Aboriginal people living in the city areas have incorporated non-Aboriginal food into their diets, they still enjoy their own traditional food like kangaroo. Such food is either provided to them by family members who go hunting or obtained through special markets. Several Aboriginal informants also suggested that they often go hunting and camping with their family members, during which they eat bush tucker.

5.4 Responses to "People"

The word *people* in Aboriginal English usually evokes a cultural category which includes people with whom one closely associates or identifies. There is also another use of the word, when accompanied by a modifier such as *tree* or *fish*, which refers to people belonging to an area characterised by particular environmental features (Arthur, 1996). When the word is used in constructions such as *our people* or *us people* (or *us mob*) it mainly refers to the extended family or the language group (i.e., sub-cultural group) to which the person belongs. Therefore, the concept of *people* conceptually captures a sense of 'solidarity' rather than 'difference'. The word may also be clipped into *peop* to address a relative, or close friend, suggesting that the person is one of an insider.

Non-Aboriginal Australians, however, usually use the word *people* to refer to 'others', as in the expressions 'Chinese people' or 'Middle Eastern people'. Aboriginal speakers usually use the word 'fallas' in that sense – hence the phrase 'white fallas'.

Aboriginal people tend to be culturally 'group-oriented' and regard their groupings as of utmost significance in shaping their identities. Aboriginal groupings often capture their spiritual essence and their totemic inheritance. Aboriginal people, however, have found the system of the English language incapable of covering such

cultural conceptualisations and have thus somehow forced their conceptualisations into the English lexicon. This has often taken the form of extending the meanings of an English word or associating a whole Aboriginal conceptualisation with English words. The word *mob* for example, is used in Aboriginal English to refer to 'a group of Aboriginal people' and the word *family* has been used to refer to one's extended family. Similarly, the word *people* is used to refer to Aboriginal groupings, such as clans and sub-cultures.

The associative responses given by the informants in this study largely supported the above-mentioned remarks but also revealed certain crossover of meanings from one dialect to another. Consider the following responses:

Aboriginal	**Non-Aboriginal**
– *Family, friends, cousins, uncles and aunties and pops and mums and dads.* – *Aboriginals, wangais, yamatjis, watjellas.* – *There's lots of Aboriginal people.* – *I like seeing people who I know, and I don't like seeing that I don't know.* – *Families, an' your uncles, an' your brothers, 'n your cousins, sisters, and aunnies, 'n your uncles, 'n your pop, an' your mum and your dad, an' mum.* – *My cousin, my dad, my nana, my auntie,*	– *There's different kinds of people, they speak different language, some people are nice, some people are mean.* – *Personalities, white, black, languages.* – *Different.* – *Some people have different colour skins, not all the people look the same, some people hunt, different nationalities.* – *Aboriginal people, Malaysian people, English people, Muslim, Vietnamese, Chinese.* – *There's lots of people in the world.*

my brother, and my mum.	*People live in houses, people go hunting.*
– *My girlfriend, my friend, my aunie, my girlfriend, Aboriginals, my cousin Kylie.*	–
– *Like Aboriginals,*	–

It can be seen that the above responses by the Aboriginal informants are mainly associated with their extended family and their Aboriginal cultural groups, whereas the ones given by non-Aboriginal people reveal a broader classification system with an emphasis on difference. These patterns of responses, however, do not appear to be exclusive to one or the other group of the informants. There are responses in the pool of data which suggest the opposite patterns. Consider the following.

Aboriginal	Non-Aboriginal
– *Aboriginals, white people, Chinese people, and other countries.*	– *My cousins, and my nany and popy and my grand granddad, and my mum dad and my brother, and whatever.*
– *African people, whitefalla, blackfallas, and Chinese, an Vietnamese.*	– *I think about my family again, I think of people in the community, and my cousins and my relatives, just about everybody.*

It is clear that this time the responses given by Aboriginal students reflect a broader scope of categorisation whereas the responses given by non-Aboriginal informants refer to family and relatives. This pattern of responses may be attributed to the effect

of attending the school, where Aboriginal students mainly find themselves among 'white fallas' and children from other countries. In the case of non-Aboriginal informants, it is still unclear whether they are expressing solidarity with the extended-family members when they mention them in response to the word *people*, or they are in fact regarding them as "other people".

In any case, there seems to have been some instances of what I might call *conceptual seepage*, or permeation of conceptualisations, from one group into another, in the data obtained for this study. This is hardly surprising given the presence of contact between the two groups in the school setting. We will see more examples of this process later in the analysis of other associations.

5.5 Responses to "Fight"

This stimulus word was used to elicit Aboriginal students' attitude towards 'fight', which is often assumed to be an overt manifestation of aggression. The behaviour of many Aboriginal students is often described as 'aggressive', 'difficult-to-manage', etc in school and government reports. Consider the following responses from Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal informants to the stimulus word 'fight':

Aboriginal	Non-Aboriginal
– *Some, it's not really good to see Aboriginals fighting against each other and cause it kind o puts like if you go into North Bridge or something and you see Aboriginals fighting kind of puts you to shame, like cause everyone is*	– *Bad, dangerous, injury.* – *I don't like fighting.* – *Sad, speared.* – *People hitting and punching, kicking, bad, and people get hurt, and not friends.* – *Scary, bad.*

watching and they're thinking, ... like you can't really go to a public place an people think that you're like them, when you might not be and then people can't trust like the security guards an police and yeah.

– *I make up fighting with my brother and my sister and my cousins, when my cousins come over all my cousins and we make up fight.*

– *I fight with brother and my sister and my little baby brother.*

– *Scary sometimes, good, not really good, but makes you tough, bad and sad, it's alright, I like fighting, not that much like wrestling, if someone hits me I hit them right back..*

– *Sometimes I don't like fights, sometimes people pinch stuff from you so I wanna fight with them, lots of people fight in the street and so many shots, xxx* [unclear] *fighting is a bad thing too because you can go to jail, biig trouble*

– *Not allowed to fight at school, gotta be friends.*

– *Personally I hate fighting, and I reckon fighting is like not very very good, cause people can get hurt, and here they should live in piece and harmony, stuff like that.*

– *Fighting is bad.*

– *People fight and you can make stop fight, you can make them stop fighting.*	154
– *Xxx start to fight, annoy someone, help someone you think they are you friend but they start to fight.*	
– *Fight with your friends.*	
– *Police, yelling.*	
– *Black, die, kill people, kick 'm over, push 'm over.*	
– *I chase my girlfriend.*	
– *Punch, kick, wrestling, boxing, I think of my brother, cause he always punches me.*	
– *You can get a pink slip if you fight, an you might get **jarred** from your dad.*	

It can be seen that non-Aboriginal informants have shown more negative attitudes towards fight than the Aboriginal informants. For some Aboriginal informants the word *fight* has evoked the image of Aboriginal people fighting in the streets and getting into trouble with the police. For some others, however, it has evoked the schema of 'fight' as a social activity that is not intended to harm. Certain cultural groups, like Aboriginal people, are somewhat tolerant of children's fighting as it would provide them with a chance to be prepared for certain experiences. In both

serious and play fights, children learn and experience certain concepts such as 'rivalry', 'self-defence', as well as 'defending one's territory and one's family'.

Sharifian (2000) explicates the cultural schema of Fight in traditional Aboriginal societies. In traditional societies, fighting was a determinant of the structure of the society as well as a means to establish social order. As Macdonald puts it, "The fight, as a vehicle of value transmission and a confirmative expression of social structure, has had an important part to play in maintaining Wiradjuri [an Aboriginal tribe of central NSW] meanings over time" (Macdonald, 1988, p. 180). Macdonald also refers to Aboriginal fight as a means of maintaining balance in social relations, and not an act of disturbance (p. 191). Aboriginal societies have their own organizations, and their legal systems are partly maintained through fighting behaviour (Macdonald, 1982). Langton (1988) views Aboriginal fight as a "rule-governed behaviour adapted from earlier indigenous patterns to enable meaningful existence in the new political, legal, and social situations imposed by the dominant Australian regime" (p. 202). Langton also believes that fight is a social ordering device, which is also culturally meaningful.

The responses given by the Aboriginal informants do not reflect a serious aggressive behaviour, which is often reported by school authorities. It might not be till later years of high school that Aboriginal students become more culturally aware and sensitive to the imbalance of power they face with non-Aboriginal people and therefore show nonconformist behaviour. The result of power imbalance characterised by racism can be insecurity, frustration and anger. This often makes it difficult for Aboriginal students to be attentive at school and may even surface in various forms, such as self-abuse or bullying, in the behaviour of Aboriginal students.

5.6 Responses to "Family"

The concept of family is defined, for the national census, as "two or more persons, at least one of whom should be a person aged 15 years and over, who are related by blood, marriage, adoption or fostering, and who are usually resident in the same household" (Bourke & Bourke, 1995, p. 49). However, as Bourke and Bourke note, this definition does not cover the Aboriginal concept of family. The cultural category of Family in Aboriginal English moves beyond that of nuclear family and captures one's extended family including cousins, and cousins of cousins, etc. In this sense, family is the essence of Aboriginal existence. It is almost impossible to study Aboriginal society and culture without understanding the structure and function of Aboriginal family, which is in a sense the main pillar of Aboriginal psyche and society. Birdsall (1988) observes that Nuyngar system of kinship is the basis of Nuyngar social structure. Tonkinson (1998, p. 150) also maintains that, "[i]n Aboriginal society everybody with whom a person comes into contact is called by a kinship term, and social interaction is guided by patterns of behaviour considered appropriate to particular kin relationships".

Aboriginal kinship system follows a 'classificatory' system (Tonkinson, 1998), where, for example, the term 'father' may refer to one's father as well as father's brothers and the term 'mother' may refer to one's mother as well as mother's sisters. The corollary to this system is that one's cousins are thus considered and called 'brothers' and 'sisters', or 'cousin brothers' and 'cousin sisters'. It should be noted that this kinship system is not merely a system for addressing people. It in fact "carries with it the obligation to observe certain behavioural rules known to all, and this makes it easy for the interaction to proceed along well-defined lines, regardless of

whether the person encountered is loved or hated, admired or feared" (Tonkinson, 1998, p. 151).

The behavioural rules which should be observed in relationships may involve some kind of restraint associated with the concept of 'shame', which will be discussed in detail later in this analysis. This restraint may relate to "touching, joking, calling by name, direct eye contact, the passing of objects from hand to hand, visiting other person's camp, argument, sexual innuendo and physical assault" (Tonkinson, 1998, p. 153).

Edwards (1998) maintains that kinship obligations may relate to matters such as:

–   Marriage and betrothal arrangements;

–   Food gathering, distribution and sharing;

–   Sharing of other goods;

–   Certain trading relationships with people in other communities; and

–   Educational roles, involving not only parents but other kin as well.

Many Aboriginal cultural groups have a special 'avoidance' style of speaking. This avoidance may be associated with the presence of a relative with whom one may only be allowed to use a certain style of speech, with no joking, according to the laws of the kinship system, or with whom one may even not be allowed to talk at all. A man and his mother-in-law, or a woman and her son-in-law may not be allowed to look directly at one another, and have to use an avoidance speech style when in the other's presence or even have to avoid conversing with each other. Avoidance styles may have the same grammar as the normal, everyday language style, but show a number of different words. This avoidance is of course not an expression of enmity

but a sign of respect and an indication of mutual duties and obligations (Edwards, 1998).

Knowledge about this complex system of kinship and its associated concepts is captured in the Aboriginal cultural schema of Aboriginal Family (Sharifian, 2000). As mentioned earlier, a cultural schema embodies group knowledge and is represented in a distributed fashion across the minds in a . The Aboriginal cultural schema of Family includes knowledge about the structure as well as the function of family relationships. It provides a guide and a yardstick for one's behaviour towards other kin and also for predicting the likely behaviour of others.

The stimulus word *family* was used in this study to see if the responses given by the Aboriginal informants would reflect any aspect of the Aboriginal kinship system. Consider the following responses from both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal informants:

Aboriginal	Non-Aboriginal
– *Love your pop, love your nan, love our mums, love our dads.* – *Brothers, sisters, aunnie, uncles, nan, pops, father, nephew and nieces.* – *They're there for you, when you need 'm they look after you, you call 'm aunie and uncle an cousins.* – *People, mums, dads, brother, group of families, like aunties and uncles nanas*	– *You got brothers and sisters in your family and your mum and dad, and you have fun with your family, have dinner with your family, you go out with your family.* – *Dad, mum, brother, dog.* – *Mum, and dad, brother, and sister.* – *Fathers, sisters, parents, caring.* – *People, your mum and dad, and your*

and pops.

- *I've got lots of people in my family, got a big family, got lots of family.*

- *I like my family, all of my family, my aunties an uncles and cousins, and I like Dryandra.*

- *Just having family that is Nyungar and meeting each other an everything, yeah, like my cousins an everything and love.*

- *My cousins and aunts, my cousins on my dad's side, I'd say ... my mum and my aunie, my brother and my sister, that's it.*

- *My family, you know how many family I got? one thousand millions, Hundered ninty nine million thousand thousand nine nine sixty one ... million million, uncle, Joe, Stacy, ... What's your name? Cousins, uncles, sisters, brothers, girlfriends and my million sixty one thousand family*

- *Mum, dad, sister, brother, baby, cousins, aunties, god.*

- *mobs, Aboriginal, White,*

- *Mum, my sister, my dad, uncle, my*

sister and brother.

- *All my family, my brothers and sisters, my mum and my dad.*

- *Kids, mums, dads, sisters, brothers.*

- *Mother, sister, brother, life.*

- *Mum, dad, my brother.*

- *I think of all the people in my family [F: Who are they? I: My mum, my dad, an my sister]*

annie, my nan, pop and my big brother	

It can be seen that the responses given by Aboriginal informants refer to the extended family members, such as aunts and uncles, and as such they instantiate the Aboriginal cultural schema of Family whereas the responses from the non-Aboriginal informants suggest that the word 'family' has invoked in them a schema that includes only the members of their nuclear family.

It is evident from such responses as *they're there for you*, *when you need 'm they look after you* by Aboriginal informants that kin relationships are associated with responsibility and care. Uncles and aunties often have a big share in one's upbringing. The closeness of an Aboriginal person to his or her extended family members is also reflected in the patterns of responses where the primary responses refer to uncles and aunties or nanna and pop instead of father and mother. Responses such as *my million sixty one thousand family* and *I've got lots of people in my family* reflect the relatively large scope of coverage of the concept of family in Aboriginal conceptualisation..

The Aboriginal cultural schema of Family can be instantiated in various forms of behaviour including speech. As Eades puts it, "When people talk about being Aboriginal, they invariably talk about Aboriginal family relationships" (Eades, 1988, p. 98). It can also be instantiated in relation to various activities and events. Consider the following responses:

S: Home

R: *Families, clean, live, mum and dad, sisters an' aunnies, an' uncles an' aunnies, an' cousin, an' brothers, an' you look after it, got your own bed, and it got lounge, kitchen, an' table.*

S: Walk

R: *Walk with your aunnies, walk with your uncles, walk with your mum and dad, walk with your pop and nans, 'n uncles, 'n cousins, 'n your mum, 'n your cousin, 'n your sisters, and walk with your dog..*

S: Camping

R: *Camping with your uncles, sisters, and your uncles, pop, and nan, brothers, 'n sisters, uncles, cousins, 'n, mum'n dad, 'n nan 'n pop.*

S: Going out

R: *go out somewhere, go to stay night, go to your nan, 'n go out to your nans and annies, and your mum and dad and brothers and sisters.*

These responses reveal that the concept of family may dominate an Aboriginal person's conceptual system and may run through all aspects of one's life including where one lives and what one does. For many Aboriginal children, 'home' can be wherever a relation such as an uncle or an auntie lives. In other words, it is the sense and feeling of family which makes a place 'home' for a person, rather than either the ownership of the place or parental residence.

As mentioned earlier, the responses from non-Aboriginal informants largely reflect a sense of family which is confined to the member of one's immediate or nuclear family. Overall, the responses from the two groups reflect a conceptual difference in relation to 'family'. In particular, the responses from the Aboriginal informants reveal that even for contemporary Aboriginal people, family and familial relationships have a great influence in their life. So-called 'urbanised' Aboriginal people appear to have maintained their cultural essence through their kin ties. In other

words, "Aboriginal identity has been sustained though family life" (Bourke & Bourke, 1995, p. 68).   In writing about contemporary Aboriginal Australians, Bourke and Bourke observe that "Aboriginal families in urban and rural areas have a developed network of family, community, and organizational structures which provide psychological and physical support and a sense of security" (1995, p. 64). It is this kind of networking which is essential to the development and maintenance of cultural schemas and that is how Aboriginal people have been able to maintain their cultural schema of Family. However, as Bourke and Bourke (1995) put it, "Yet most of Australia's institutions and programs are still as destructive of Aboriginal families as they have been in the past" (p. 65).

5.7 Responses to "Country"

The word "country" for Aboriginal people usually conjures up a different schema from that of non-Aboriginal people. The Aboriginal cultural schema of Country covers a place or territory where a group of people "belong", spiritually and socially. Arthur (1996, p. 119) defines country in Aboriginal English as "The tract of land where an Aboriginal person or community belongs, to which they have a responsibility, and from which they can draw spiritual strength". "Belonging" in this sense is characterised by a mutual relationship, where people belong to the country and the country belongs to the people. Of course the concept of "people" here moves beyond that of a physical crowd and encompasses identities, beliefs, stories, etc. As Arthur (1996) puts it:

> The words that Aboriginal people use about country expresses a living relationship. The country may be **mother** or **grandfather**, which **grows** them **up** and is **grown up** by them. These kinship terms impose mutual

responsibilities of caring and keeping upon the land and people. The term **own** and **owner** are transformed in Aboriginal meaning into mutual interdependence rather than exclusive control [bold original]. (p. 115)

It should however be noted that it is not the use of the kin term that 'imposes' mutual responsibilities but the way the country is conceptualised. Country can give birth to people, it has feelings, knows her people, etc. It is these attributes of the country that can bring her titles such as "mother".

Aboriginal people connect to their spiritual world through their country and their land. Certain features of the land are associated with Ancestral Spirits and are sacred to Aboriginal people. One's country is also where his or her grandparents and great grandparents have lived and have left their marks on various sites and places. Thus in a sense one's country is also his or her "heritage" and "history".

It is worth noting at this stage that cultural conceptualisations such as the ones discussed so far embody conceptual systems and not just single concepts, in the sense that they include a whole network of interrelated concepts. Often understanding a concept from a cultural schema requires understanding certain other concepts in the system. For instance, Arthur (1996) defines the word *clean* or *clean up* in Aboriginal English as 'To clean or clear the country by burning'. It is obvious, from the explication of the cultural schema of Country above, that a thorough understanding of the concept of *clean* here goes much beyond this simple definition. Arthur refers to 'fire' as a tool that is usually used for 'cleaning' in this sense. Fires are set up to 'manage' the country, that is, to fend off certain animals and help new plants grow. Cleaning the country is cleaning what has given birth to a person and keeping her alive. Even in setting up fires people should remember that fire is causing a wound to

her and thus after burning, the fire should be closed with ash, in order to "heal the mother's wound". It can be seen that a whole conceptual system is captured in a cultural schema such as Country and understanding such conceptual systems goes much beyond the level of lexical definition.

Concepts such as 'country' and 'family' need to be interpreted with reference to the cultural schemas which act as the conceptual basis of these terms, rather than just certain external referents that may be associated with these concepts. Within each cultural schema, terms and concepts may require their own conception and interpretation; even basic terms such as 'knowledge', 'people', etc. may need to be interpreted with reference to the conceptual system that are embodied in cultural schemas.

The stimulus word *country* was used in this study to see what schemas are evoked in Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal informants. Consider the following responses:

Aboriginal	Non-Aboriginal
– *I like very much countries, Carnavorn, Vietnam.* – *Australia, Australia, Kalgooli, Africa, American, Asia, Kalgooli, Aboriginal.* – *Australia, American.* – *I like country so it can be a rich country, so you can talk differently, different countries, country that I'm in*	– *A Place in earth, Indonesia.* – *Big, small.* – *There's different countries.* – *There's lots of them around the world.* – *States, countries* – *I think how safe my country is.* – *Perth, Darwin, Hobart, Rottnest Island, New South Wales.*

now is Australia and the best country that I like is India, China, and Queensland and Western Australia.	- *Separation, nation, capital.*
- *Indonesia, Perth, Cathera, Labedon, Western Australia, that's still Perth, Kalgooli, [a name], Bunbary*	- *They have a boundary.*
	- *An Island, Australia.*
	- *Think of big, think of Australia, think of bid continents.*
- *Africa, Australia, Tasmania, North, South Wales, North, South, East an West, they're countries, China, Vietnamese, New Zealand.*	- *Like Australia, any other country from the world, Albania.*
	- *New Zealand, South America, Australia, Bali.*
- *Albany, cause I've been there, [several names of country places]*	
- *Norsman (I've been there)*	
- *Weigne, Narrajin, Kattanin, Nabaka, Albani,*	
- *Driving your car to umm to Bunbary, living in Esperance, staying at Kalgooli, live at Portheadlland, live go somewhere to stay in Koogari, camping for night at Broom.*	
- *Kalabury, Geraldton, Sprence.*	

It can be seen that for non-Aboriginal informants the word *country* has mainly evoked

a more global category which is characterised by nations and borders. This category

includes geographical locations such as China, Vietnam etc. Responses from

Aboriginal informants however show a wider category which includes the above sense as well as a more localised sense of rural regions, of which these informants show a good awareness. That is, Aboriginal informants appear to have associated 'country' with nation-size territories as well as more local regions around Western Australia, where most probably their relatives live. Although this pattern accounts for the majority of responses, some responses from Aboriginal informants reveal association with the Aboriginal cultural schema of Country.

S: Country

R:

- I think of going to like country sides that my mum says that Nyungars used to live there and we went to this place and there was like all these rocks and everything and I wanted to take some home, but my mum said that it's has to stay there, cause they're from the Ancestors,

- The country I come from is Kija country.

- Town, communities, elders.

As mentioned earlier, in the Aboriginal cultural schema of Country, features of the land were created by the Ancestor Spirits and it is the responsibility of people of the country to look after them. The first response above suggests the instantiation of this schema in the informant's quoting of her mother. In uttering the response *I'm from the Kija country* the Aboriginal informant is making a reference to 'country' in the Aboriginal sense, as the name *Kija* refers to an Aboriginal territory. The third response also appears to be an instantiation of the cultural schema of Country as it characterises country with 'communities' and 'elders', rather than borderlines and

nations. In Aboriginal English, in one sense 'community' overlaps with 'country' as it refers to a "settlement or place where the majority of the inhabitants are Aboriginal" (Arthur, p. 228). Similarly, the word 'elders' refers to older people within the community who have the highest authority and greatest cultural knowledge.

5.8 Responses to "Fun"

The responses given by the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal informants to the stimulus word *fun* reflect a schema which is influenced by factors such as age, school, residence, etc. Consider the following responses.

Aboriginal	Non-Aboriginal
– *Fun factory, fun station.*	– *Drawing, colouring, playing, teachers, going to school.*
– *Fun on the slides, you play with your friends, go down the poles.*	– *Fun factory, go to the park, go to the beach, have fun at computer, have fun at sony.*
– *Making houses, playing ghost.*	
– *Can have fun at the park, ye can 'ave like Disney Land, Adventure world, swimming pool, go to the videos, skate, cycling thing, underwater, waterslides.*	– *Playing sport.*
	– *I think of the computer, I think of the TV, I think of the radio and stereo that I have, I think of all the playgrounds, I think of all the fun station, play station.*
– *Park, teddy.*	
– *Sports, competition, being nice to other people, playing chasing, hide and seek.*	– *Football, basketball, slides, swings, monkey bar.*
– *Play funny games.*	
– *Going shopping, going to modeling, going to town, playing football, playing*	– *Football, soccer, silent ball, dancing, singing, baseball, basketball.*

net-ball, playing soccer.	– You play, playing with dogs, playing in the sand, ride bikes, and going to the shops and buying toys, playing in your room.
– Sliding down in the waterslide.	
– Games, playing, messing around, not do work, and going out to a place for a birthday party.	
– You play in the playground.	– Playing games, hide and seek, going on a picnic, going to the pool.
– I like funning around, I like playing with my friends, I like playing with my cousins.	– Running, playing, playing football, playing soccer, playing cricket.
– My mum & dad' fun.	
– fun with your friends, play fun stuff, fun climbing up the trees, sitting on the swings.	
– Places, mum and dad	

It can be seen that the responses across the two groups largely suggest activities such as playing games, sports, going to the park, and going shopping as fun. There is however a slight tendency among some responses given by the Aboriginal informants towards 'family' and 'crowd', reflected in responses such as *mum and dad, I like playing with my cousins,* and *fun with your friends.* There also appears to be an opposite tendency towards 'individualistic' activities in some of the responses by non-Aboriginal informants. This pattern is reflected in responses such as *have fun at the computer, play in your room,* and *play station.*

Overall, the responses from the two groups point to the existence of a more or less common intercultural schema that may not be shared intra-culturally, for example, across different age groups. Recreation and entertainment may be defined with reference to factors such as age and social class as much as they may be defined culturally. In other words factors such as age can sometimes cut across cultures and reveal clustering in certain behaviour. That is, there should be certain abstract schemas underlying the behaviour of people across different cultural groups that are determined by certain common developmental factors rather than anything else.

There were, however, responses from two Aboriginal informants which clearly showed Aboriginal schemas. One of the respondents referred to *dancing* and *painting*, and upon asking for further clarification it became explicit that she meant, "painting Aboriginal stuff such as boomerang and all that" and "Aboriginal dancing". Another informant responded as follows:

S: Fun

R:

– *Doing Corroborees, and like this having Aboriginal day with damper, an on holidays like for naidoc week an everythin , yeah and it's really fun.*

'Corroboree' refers to "an Aboriginal dance ceremony, of which song and rhythmical musical accompaniment are an integral part, and which may be sacred and ritualised or non-sacred, occasional, and informal" (The Australian Concise Oxford Dictionary, 1997). 'Damper' is kind of Aboriginal cultural bread and 'NAIDOC week' is a week to celebrate the heritage of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples.

Among the responses given by the informants were certain vocabulary items which appeared to be used as roughly synonymous with *fun*. An Aboriginal informant gave the words *wicked* and *deadly*. *Wicked* is most probably a borrowing from African-American English meaning "excellent" and *deadly* is an Aboriginal English term meaning "great" and "fantastic". A non-Aboriginal informant gave the word *cool*, which is a term mainly used by younger generations meaning "excellent".

5. 9 Responses to "Australia"

A comparison of the responses given by the two groups to the stimulus word *Australia* reveals, in general, that more of the Aboriginal children tend to operate from a more localised schema, whereas the non-Aboriginal students show a broader conceptualisation with regard to the term. Consider the following responses:

Aboriginal	Non-Aboriginal
– *Western Australia.*	– *Perth, Sydney, Melbourne, Darwin, New South Wales, Queensland.*
– *I like going to town.*	
– *it's not as busy as Melbourne an all that.*	– *I also think of all the continents in Australia, mainly Tasmania even though it's not attached and people*
– *Perth, Kargooli, Esperance.*	
– *Perth, Mirabooka, pools.*	– *Island, Tasmania broke off.*
– *Park, school.*	– *Um a huge Australia, it's continent but a country, from um and we have six colonies came to create Australia.*
	– *Different nations, countries, different lands, different colored people, cities,*

	towns.
	– *There's northern Territory, ACT,*
	Queensland, Victoria, and South
	Australia and in the Northern territory
	there is I don't know

It can be seen that the responses given by the Aboriginal informants in this case mainly refer to more localised parts of Australia, such as places in the state or even school and pool, whereas those of the non-Aboriginal informants refer to various states and places in the country. That is, the schema of Australia for Aboriginal informants seems to be composed of more local areas, which they have mainly been to, whereas the non-Aboriginal children show a more school-based schema of Australia, which is largely reflected in school materials.

There were some other responses from the Aboriginal informants that appeared to be distinctively Aboriginal. Consider the following:

a) *I just think that it used to be Aboriginal land and now people are taking over it an everything and that is not much places now that still like travel.*

b) *I like my favourite town is Darwin, near, where there are all Aboriginals are.*

c) *Countries, people.*

d) *Countries, states, communities, Aboriginal.*

e) *You run.*

f) *People live in Australia, people like Australia, Cathy Freeman runs for Australia, what's the other woman who swims for Australia? Umm.*

g) *Aboriginal people lived here before and everyone used to not see Australia*

because of the water and the water went away and everyone could see it, and I

think Captain Cook or something went the opposite way and saw it.

h) *Four different people, the whole world is Australia, some Aboriginals live in it*

and white falla, Chinese, Vietnamese, Indian.

i) *Beautiful country, land, people,*

Responses "a" and "b" clearly show instances of a pan-Aboriginal perspective. Responses "c" and "d" refer to "countries" which reveal Aboriginal view of Australia, that is, composed of 'countries' in the Aboriginal sense. Responses "e" and "f" reveal that the stimulus word *Australia* has activated the image of Cathy Freeman, the Aboriginal Olympic gold medallist, in the two informants. The responses given in "h" give a distinctive view of Australia by an Aboriginal child, who considers *Australia* as the whole world. It was mentioned earlier that land and country are of special significance to Aboriginal people and the responses in "i" seem to reflect this significance.

5.10 Responses to "Camping"

The word *camp* in Aboriginal English evokes a distinctly Aboriginal cultural schema. A 'camp' refers to:

> [a] living place, either temporary or permanent. The term can refer to the
> living place of either a single person, or a small or large group, and can
> include in its reference a group of houses or a swag under a tree. Always, it is
> essentially an Aboriginal-controlled environment. It would not generally be
> used of a house within a non-Aboriginal environment, such as a suburb.
>
> (Arthur, 1996, p. 116)

For non-Aboriginal people, 'camp' in this sense meant "a community to be feared, harried, moved on, or destroyed, and from which fair-skinned Aboriginal children should be 'rescued'" (Arthur, 1996, p. 117). This schema is also associated with several lexical items and expressions in Aboriginal English. Arthur notes that camp can be used as an adjective meaning "relating to the people who belong to a 'camp'" (p. 117). *Camp black* refers to an Aboriginal person living in the camp and *camp English* means 'Aboriginal English'.

Lie down camp is a 'camp' where one resides permanently and *sit down camp* is a temporary camp of convenience. Arthur also observes that such camps may have places open to one gender and not the other, for reasons such as discussing ritual matters. The Aboriginal cultural schema of Camp has given rise to certain meanings associated with the word 'camp'. The verb 'to camp' is now used in Aboriginal English to mean 'live or stay in a place for a while'. Thus, *You should camp here tonight* means 'you should stay over for the night'.

Another Aboriginal concept associated with the word camp is that of travelling with the members of the extended family and staying in a place such as the bush for a period of time. During this stay Aboriginal people have a chance to relate to nature by observing the environment and animals, hunting, finding food, setting up camp fire, and a lot more. It is both a spiritual and a social journey in which Aboriginal people explore and strengthen their ties with nature and enjoy their 'family' life. Aboriginal children learn a lot from their adults about the nature during such camping. The following statements explicate two proposition schemas associated with Camping schemas:

- *You have to be with your own mob.*

- *You can find and prepare food in the environment if you have been shown how.*

During camping, Aboriginal children are involved in activities such as making a camp fire, through which they learn how to collaborate towards achieving common goals and getting things done. This is the spirit of Aboriginal life: collaboration and togetherness. This proposition schema may partially be described as follows:

- *We all have to collaborate to get something done*

The analysis of the responses given by the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal informants in this study suggests that the word *camping* in most cases evoked a schema in the Aboriginal informants that was in consonance with the Camping schema discussed above. Consider the following responses:

Aboriginal	Non-Aboriginal
- *Camping with your uncles, sisters, and your uncles, pop, and nan, brothers, 'n sisters, uncles, cousins, 'n, mum'n dad, 'n nan 'n pop.* - *Hunting, sleeping, talking, walking, playing, setting up camp, making a fire.* - *When you're camping you're sleeping, playing, look for animals, snakes, and*	- *I've never been camping but it's good, fun, I hope I go soon, I think the outback the outside, I think of natures, I think of dingoes and I think of not bringing my tent, we're getting a tent, xxx, and I think of being nice and warm, sleeping bag, my mum.* - *You take water, you take sleeping bag,*

- *goannas.*
- *Camping with my family in the bush.*
- *Camps, sleeping bags, fire, animals.*
- *I love camping, catch kangaroos, catch snacks, caterpillars, lions, tigers, cheetahs.*
- *I like camping, we going camping sometimes with uncles and cousins and stuff, sometimes we sleep in a tent, sometimes we sleep in our house, sometimes we stay in a friend's house xxx and you can go out hunting and we play hide and seek, and you can play spotlight.*
- *Can be at school with school, with your mum, your parents, with your cousins an all that, at the backyard in home, sleeps.*
- *A tent, and bush and people, and crabbing.*
- *I think of like going with all your mob an go camping in the bush, um just having fun, and telling Dreamtime stories, an yeah telling Dreamtime stories.*

- *pillow, you bring a tent, usually go in the bush to camp, you take candles.*
- *I haven't been camping.*
- *You can camp out in the bush, sometimes if you're too little you can camp out in your backyard, and if you're driving and you're going far far way and you got to get somewhere to sleep and there's no hotels or something around you could camp in your tent.*
- *Going somewhere you never been before, meeting friends, having fun, that's all.*
- *Rug, pillow.*
- *I haven't gone camping before so I have to think very hard, a tent, and a drink of water, and cups.*
- *Friends, playing, sleeping, drinking, eating.*
- *I like camping indoors but not outdoors, because it's too cold outdoors, and I like campfires and roasting marshmallows on them, and I like just doing craft and stuff like that.*
- *You go camping at another place, going camping with your mum and dad, you can*

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– *Bush, animals, tents.*	*go camping with your brothers.*

The responses given by Aboriginal informants can clearly be associated with the Aboriginal schema of Camping in that they refer to extended family members and spending time in the bush and being involved in activities such as looking for animals, hunting, playing, making fire and even telling Dreamtime stories. 'Camping' in fact is a means of cultural maintenance and continuity for Aboriginal people living in metropolitan areas. That is, although the structure of city life is disruptive to Aboriginal life experience and cultures, Aboriginal people take camping as a chance to maintain their ties with Aboriginal cultures. This is achieved mainly through being with the members of the extended family or "own mob" and being involved in cultural activities such as hunting, observing the nature, and telling stories.

The responses given by the non-Aboriginal informants who have experienced camping can mainly be associated with the Anglo-Australian schema of camping, that is, lodging overnight in specific camping locations usually with friends or just immediate family members. Camping for non-Aboriginal people is usually a good chance to enjoy bush walking and relaxing in the calm nature away from all the city-life stress. Interestingly, the responses given by a non-Aboriginal informant could be associated with Aboriginal 'camping', which upon further inquiry turned to be a matter of knowledge about Aboriginal 'camping':

S: Camping

R:

Tent, fire, wood, people, kangaroo hunting sometimes,

F: What people do that sort of thing?

I: Aboriginal people.

Some Aboriginal informants used the word 'camp' in their responses in the Aboriginal English concept of "living or staying in a place for a while", which was discussed earlier in this section:

S: Camping

R:

- *Camping at your friend's house.*

- *Shops, next to the shops. (The informant referred to their home)*

- *I like camping at my nana's house, my dad's house, and my aunie's, and my uncle's.*

- *A place, a house.*

It can be seen that *camp* here is used to refer to temporary residence in a friend's or a relative's house, or even to residence in one's primary place of living, reflected in *next to the shops*. What is also noteworthy here is the association of various stimulus words with 'family' members. This pattern lends support to the observation made earlier in this analysis that Aboriginal schema of Family lies at the heart of Aboriginal conceptual system.

5.11 Responses to "Story"

The cultural schema of Story in Aboriginal English is different from that in Australian English. 'Story' in Aboriginal English is usually used to refer to the accounts of the Dreamtime, as well as accounts of events, places and things, which may also have a spiritual association (Arthur, 1996). 'Stories' in fact shape the

Aboriginal conceptual system and worldview. They also embody schemas about Aboriginal law and morality. 'Stories' are in a sense a means for Aboriginal people to maintain their culture and spirituality and pass them on to later generations. Aboriginal people, either individually or in a group, can own 'stories'. The 'stories' act as a link between them, their land, and their totem. 'Stories' may be public, secret, and sacred. For non-Aboriginal people, however, a story mainly is an imaginary account, though it can also be used to refer to some personal experiences too.

The responses from the informants in this study showed some overlap in their understanding of the concept of story. However, a number of Aboriginal responses could clearly be associated with the Aboriginal cultural schema of Story. Consider the following responses:

Aboriginal	Non-Aboriginal
– *Read a book, you look at the book, read a book.*	– *you can read them, you can tell them, you can act them.*
– *I like telling stories, I like telling stories that I hear at school.*	– *Like a story book or novel, fiction, non-fiction.*
– *Reading a book, laying down and reading.*	– *Books, imagination, pages.*
	– *Words, it's chapter in it.*
– *Your mum reading a story when you go to bed.*	– *People make stories.*
	– *You're writing a story about a dragon.*
– *Read stories to kids, read stories to mum.*	– *You can read a story out of a book, you can make up your own story.*
– *Something that could be fiction or non-*	– *Something might be made-up, might be*

fiction.	*not, like Cinderella and three bears, and*
– *Fairy tales, fiction and non-fiction, books, libraries.*	*something to make you to fall sleep at night time.*
– *You just sit down and read a book.*	– *I like writing them and listening to them*
– *Books, words, letters, pages, pictures, people, read the stories, made, paper.*	*to get different ideas, I like fantasy ones, cause I reckon they are imagination and I*
– *You writing a story, and you're reading a story.*	*think if you work you can keep your imagination, and that's good and*
– *Bedtime story, you can be reading a story, reading and listening a story, someone can be reading it to you.*	*precious.*
	– *Books, imagination, your wife, heroes.*
– *Books, reading.*	– *Janes and John, Robrats, Pokemon.*

It can be seen that the informants in both groups have more or less described the category of 'story' as it is imparted by the school system; that is, stories can be made-up and they are divided into fiction and non-fiction, etc. These stories usually follow a set formal schema (Carrell, 1984; Oller, 1995) in terms of their beginning, their progression, and their ending. One Aboriginal informant pointed to this formal schema by retrieving the usual beginning and ending of such stories:

S: Story

R: Once upon a time, this man 'e live happily after, is that right? I give up.

The following responses given by a number of Aboriginal students appeared to instantiate the Aboriginal schema of Story:

- *Nyungar stories, in the bushes, fire stick, you get a stick and try it.*

- *My pop's Dreamtime stories, they're like how Dreamtime's stories and all that.*

- *Story about ghost snake, own story*

- *Dreamtime, pride.*

- *Story teller.*

- *I think of the Rainbow Serpent (A Snake in the Dreamtime) story a lot an cause my pop showed me that cause it's in York where the Rainbow Serpents trails are left, an my grandfather showed me that, and he said that tracks are the lanes an it's just unbelievable, that they were here an I think of the Rainbow Serpent*

- *I like scary stories*

F: What was the scary story?

I: It was called … forgot now.

F: Who told you that story?

I: My mum

F: Can you remember the story?

AIEO: What was it about?

I: I' was about these two men who lived in a haunted house but I don't quite remember the name though.

The first set of responses instantiate the schema of telling Aboriginal stories in the bush and by the fire. Usually Aboriginal story telling is accompanied by drawing some figures, by a fire stick for example, on the ground. Arthur (1996) in this context refers to *story wire* defined as "a piece of wire used to trace marks on the ground to

aid the telling of a story" (p. 60). It can also be seen that some of the responses have referred to the Dreamtime stories and one has referred to 'owning the story'. There is also a series of stories which instantiate what Malcolm has called the Scary Things schema (Malcolm, 2001a). These stories usually include 'ghost-like' creatures and may embody certain proposition schemas, for example about wrongdoing.

5.12 Responses to "Bird"

The stimulus *bird* was used to investigate what animals the members of each group would assign to this category. Consider the following responses:

Aboriginal	Non-Aboriginal
Cockatoo, parrot, magpie, owl, crow, black birds, kookaburras	*seagull, scarecrow, kookaburras, Cockatoo, parrot, magpie, crow, eagle, canary, rooster*

The above kinds of birds were referred to in the responses by the two groups. It is obvious that the majority of the responses are similar. In other words, the two groups appear to have a similar prototypical set of birds, though there was no common primary prototype in the responses. The category which emerges here may best be described as the Australian category of Bird, which might be very different from the category of bird in other geographical locations. The rest of the responses either characterised a bird or were schematic in that they were related to some experience. Consider the following responses:

Aboriginal	Non-Aboriginal
– *Some got coloured wings, feather, some are big some're small, they all hunt for food, some eat fish some don't, some fly and some don't.*	– *Flying, living on trees, making a nest, laying egg.*
– *Make nests in the trees and lay eggs, magpies, when they lay eggs they smell it.*	– *They lay eggs, they talk.*
– *I think of Kookaburras singing an laughing an everything in the bush.*	– *Mother bird coming down giving baby some food.*
– *Bird can be on trees, on top of your roof, it can lie on the ground, it flies, it can be cockatoo birds.*	– *Flying high and small.*
– *They are scared of humans.*	– *Something that flies, lives, hatches eggs, eat, feeds their babies, um makes sure the baby's safe.*
– *They can fly, they got big wings, they can make noises, and they can sleep in the nest, and they can grab worms.*	– *They have a beak, they have wings, they have tails, and skeleton, an hearts.*
– *I like birds, they're colorful, they can fly high, they got nice pretty wings, their feathers they tickle, and they know if it's gonna be a rain so they fly out to warm place, and xxx parrots and the twin twigs.*	– *Flying, feathers, beaks.*
	– *Black, green, white.*
	– *You can have a pet bird.*

It can be seen that some responses characterise the informants' prototypical birds,

their habits, and their life. The prototypes that are pictured here "fly" and "lay eggs", and "have their nests in the trees", etc. A close comparison of the responses across the two groups reveals that the responses given by the Aboriginal informants are more 'experienced-based' whereas those of the non-Aboriginal informants are more 'school-based'. It was mentioned earlier that Aboriginal children spend a considerable amount of time 'camping' and observing nature. This may account for the responses that relate birds to some life experience, such as *I think of Kookaburras singing an laughing an everything in the bush.*

5.13 Responses to "Animal"

The stimulus word *animal* was used to explicate this category across the two groups. Consider the following responses:

Aboriginal	Non-Aboriginal
– *Rabbit, kangaroo, emu, n my cats.*	– *Not human, something like a pet a dog, cat.*
– *Lion, zebras, tigers, leopards, monkeys, apes, gorillas, birds.*	– *Fish, shark, alligators, dinosaurs, long neck dinosaur,*
– *Elephants, giraffes, lizards, crocodiles, kangaroos, cats and dogs, four leg lizards.*	– *Dogs, pets, care, taking care.*
– *Elephants, tigers, lions, cheetahs, kangaroos, birds, parrots, turkeys.*	– *Tigers, birds, chickens, play with animals.*
– *Kangaroos, wallaby, emu, platypus, food, kill.*	– *People have animals in their houses, they take care of animals, animals live in the trees.*
– *Tiger, leopards, dogs, cats, rabbit.*	– *If you have a pet that is an animal, there*

- *Tigers, cheetahs, monkeys, goanna, snakes, alakonda (a kind of snake).*
- *Tiger, monkeys, crocodiles, alligators, crows, ducks, chickens, butterfly.*
- *Furry, cute, little, big, tall, short, an poisonous, not poisonous, they live in water or land.*
- *Lion, zebras, tigers, leopards, monkeys, apes, gorillas, birds.*
- *I have some pets, one we used to have a kangaroo, two rabbits, the kangaroo's name was Skippy, I had four mouses,*
- *Cats, dogs, kangaroos, birds, wolf, snow wolf, bears, snow bears.*
- *Snakes, kangaroos, lizards, dogs, all sort of animals.*
- *Dogs, cats, rabbits, crazy crabs, fish, pons, wild.*
- *Fish, shark, lizard, snake, spider, kangaroos and emus.*
- *Elephant, giraffe, zebra, horse, donkey, monkey, gorilla, cat, dog, some birds, butterfly.*
- *Any animals, snakes, bulls, tiger, lions, elephants, giraffes, goannas.*

are heaps of animals around.
- *All sorts of different animals, like dogs, cat, birds, an something that lives don't need to eat and drink some don't need to drink or eat, there's lots of different animals.*
- *Dogs, birds, cats, guinea pigs, rabbits.*
- *Dogs, cheetahs, leopards, wild cats.*
- *Most of them are cute and cuddly, I like seeing them at the zoo, I like treating them as pets, I like watching them on TV.*
- *I think my nanny's dogs, my cat, um any kind of animal really.*
- *Alligator, dinosaurs, birds.*
- *Sheep, snakes, dogs, birds, Koala, elephant, wolf.*
- *I like animals, kangaroos, tiger, leopard, a koala.*
- *Cow, sheep, lizard, horse.*
- *Amphibians, all over the worlds, they live in different trends*
- *I think of kangaroos, animals, wombats, I think my favourite animal cheetah, and I think of one of my favourites too, monkeys.*

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– *Tigers, 'n dolphins, sharks, crocodiles, snakes, koalas, crocodiles, monkies.* – *There's all kinds, feathers, fur, there's water, there's land.*	

A close examination of the above responses reveals several points. First of all, the categories which emerge from the responses given by each group reflect the influence of domains such as school, TV, zoo, as well as life experience. Some of the animals mentioned in the responses, such as *dinosaurs* and *gorilla*, could be seen in either the TV or storybooks read by the informants. Responses such as *tiger* and *giraffe* may also be associated with school domains as well as the zoo and TV. It can be seen that a good number of responses from the two groups refer to the Australian category of Animal, which includes animals such as kangaroo, alligator, wallaby, and platypus.

What is noteworthy in the responses is that the *experience-based* responses from the non-Aboriginal children tend to refer to pet animals such as 'dog' and 'cat', whereas those given by the Aboriginal informants refer to the animals which are most probably encountered during 'camping' and hunting. These include 'emu' and 'goanna', which are absent from the responses given by the non-Aboriginal informants. Notice that an Aboriginal informant has used the words *food* and *kill* among his responses. Animals such as emu, goanna, and kangaroo are so much part of Aboriginal experience through their totemic roles and they may also provide a source of food. Consider the following responses:

S: Animal

R:

- *Being a kangaroo, being an emu, being a koala, being a porcupine , being a kangaroo, being a koala.*
- *I think of people when they eat animals an everything, like in other cultures everyone says like Chinese people eat cat an everything, I think of the kangaroo an goanna that we eat an everything.*

The first set of responses appear to be associated with the cultural schema of Totem, in that they are all formulated within the frame of 'being an animal', which is usually used when referring to a person in association with his or her totem. The second set of responses reflect the fact that animals like goanna and kangaroo may provide a source of food for Aboriginal people. All this makes these animals stand out in Aboriginal conceptualisation. Aboriginal people often view them as part of their identity and even get upset seeing them being used in things such as TV commercials. It can also be seen that the responses from one of the Aboriginal informants includes a reference to 'land' and this may be accounted for by the fact that in Aboriginal worldview there is a spiritual connection between the land, the animals and the people.

5.14 Responses to "Mum"

The responses from the two groups to the stimulus word *mum* revealed much similarity. The majority of responses are associated with expressing affection towards mother and attributing positive characteristics to mother. Consider the following:

Aboriginal	Non-Aboriginal
- *Lovely, nice, helps you.*	- *A person who I love, she gave birth to me.*
- *My mum is nice.*	
- *Family, kind, helpful.*	- *I like her, she's nice, she's the best mum*

– *I think she's good, I love her, she's really great.*	*in the world.*
– *One of the people who look after you, one of your parents, someone you loves.*	– *Person, kind, loving, caring, she buys me stuff.*
	– *Mum's good, they look after you and they make sandwiches.*
– *Mums are nice, mum cooks tea for you, mum dishes the tea for you, mums get paid for you, mums buy you things.*	– *Lovely, happy, sad, angry.*
	– *Nice and playful.*
– *Kids, mum make kids, mum makes, the mothers make name for them, people love mums, buy them presents even if it is not their birthday, but I bought my mum something nice.*	– *I like her, she's nice, she's the best mum in the world.*
	– *Someone who cares for you, loves you, help you with homework.*
	– *She's nice, she does all these things for me.*
– *How nice she's been, how well she treats me.*	– *Is just a person in my life so far, and I really appreciate her, and I reckon they should get awards, and paid and stuff like that, the house can be hard.*
– *You're playing with your mum, you sing with your mum, you may go for a walk.*	– *I think that she's kind, an quite grumpy, cause she doesn't have to go so hard on me sometimes.*

The image that emerges from the majority of the responses across the two groups is about a parent who is nice and looks after her children in many ways. A number of responses by Aboriginal informants appear to be distinctive in that they reveal reciprocity in the care that is given by the mother and the child. Consider the

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following responses:

S: Mum

R:
– *Ye can help your mum, help her clean up, clean her room up.*

– *Making something for your mum.*

– *Mums help you, mums make your lunch, mums wash your clothes, mums buy you.*

– *I love my mum, I make lunch for my mum, make everything for my mum.*

These responses reflect the proposition schema that family relationship for Aboriginal people is associated with *mutual* responsibility, obligation, and care. In the wider context of family network, the mutual obligation principle is reflected in the use of identical reciprocal kin terms. For example, grandparents and their grandchildren can use the term 'grannie' in addressing each other. Aboriginal children are encouraged from the early childhood to observe mutual obligations and expectations in their behaviour towards the senior members of their family.

One of the Aboriginal informants gave the word *nanna* in response to the stimulus word *mum*. This may be accounted for in terms of the fact that in the kinship system of most Aboriginal Australians the use of a kin term such as 'mum' extends beyond that of the biological mother and may even reflect the role that a person may have played in someone's life. That is, if a person is raised by his or her grandmother, then it is likely that the person uses the term "mum" to address her. Macdonald (1998) observed, among Wiradjuri people, that:

a 'mother' should perform the social role expected of a 'mother'. The term is a package of information [or a schema] about what is expected in a *social* relationship. The terms are thus extended to people of other genealogical relationships who do perform these roles. A person reared by a grandmother may address her as "Mum", for instance, even if referring to her as 'my grandmother'. (p. 305)

Also among the responses given by an Aboriginal informant was *she might know a bit more about culture and tells ye.* This response reflects the salient role of Aboriginal people in transmitting their cultures to their younger generations. Another set of distinctive responses by an Aboriginal informant highlighted 'mum' in relation to the Family schema:

- *Mum'd take you to shops, mum'd take you to your brothers, 'n yer aunnies, 'n yer uncles, 'n to yer brothers, 'n yer sisters, 'n cousins, 'n then back home*

The schema which emerges out of this response highlights the role that the informant's mum plays in taking him to his family and therefore maintaining his links with his family network. Patterns of responses like this, in which various experiences and events are somehow related to family members, reveal the significance which is attached to family as the pillar of one's existence in Aboriginal Australia.

5.15 Responses to "Dream"

The term 'dream' in Aboriginal English may evoke the cultural schema of the Dreaming. Arthur (1996) discusses the concept of 'dream' both as a verb and as a noun and associates four meanings with the concept. 'Dream' can refer to the events

that took place in the Dreamtime and may also refer to the state of trance in which one can experience the Dreaming. As a verb, Arthur defines the concept as being "in a heightened state of perception in which one is able to apprehend spiritual matters" (p. 27) and also as giving some form of psychic power or "magic" to something (p. 27). The latter may also be referred to as 'singing'.

The responses given by the informants in the present study were mainly associated with the experience of the general sense of dreaming while sleeping. Consider the following typical responses:

Aboriginal	Non-Aboriginal
– *When you go to sleep you dream sometimes.* – *Some dreams are bad some dreams are good.* – *Having scary dreams.* – *I dream of scream, scary movie.* – *You dream of fighting, dream of your mum.*	– *Falling sleep and think about something or a goal.* – *You can day dream or you can dream at night.* – *Nice when they're not nightmares and it's just doesn't happen very often now,* – *Dream of nasty things, dream of good things.* – *Sleeping.*

It can be seen that the responses across the two groups are largely similar in that they mainly refer to experiencing frightening as well as happy dreams at night. A number of responses given by the Aboriginal informants referred to the belief that 'dreams may come true':

S: Dream

R:

my nana tells me stories about what comes true and what not comes true.

I like dreaming cause you never know it might happen.

Like you dream of someone reading you a story, or if you tell they might come true.

Also two Aboriginal informants referred to Dreamtime stories among their responses:

- *an you aunies and your granmas tell you Dreamtime stories.*
- *it just reminds me of the Dreamtime, and Dreamtime stories.*

5.16 Responses to "Watching"

The responses given to the stimulus word *watch* by the informants in the two groups appear to be associated with similar schemas across the two cultural groups. Consider the following responses:

Aboriginal	Non-Aboriginal
- *Watching a movie, watching a video, TV, watch you're playing football.*	- *TV.*
- *TV, Television, watch light go on and off, electricity.*	- *Cameras, people watching television.*
- *Watching a bird, watching a rabbit, watching a rabbit.*	- *TV, cartoons, shows.*
	- *Me watching, me watching like TV or something.*
- *Watching videos, like Rainbow Serpent*	- *You can watch TV, watch people at pony club, watch the lighting when its*

- *an everything, getting to know what it was like.*
- *I like watching movies.*
- *Watching, like watching TV, and I watch some newspapers, xxx watching pictures, an watching animals, and watching bird, and watching watching the city, watching stuff in the water.*
- *TV, actress.*
- *TV, watching people, watching people go down the slide, watching people draw.*
- *Watching a video, watching a screen, scary movies.*
- *Watching screen, watching scary movie, watching clock network.*
- *Watching TV, videos.*
- *TV, Dancers, singers, trees, water.*
- *TV*
- *Watching television, watch people.*
- *Looking listening.*
- *I like watching Simpsons, I like watching Pokeman and Gigiman..*
- *You can watch TV, you can watch people playing, you can watch people*

- *storming, if you live somewhere near the harbor, you can watch people pass driving their cars.*
- *I think of the TV, mostly, computer cause I watch it watch myself play, right now I'm on the game, xxx I think of watching my friends play, I think of watching xx in my room.*
- *Looking at something, watching TV.*
- *TV.*
- *Watch TV and watch a movie, and watching your friend play with computer, watching somebody else play, watch your friend or your bother play sony.*
- *Watching television, watching scary movies.*
- *Pokehman, (name of a movie), Jurassic park 2 and Jurassic park 1.*
- *Watching television, I like it, an I like watching people playing with computer, and watching people do things and watching myself do things.*
- *Watching television is fun, watching things happen is fun and you learn a most you watch, and it's good to watch before*

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fighting, you can watch videos, you can watch people walking, you can watch your brothers and sisters, watch them like if they go away and that there, you go watch people playing you can watch your brothers and sisters playing together.	*you actually do it, so you know what you're doing.*
– *Being witch, Wheel of fortune, TV, shoes, actress, video, playing Nintendo, basketball, tennis, ten ball, outside, trees, flowers, cars, motorbikes, bikes, park.*	– *Watching TV, watching people riding bikes, watching a birds, watching airplanes, watching car go.*
– *Watching TV.*	– *Watching there's lots of different things to watch, like TV, animals, things, plants, grow, farming crops.*
– *Watching animals, watching people, watching pictures, people watching.*	– *I like it watching TV and that.*
– *Watching TV.*	– *Watching TV.*
	– *Looking, see, birds, animals, creatures, plants, nature,*
	– *Watching dogs, watching where you're going.*

It can be seen that the majority of the responses, by both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal informants, instantiate schemas of watching TV, videos, or computer games. Some responses also refer to watching animals, people, as well as aspects of the nature. Basically the schemas which emerge from the responses to this stimulus word seem to transcend the boundaries of culture and nation. Living in the "modern" times and having access to "hi-tech" life style has largely involved modifications to cultural life styles. Technology has brought a new culture with itself and the widespread use of technology in all aspects of human life has certainly led to some

degree of uniformity in people's lifestyles all across the globe. The concept of 'watching' would most probably be associated with TV and movies in many parts of the world. The differences would however relate to whether people watch TV while sitting on the carpet and in the company of friends and families, or on a couch under dim light by themselves or with immediate family members. These would make a difference in the schemas that are constructed across different cultures.

Among the responses given by an Aboriginal informant was *watching them putting their shoe right way, watching if they've got everything for their lunch*. These responses instantiate the informant's schema of 'helping her sister and cousin prepare for school'. It was mentioned earlier in this analysis that Aboriginal children learn from their early childhood to be attentive to the needs of their siblings and other members of the family while being self-reliant. This proposition schema is part of the wider cultural schema of Family.

5.17 Responses to "Take away"

The Australian Oxford Concise Dictionary (1997) gives the following definitions for *take away*:

> 1- remove or carry elsewhere.
>
> 2- subtract.
>
> 3 - buy (food etc.) at a shop or restaurant for eating somewhere else.

Arthur (1996) defines *take away (or take)* in Aboriginal English as follows:

> To remove a child from its family and community, to be raised outside its culture, either by the government, or by private concerns with the tacit consent of the government. (p. 168)

The definition given by Arthur associates the concept of *take away* to the Aboriginal schema of Stolen Generation, discussed earlier in this analysis. She describes the event as follows:

> Child removal, for the purpose of changing Aboriginal culture, has been a characteristic of the European response to the Aboriginal society since Governor Macquarie's 'Orphan School' opened in 1814 for the re-education of Aboriginal children. In the twentieth century this was made a major policy in most States in Australia and there is scarcely an Aboriginal family in Australia that does not have a family member who was 'taken away'. In many cases, it was children of fair-skinned appearance who were removed, partly because it was felt that they would assimilate more easily, and partly because of the genetic theory of the time which associated skin colour with supposedly inherited, supposedly superior 'European' mental and moral attributes. (p. 168)

Aboriginal people regarded such acts as stealing their children—hence the term 'stolen generation'. Consequently, the word *take away* has emerged, out of the Stolen Generation schema, to mean 'steal' in Aboriginal English. The data from this study reveal that this sense of the word is a primary meaning for many Aboriginal children. Consider the following responses from Aboriginal children:

S: Take away

R:

- *Steal, pay.*

- *When you steal things and you get in trouble by the police or your mum and dad.*

- *You take something away, and you steal.*

- *Adds, take away money, steal money from the bank, sums, dogs run away.*

- *Take away your food, sandwich, take away your money, take care your fingers and arms and eyes, and blood everywhere.*

- *Things.*

- *Take back, junk food, [when you take some away from someone you take it back, it's not good to take away it might not be yours].*

- *You mean feed, food? I like take away my cousin's stuff, cause I like tricking her all the time.*

- *Take away food, take away clothes, toys, pencils, paper, glasses, chips, lasagna, books, flowers, painting, pizza.*

- *Taking away your toys, taking away your bad toys.*

- *Take your things out of the house, take people, take things to your family.*

- *Have a pencil and someone took it away.*

- *Like you take away something, take away your stuff.*

- *Takeaway something for lunch, take away things that don't belong to them, taking away people's things like skates, take away mask.*

Some non-Aboriginal informants also appeared to associate *take away* with 'removal'. Consider the following:

S: Take away

R:
- *Sums, family, children.*

– *Sad, upset.*

– *Take away people, take away dogs or cats, take away the mail.*

– *Toys, games, people.*

– *The food or take something from someone, my from take-away is Chicken Treat, and I like the burgers, it's nice to have a change from making and it costs lots of money.*

– *When somebody took away my dog and we had to take away our birds.*

– *Can buy something at a shop like food, you can get it take a way or dinning, you could say someone took away something of yours.*

The sense of 'subtract' was not so vastly reflected in the responses given to the word *take away*, although the choice of the setting (i.e., school) for the data collection was expected to elicit this sense as a primary meaning. It appeared that this sense of the word was the last when we consider the representation of the word across the two groups, although the dictionary regards this sense to be the second.

A good number of informants across both groups – more non-Aboriginal than Aboriginal – associated the word *take away* with food such as KFC and Hungry Jacks, etc. Consider the following responses:

Aboriginal	Non-Aboriginal
– *Food, it's got heaps of grease on it, and you have to take away.* – *Hungry jacks, McDonald, KFC, Red rooster, Chicken treat, cars, chicken, and burgers.*	– *Macdonald's, fish & chips, Red Rooster, Hungry Jack's* – *Chips.* – *Food, it's somewhere you can dine or you can like you can dine or you can pick up*

- *Eat, food.*
- *Something that's already cooked, easy to prepare.*
- *Thirsty, Chicken Treat, dinning, food.*
- *Take away food, I like take away food sometimes I don't sometimes I do, like when it's got chocolate and it's yak and lots of people say it's good but I say it's not good and I don't eat much take away food sometimes I do when I'm hungry, but when I'm not hungry I jus make a sandwich wif cheese and butter an tomato.*
- *Chips, ice-cream, lollies, pie, pizza, hot dog, drinks.*
- *I think of McDonalds, Chinese food.*
- *Take away food.*
- *I like take-away, I love Mac's, I love Chines, I love pizza.*
-

- *take it home, you can just take you food and walk home.*
- *Fast food, snack.*
- *Something like you go to a res.. you ring up someone and you place an order and they'll make it, and they'll when you come they'll give it to you and then you pay for it.*
- *I like it.*
- *It isn't healthy sometimes because Macdonald isn't really healthy, and that's yummy and you go and order it and you take it away.*
- *Take away food.*
- *Chips, hamburger, ice-cream.*
- *When you have something and then you get take-away food and stuff.*
- *You can get take away from different countries, Chinese food, Hungry Jacks and Pizza and dessert from take away, sometimes you can go through drive through, and vegies.*
- *Take-away food like Macdonald's, chips and ice cream.*
- *I think of the dream that Kavin made up,*

	what's Robert's favorite food, its takeaway cause xxx I think of yum, I think of MacDonald's, Chicken Treat, Red Rooster, I like Red Rooster probably the best cause if you order a burger they give like instead of meat they give you nuggets, big grand nugget, and I can have nugget chips in a burger, cause I usually order I think of parties, like the ones that we went in (a place) and I think of restaurants and Fast Teddies I always get it wrong.

It can be seen that fast food has become integrated into the conceptual categories of both cultural groups. This category of course seems to have been extended beyond that of one or two particular cultures. McDonald's has restaurant locations in 121countries and more than 12000 outlets all over the world. This means fast food such as McDonald's is now included in the category of 'food' for many people all around the world. This appears to be associated with a process known as *McDonaldization of the society,* which is defined as "the process by which the principles of the fast-food restaurant are coming to dominate more and more sectors of American society as well as of the rest of the world" (Ritzer, 1993, p. 1). McDonaldization is in fact a reflection of forces and policies that stress homogenisation towards shaping a global culture, to the detriment of local cultures and traditions.

Overall, from the above analysis, it can be seen that the primacy of meanings reflected in the dictionaries may not match the ones that *emerge* in real situations. For the informants in this study, for instance, 'fast food' appears to be a primary sense, while it is regarded as the third by the Australian Concise Oxford Dictionary.

5.18 Responses to "Walk"

Arthur (1996, p. 131) defines *walk* in Aboriginal English as "to travel; travel around an area". She also adds that when the word is used in relation to one's country, it often means "living in one's country", due to the nomadic experience in which 'walking about' and 'living' are almost the same. The responses from the Aboriginal informants in this study suggest a more city-based schema that includes walking to places like shops and school. Consider the following responses:

Aboriginal	Non-Aboriginal
– *you walk so you don't sleep, you walk to shop, you walk to the pool and a bank.*	– *You can walk to the shop, cats can walk, horses can walk.*
– *You walk with your mum, you walk across the bridge with your mum.*	– *Walking to the school, walking to my aunties, walking to footy training, walking to the park.*
– *Walking to the shops, walking to get something for yer parents, walk to school, walk home, walk someone's place, walk to their friends house, walk to park, walk to xxx the train station.*	– *People walk to go home from school, and to walk home, walk to the park.*
	– *Walking to home, walking to shops.*
	– *Places, town, park, shops.*
– *Waking to the park, walking to school,*	– *Walking your dog, walking with your mum, walking with your dad, walking*

walking with somebody.	*with your friends, with your family.*
– *Shops, school.*	– *Verb, action, like running.*
– *Walk to the park, walk to people's houses, walk to school, walk to pools, walk to the kitchen, walk to the room.*	– *Something that can be good exercise, and good travel, without have to using your car, cause you might run out, walk with friend's family.*
– *Walk um cause um I walk to school, I walk back home, I go on a walk to my friends' house or sometimes I ride and I walk for a little stretch, I walk around, walk to shopping centres and walk just about everywhere, sometimes I go for a walk with my friends to my football and to skating Friday night.*	– *Walking down the park, walking down the street if there isn't any park, and walking across the road, walking through the bush.*
– *I walk to my friend's house, I walk around the school, I walk home, and I walk with my friends to my house.*	– *Walking a dog, sometimes you can walk a cat.*
	– *Walking across the street.*
–	– *Something that can be good exercise, and good travel, without have to using your car, cause you might run out, walk with friend's family.*

It can be seen that the responses across the two groups mainly conjure up the schema of walking to places such as shops, park, school, or a friend's house. Some of the responses given by Aboriginal informants appeared to be associated with other Aboriginal schemas. Consider the following:

S: Walk

R:

- *You can walk to school, you can walk with your friends, you can walk with your sisters, you can walk with your brothers and sisters and walk on your own, you can walk with teachers, you can walk with boys ooh you can walk with girls, you can walk with your mum and dads, you can walk with your nanna and pop.*

- *You take your dog walk out for a walk, walk to aunnies, nanas, uncles, walk to school.*

- *Walk with your aunnies, walk with your uncles, walk with your mum and dad, walk with your pop and nans, 'n uncles, 'n cousins, 'n your mum, 'n your cousin, 'n your sisters, and walk with your dog.*

- *I like to walk to my aunie's house.*

- *Going for walk in the bush with your parents and grandparents and they show you stuff like some stuff that you used to great to like make us knife out of rock ... like they used to like rub it an everything with another rock, feeling the breathe.*

It appears that the stimulus *walk* has evoked images in the mind of the above informants that picture the members of their extended family, either as walking with them or as the destination of their walk. This suggests that 'walking' is also another activity that is associated with the schema of Family in Aboriginal conceptualisation. As mentioned earlier, the cultural schema of Family runs through almost all aspects of Aboriginal experience. In fact various activities and events may receive their significance from their association with 'family' and 'mob'. That is, it is often not an event or activity which is significant by itself but the fact that it provides a chance for Aboriginal people to reunite and strengthen their ties with their family members. The last set of responses by an Aboriginal informant evokes the schema of learning "traditional" cultural knowledge from parents and grandparents in the bush.

5.19 Responses to "Deadly"

The word *deadly* in Aboriginal English evokes a concept that is almost the opposite of the concept which is associated with the same term in Australian English. In Aboriginal English, *deadly* may be glossed as 'great', 'fantastic', or 'excellent' whereas in Australian English it primarily means 'causing or able to cause fatal injury or serious damage' (The Australian Concise Oxford Dictionary, 1997). The closest concept in Aboriginal English to this Australian English would be that of *cheeky,* which may be used to refer to things such as poisonous snakes and plants (Harkins, 1994). Arthur (1996) maintains that perhaps this usage is an extension of the word 'deadly' meaning 'excessive and awful'.

Such usage of "negative" adjectives to refer to positive qualities is not however limited to this word or to this dialect of English. In many dialects of English the word *bad* has come to mean 'great' and *wicked* has been used to mean 'remarkable'. This semantic pattern largely characterises the varieties of English which are somehow associated with some form of "resistance". These include the stigmatised varieties of English, such as African American English and Aboriginal English. This form of semantic inversion seems to be one way in which various cultural and sub-cultural groups can express their opposition to the norms set out by the mainstream systems. The proposition schema that appears to underlie this semantic process may be partially described as follows:

What is described as "bad" and "immoral" by them [adults, white people, etc.] *may be "great" and "desirable" to me.*

Another example of such usage in Aboriginal English is the word *cruel* which also

means 'great' or 'terrific'. What is also noteworthy here is that once such usage is conventionalised, the meaning starts to spread, through what I called *conceptual seepage* earlier, to other groups and dialects and even to the "standard" varieties. Arthur notes that non-Aboriginal people in the Northern Territory have started to use the word *deadly* in the sense of 'great'. The Australian Concise Oxford Dictionary (1997) has also made an entry for this sense of the word, as follows:

Aus Colloq. Terrific, fantastic *(a deadly shirt)*

If the *Resistance Hypothesis* put forward in this section is correct, then it would not be surprising to see the speakers of the indigenised varieties and the teenagers giving up such usage in time and resorting to other words or applying the same process to other words.

In this study the word *deadly* was used as a stimulus word to elicit and compare the concepts which are evoked by this word across the two cultural groups. Consider the following responses:

Aboriginal	Non-Aboriginal
– *cars, play, shoes, bikes, houses, dogs, school, I think deadly is boss, like that's deadly that car, people, houses.*	– *Snakes, knives, hot water.* – *Red snakes, spiders.* – *You look deadly [F: Which means?, I: you look very very nice], that is a deadly snake.*
– *Your work.*	
– *Too boss.*	– *Dog, cat.*
– *I think of like Aboriginal people like Anthony Mundane and Kathy Freeman*	– *Deadly animals, deadly spiders.*

- *(Aboriginal champions) and they are*
  really deadly.
- *Dangerous, it depends what you're*
  talking about it.
- *Delicious, mean, bad.*
- *New Clothes.*
- *I feel deadly when I'm the boss, and*
  I'm deadly at playing football, and I'm
  deadly at running.
- *Good, dangerous.*
- *Some people say you're deadly [AIEO:*
  What do they mean? I: you're good].
- Deadly like deadly animals, like sharks,
  crocodiles, and snakes and whales and
  goannas and some can be fish, can nick
  your skin off, and deadly ye can be
  good ye can be a big person, cool.
- Wicked, cool, solid.
- You look deadly.
- Could be a deadly spider or something.
- Deadly clothes, hat, shoes, hair, face,
  ring.
- Deadly clothes, deadly motorbikes, an
  deadly room.
- *when you're on stage and dance and*

- *Snakes, crocodiles, spear, guns.*
- *Snakes, poisonous, goanna.*
- *knives, guns, murderers, people, prison*
  and stuff.
- *Something's dangerous towards my life.*
- *lota of different deadly stuff like snake*
  helicopters if you'going like thing and
  they can kill something deadly can kill
  you.
- *Poisonous.*
- *People being dead.*
- *Poisonous, can kill you.*
- *something that's dangerous to us, and*
  you get bitten by it or something, you can
  go to the hospital.
- *Poisonous, can be creatures.*
- *stuff like deadly stuff like poisonous*
  animals and stuff like that.
- *I think of the new book, the book deadly,*
  and I think me being dead, sometimes I
  think about mum dying or when she talks
  about stuff crying, sad and I think of
  great nanna who died a few days ago,
  and I think of me dying, and I think about
  fighting too.

when you show your work to other people and they think it's very nice, and they say deadly to it, my aunti calls me deadly if I do a good thing, and my uncle he says deadly to me when I play with my cousins.

- *Fun, you're happy, you're good.*
- *Your dress is deadly, your family is deadly, you dress animals.*
- *Spiders, snakes, if you say it in a nice manner it means I'm cool.*
- *Looking for someone, sadness, look very nice.*
- *Dangerous.*
- *I don't know that one [AIEO: So what would you say if your auntie said "deadly" to you? I: Thank you. F: You would say thank you? I: Yeah].*
- *Tiger snake is deadly [F: What if someone says "you're deadly". I: It means you're wicked, cool].*
- *when you got good clothes on and brand new shoes and brand new hat.*
- *when people say you're deadly [F: What does it mean? That mean when*

- *Dinosaurs.*
- *Lions, snakes, and stuff like that.*
- *Wrestling, punching, and kicking.*
- *Stay from it, snakes, and stuff like that.*
- *Kill, poisonous.*
- *Murderer, knife, gun, weapons, our people.*

you go up there, and they go "chooo deadly" AIEO: What do they mean when they say that? I don't know. AIEO: Does it make you feel good? I: make you feel good, yeah. F: What do you mean by up there? I: When you get up there to get your certificate and you walk up there and people call you "choo you're deadly (laugh). F: Who are these people? I: Like my friends, my teacher, Ms X (AIEO's name), and your mum and dad and your grandpa and your grandma].	

It can be seen that for the majority of Aboriginal informants the word *deadly* has conjured up a concept which is associated with positive attributes, which may usually be described as 'great' and 'fantastic'. Also several responses reveal that the word *deadly* is considered to be synonymous with words such as *boss, wicked,* and *cool*. Chains of responses such as *good, dangerous* reveal the informant's familiarity with both the Aboriginal English sense of the word and that of the Australian English. The majority of responses given by the non-Aboriginal informants, however, refer to deadly animals, such as snakes, and various death schemas, which include killing, weapons, etc. It is obvious here there is a sharp contrast in the concepts attached to the word *deadly* in the two groups. It is not hard to imagine instances of intercultural communication where a complimenting remark like *you look deadly* by an Aboriginal

English speaker would offend a speaker of Australian English, for whom the phrase might mean 'you look frightening or dangerous'.

Notice that one non-Aboriginal informant has also given the response *you look deadly* and has interpreted that to mean 'you look very very nice'. This appears to be an instance of conceptual seepage. Overall, the responses to the stimulus word *deadly* further reveal the operation of two distinct conceptual systems, which are associated with two dialects of English: Australian English and Aboriginal English. However, the total picture that has so far emerged from the data suggests a certain degree of overlap in the way these systems are represented in the informants.

5.20 Responses to "Park"

The analysis of the responses given by the informants in the two groups to the word *park* points to the existence of a similar schema across the two groups. Consider the following typical responses:

Aboriginal	Non-Aboriginal
– *Swings, slides, flying fox.*	– *Swings, ball, monkey bars.*
– *Play with your friends at the park.*	– *Nature, parks, swings, people, walk, run, dog.*
– *It's fun at the park, play chasing, play dodge, play relays, play scare crow.*	– *Fun, slides, running, friends.*
– *going with your family and having fun, loving each other, an just enjoyin yourself, and may be having a barbecue, parties an everything.*	– *Play, grass, trees, kids, parents, animals.*
	– *Swings, slides, seesaw, monkey bar.*
– *Sling, slides, and sand.*	– *people play at the park, they swing at the park, playground, oval, people live across the road from the park.*

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– I like the park cause it's got lots of swings, and there's big space, and it's fun to go there having fun with your family and friends, there's monkey bars and slides.	– Some have swings, have slides.
	– Swings, slides.
	– Swings, playing, together, grass.
	– Lying on the grass and swings.
	– Trees, fun, playing, playgrounds, swings.
– Play, swing, slide, sand.	– go down the slide, on the swings, climbing, play chasing.
– Somewhere to have fun, playing.	
– Swings, sand, trees, grass.	– I go to park to play, parks have picnics.
– friends, playing, I usually take my baby sister down there.	– Somewhere where you go and play soc ... ball or have fun there, go there with your family and play.
– you can play at the park, don't be mean at the park, don't fight at the park, xxx and don't fight with the people at the park, don't tease people at the park.	– that in a park there's swings, monkey bars, things like that and they have fun I haven't got a park around my house.
– I like taking my dog to the park, I like taking my cousins to the park.	– Place where you play and children go to.

It is obvious that there is a large degree of similarity between the responses given by the informants in the two cultural groups. The overall schema that emerges from these responses includes a place with grass, trees, and sand with equipment such as swings, slides, and monkey bars. Functionally, park is considered to be a place for children to go to play with their friends and family. This schema is more or less reflected in a majority of responses. This is another schema that would most probably be familiar to people in many other cultures too. Again, although the overall default elements may be similar, there may well be differences in the details of schemas held by people

from various cultures. As it is reflected in one of the responses given by Aboriginal informants, going to the park may often be in the company of extended family members. Differences may also exist in the type of resting equipment and the food which are taken to the park.

5.21 Responses to "White"

A number of responses across the two groups referred to the word *white* as a colour and associated it with various things such as paper, paint, etc. Also the responses from more than one third of Aboriginal informants and three non-Aboriginal informants appeared to associate the word *white* with the category of 'race'. Consider the following responses:

Aboriginal	Non-Aboriginal
– *Most people are white.*	– *Colour, culture, I mean race, personality,*
– *It's just reminds me of white people and it reminds me of when they take over kids an everything.*	– *F: Why did you say "personality"?*
	– *I: because there's black people and white people, different races, for example white people are different personalities to black people. Aboriginal people build their own weapons and know, a lot more about the bush and nature and hunting than us, and us white people we just live in old houses, just straight and we do a lot other things.*
– *Colour, people, Aboriginals used to paint with it.*	
– *White people, white cars.*	
– *Colour, skin, cream.*	
– *People are white, papers are white.*	
– *White people, white paper, white cardboard, white light.*	– *Someone who is different colour from*
– *White people, white paper.*	*Aboriginal person, there's lots of*

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– *You see a person and the colour is white.*	*different white people like from other countries, and it's a colour like for there's black paper you can just use white crayon.*
– *Sometimes white's your favourite colour, some people are white, and you can be kind to white people, xxx and some people are half-caste with like white and black.*	– *People are white, some paint white, there's houses that are white.*
– *People, colour, cars.*	

It is apparent that the word *white* has evoked in the above informants the concept of 'skin colour', and hence the category of 'race'. This is a very revealing example of a conceptual difference, where a concept that has simply evoked the category of 'colour' in some students, has evoked the category of 'race', associated with various forms of injustice, in some other students. While, for instance, an informant has formed an image of 'white paper' or 'white car' upon hearing the word *white,* some Aboriginal students have been reminded of the presence of white people and the schemas associated with them, such as Stolen Generation schema, reflected in the response *it reminds me of when they take over kids an everything.* Another Aboriginal informant has referred to the word *half-caste* in response to *white.* This label was used to refer to Aboriginal children who had a non-Aboriginal parent and who therefore had to be removed from their parents.

Among the three non-Aboriginal informants who have referred to skin colour in response to the word *white*, one has associated skin colour and race with personalities, maintaining that people of different skin colours have different personalities. Also the image of Aboriginal people that he describes captures people

who build their own weapons. It is worth noting that some of these Aboriginal people are among his classmates, and perhaps they have never seen a weapon all their lives and in fact many of them are not even black in terms of their skin colour. This reveals how certain conceptualisations may be formed out of processes such as stereotyping rather than actual life experiences.

5.22 Responses to "Shame"

'Shame' (or big shame) in Aboriginal English evokes a cultural schema which largely draws on Aboriginal culture and which is difficult, if not impossible, to render into Australian English. Aboriginal cultures are among the collectivist cultures that place a remarkable emphasis on group and group harmony rather than individual and individual interest. Being with the group and thinking with the group is a dominant norm and individuals feel secure when they are surrounded by their group, or their 'mob'. 'Mob' is a source of removal of stress as well as emotional and financial insurance. Individuals, in Aboriginal cultures, receive their identity from their 'mob' and in identifications people may often ask *what you mob?* Instead of *what is your name?* Such an orientation towards group and group norm has certain corollaries. For instance, one would hardly want to be singled out from the group for their achievements, wrong doings, or whatever which makes them different from or stand out in the group. The feeling that one often experiences in such situations of being under highlight is described as 'being shame'. This feeling should of course not be confused with 'shyness' which is a more stable psychological trait. Also, the Aboriginal concept of 'Shame' may be associated with factors such as respect, which do not characterise 'shyness' (Harkins, 1990).

Kaldor and Malcolm (1982) also observe that 'Shame' is a feeling for Aboriginal people associated with "situations in which a person has been singled out

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for any purpose, scolding or praise or simply attention, in which the person loses the security and anonymity provided by the group" (p. 99). One typical situation in which an Aboriginal person might feel 'Shame' for somehow standing out in a crowd and being different form others is in the company of non-Aboriginal people. There are also situations in which 'Shame' is associated with moral principles of Aboriginal culture. The complexity of this Aboriginal schema is further reflected in the following excerpt:

> Aboriginal people in Alice Springs and other parts of Central Australia give examples of *getting* SHAME when meeting strangers (Aboriginal or non-Aboriginal), or when entering an unfamiliar place, such as a school or office building, or the land of a different Aboriginal group. They feel SHAME in the presence of a prospective spouse, but also in the presence of some of their closest relatives, if the relationship is defined in the kinship system as an "avoidance" relationship. They feel it when certain categories of kinfolk or strangers see them swimming, however modestly attired, but not at all when seen by other categories of people. SHAME does not depend on being seen, for one can feel it when passing near a ceremonial ground even when no-one else is around. People from Central Australia have mentioned feeling SHAME when they saw photos of secret/sacred objects in the library books, even when no other Aboriginal person was anywhere nearby; two Alice Springs people had this experience while on separate visits to Canberra. (Harkins, 1990, p. 295)

Harkins notices that 'Shame' is different from 'embarrassment' in that the latter is usually experienced when one is somehow exposed to public view whereas An Aboriginal person can be 'Shame' where no other people are present. The other difference would be that "one can be 'embarrassed and pleased' by praise, but definitely not 'SHAME and pleased'" (1990, p. 296). Harkins explicates the Aboriginal concept of Shame as follows:

X (is) SHAME

X feels like someone who thinks:

    I am here: this is bad

    I don't know what things are good to do here

    Something bad could happen because of this

    People can think (and say?) something bad about me because of this

    I want not to be here because of this

    I want not to say anything because of this

X feels something bad because of this

The responses given by Aboriginal informants in this study to the word *shame* largely instantiate this Aboriginal cultural schema. Consider the following:

Aboriginal	Non-Aboriginal
− *shame to say hello, shame to go to school, Shame to go to family [F: Why did you say "shame to go to school"?*	− *Guilt, honesty.* − *something that can be pretty embarrassing, you don't wanna do*

I: Like not used to school F: Why did you say "shame to go to family"? I: Like when you don't really know your old family, you're too shame to go].

- *Shame of yourself.*
- *being shame of somebody, [what do you mean "being shame of somebody"? AIEO: when're you shame of somebody? I: That you don't know.*
- *Shame of someone you haven't seen before, some of your people you're shame of them, [F: What? AIEO: Shame of people you haven't seen for a while, unna? I: for a long time], shame of someone that you haven't seen.*
- *You're shame of other people, shame of animals.*
- *when you're shy, when you're first to the school or to a holiday and you go to your friends and you're shame and you're not shy.*
- *Shame from the teacher, shame from your mum and dad [AIEO: Why would you be shame from your mum and dad?*
- *I: I dunno. AIEO: Do you feel scared or*

sometimes.

- *Some people get shamed of things, some people get shamed of saying things to people. F: What do you mean by some people get shamed?*
- *I: When my cousin comes over she wants me to stay at her house and she wants to stay at my house and she's too scared to ask,*
- *F: She's too scared to ask. I: Yeah, she's shy*
- *F: So she's shamed? I: yeah*
- *Scared, embarrassing.*
- *Disorder and annoying, naughty, thinking about what you did.*
- *Sad, heartbreak.*
- *Disappointed, not happy.*
- *Shy.*
- *People are shame when they see somebody they don't know.*
- *Unhappy, scared, talking, you're shame to talk to people.*
- *You're shamed of yourself because you've done something really strange or people just angry at you.*

shy? I: shy].

– sometimes when I go to my friend's or house and I see their mum I feel a bit shame and some people say shame on you and some people can be shame when they see other people.

– Being embarrassed, the walk of shame.

– When I don't know someone and I have to shake their hand and it's shame.

– something bad to do, may be something good, something people regret [F: Why did you say something good, like what? I: Like you might have shame because you might have done something, but might be something good].

– I'm not shame, good, bad, people, animals, when I see other people I go around and hide, school, people, swearing, fighting.

– I get shame when I see anybody else.

– If you say the wrong word, cause everyone starts laughing. F: What's the difference between shame and shy? I: Nothing, it's just the same.

– When you meet somebody that you

– Embarrassment, torture.

– Shame you don't play with anyone, shame you don't go anywhere, shame you don't get a lollypop.

– I do something wrong and I blame myself.

– it's like when you lose then you have to walk of shame because you didn't win, and shame when you're being bad.

– Feel sorry for yourself.

– You feel embarrassed.

– You've done something wrong, you feel guilty, walking in front of a crowd and you're a little shame.

– like when I've done something really bad and I feel like Real bad.

– I think of being embarrassed, I think of losing, every single time I go on a race or something, X told me there's another reason for shame in the Aboriginal language but I forgot it, it was like scared I feel like being scared too.

– Embarrassed, like if you say something, it's not right something, you get shamed.

– Some people die, some cats or dogs die.

might like or something, sometimes it's a bit shame when you walk in a place and there's a lot of people sitting down watching you, it's a few Nyungar people in my class are a bit shame of .. that when they see pictures in books and like this like the lady sometimes when someone makes fun of them then they go along with it, start laughing and everything,

- *F: What was the last bit? When someone ...? I: When someone um like someone tha's white they see Aboriginal people in books they start laughing and everything and some Aboriginal person sitting next to them starts laughing with 'em. F: and then it's a shame? I: Yeah, that's they're shame of their culture.*

- *Embarrassed, shy.*

- *When you hide behind your dad when they are talking when they say hi, I get shame,*

- *F: Why are you shame then?*

- *I: Cause I haven't met them before*

– *And I'm shame when I'm going to go on a ride, my sister goes but I don't want to, it's too shame, AIEO: What ride, like a show or something. I: yeah, people stare at me*	
– *Shy.*	
– *Shy, people are shame.*	
– *When you go in class you're shame, when you first see 'em, when you're baby people are shame, when you just come out of their stomach, they're shy, shame means shy, blackfallas they're shame.*	
– *When you're feeling down and sad for what you've done.*	
– *In your classroom and if you're running around and your teacher says 'shame'.*	
– *When you're dancing or singing, or it's your first coming to school.*	
– *you get shame when you go out and shame like you could be shame in front of your nanna, your pop, your sisters and brothers, and your mum and dad, and your aunnies and uncles, your*	

teachers, your sis friends, [AIEO: What makes you feel shame? I: I don't know]. – That's hard, shy.	

The responses from the Aboriginal informants clearly instantiate the Aboriginal cultural schema of Shame and also reflect its complexity. They largely reveal that the informants have experienced the feeling of Shame in situations where they met people for the first time or after a while. They also reveal that one can feel Shame for having done something good or bad, or simply for being watched by others. It can also be seen that Shame is associated with activities which involve some degree of spotlighting such as dancing and singing. One of the distinctive patterns that emerges from these responses is that one may even feel Shame when meeting friends, teachers, and even family members such as mum and dad, sister and brother, etc. Such a feeling mainly arises from the respect that one has for these family members. Overall, the responses suggest that the cultural schema of Shame is still very much at the heart of the conceptual system of the Aboriginal children attending metropolitan schools.

The responses from the non-Aboriginal children largely associate *shame* with having done something wrong or feeling guilty. A good number of responses from these non-Aboriginal students, however, suggest instances of conceptual seepage, in that they appear to be instantiations of the Aboriginal cultural schema of Shame. Responses such as *People are shame when they see somebody they don't know* and *walking in front of a crowd and you're a little shame* clearly replicate the concept of Shame in Aboriginal English. Also a good number of responses associate *shame* with

shyness and embarrassment, which also somehow overlap with the Aboriginal concept of Shame.

5.23 Responses to "Life"

The responses given to the stimulus word *life* by the informants in the two cultural groups revealed a certain degree of overlap as well as partly different attitude cultural schemas associated with life. Consider the following responses:

Aboriginal	Non-Aboriginal
– *I live my life, I'm drunk.*	– *Life's good.*
– *Like is nice, life is fun.*	– *Something that you take care of yourself.*
– *Save people's lives, save people on horses, save people on motorbike.*	– *Life is for living in and skateboarding.*
– *It's good to have a life so you can go to your friend places and xxx and in time you get old, cause your life gets old.*	– *It's really great and it is fun and I hate to be without it, everyone should have it.*
– *My life is good.*	– *Fun, enjoyable, late, fighting, singing, dancing.*
– *When you have a bad life or good life, or a happy life or a sad life.*	– *Wonderful, fun, especial.*
– *Death, knives, killing, bombing.*	– *Our bodies, health, bodies, our health.*
– *My life is good.*	– *Old.*
– *You live with your life, you like to stay with your life.*	– *Cool.*
– *You've only got one of them.*	– *It's good.*
– *Uncles, mum, dad, brothers, sisters,*	– *You grow up, you go through stages, teenagers, adults, and child.*
	– *I think of being alive, I think of old people, I think of God too.*

aunnies, cousins, pop 'n nan, sisters.	
– *Your heart stops beating.*	
– *It's fun having a Nyungar life and* *mistakes.*	
– *Long, short, fun, sometimes tragic.*	
– *Happy, boring, fun, going to school.*	
– *Life is good but I hate it sometimes.*	
– *Live, die.*	

The attitude schema that emerges from the responses by the non-Aboriginal informants is one that largely regards life as desirable and associates life with having fun and taking care of one's health and body. While a number of responses from the Aboriginal informants also reveal a positive attitude towards life, several responses associate life with death and some also express negative attitudes towards life. The response *I'm drunk*, which may simply mean 'I'm Aboriginal', by an Aboriginal informant reflects the stereotypical attitude which is often held towards Aboriginal people by non-Aboriginal people. One of the Aboriginal informants appears to have associated 'life' with the Family schema. This reflects the centrality of 'family' in Aboriginal life.

Attitude schemas are largely constructed differently across different cultures. For instance, with particular reference to life, different cultures may encourage different attitudes or expression of attitudes towards life. These attitudes may also be associated with various objectives in life. In some cultures, life may be viewed only as a short journey in which people are evaluated for the eternal journey of hereafter. Life may also be viewed as a period of abstinence from the materialistic joys and

even suffering towards a prosperous life in the heaven. Also in some cultures where there are constant widespread miseries such as war, it is not appropriate for a person to hold very happy attitudes towards life and think so much about body and personal health while other members of the society are suffering from disasters. This holds true for Aboriginal people too, in the sense that one would be hardly surprised when Aboriginal people do not express very positive attitudes towards life given the miseries they have suffered in the last two centuries.

5.24 Responses to "Lovely"

The responses from the two groups show an overlap in terms of the core concept attached to the word *lovely*. However, they mainly reveal a difference in the schemas that appear to have been activated in association with the word lovely. Consider the following:

Aboriginal	Non-Aboriginal
– *Lovely flowers, lovely gardens, lovely house, lovely picture, lovely TV.*	– *Some people are.*
– *The smell of perfume is lovely.*	– *Beautiful, pretty, colourful, good looking.*
– *Flowers are lovely.*	– *Someone looks nice, handsome.*
– *Your family is lovely.*	– *Flowers, nice shoes, some animals, a figure of speech.*
– *Nice, beautiful, girls, it's not easy.*	– *Sweet, lovable, nice.*
– *Lovely teachers, lovely mum, lovely dad, cousins.*	– *Beautiful, caring.*
– *Love people, you love yourself, you like your friends, love peoples.*	– *Flowers, fish, animals.*
	– *Flowers are lovely.*
	– *Pretty, beautiful.*

- *Beautiful.*
- *It means if you see a person and they are lovely.*
- *lovely breeze, lovely smell, nice breezes, nice flowers, nice house, nice and clean house.*
- *Nice.*
- *Flowers, trees, family, house.*
- *Sexy, animal, when they're babies, they're kids, babies are lovely, when their skin soft.*
- *like when you dress up people'd say "oh, you look lovely", like your friends and your uncles, aunties, and sisters and brothers, when you change and finish and you can say to yourself "oh lovely".*
- *when you got lovely clothes, and you love your great great nana.*
- *I don't like the sound of lovely, it's too girlish, books, pictures, houses, something doing for someone, helping people, listening to your people, respect.*
- *My mum is lovely, the flowers are*

- *Nice.*
- *I think of flowers, think of my dog.*
- *Flowers, beautiful, nice.*
- *You love your family, you love your friends, love your dog, love your bed, love your house, love your school.*
- *Nice.*
- *Something is nice, good, someone is in love with someone else.*
- *Nice.*
- *Something nice, pretty.*
- *Something nice.*
- *Beautiful.*
- *Nice, caring, yum.*
- *Something lovely, be on my family.*
- *Nice.*
- *think of flowers, think of love hearts even though they're just not so lovely, I think of pictures, I think of ribbons, because like people like dance with ribbons and I think of what lovely hat.*

lovely, and they got lovely smells, and I love animals, and I love my family and my cat as well and I love my uncles and aunies – *Pretty, beautiful.* – *Flowers, roses, lovely scents, like smells, I like.* – *Flowers, birds, nature.* – *Nice.* – *Kangaroo meat and damper, relatives, and in the bush, and some lovely rocks that you pick up in the bush from the Ancestors.*	

The responses largely suggest that for the informants across the two groups the core meaning of the word *lovely* is equivalent or close to the words *nice, beautiful, pretty,* and *good looking*. Several responses also suggest that the informants have recalled images such as a flower or an animal upon hearing the word *lovely*. Some informants across the two groups have associated *lovely* with the concept of 'loving someone'.

The word *lovely* appears to have evoked the cultural schema of Family in several Aboriginal informants. The chain of responses *helping people, listening to your people, respect* clearly reflects an important proposition schema, associated with Family schema, which obligates Aboriginal people to help, respect and follow the advice of their 'mob'. As mentioned earlier, the concept of 'people' for Aboriginal people signifies kin relations and family. The word *lovely* has also activated the

Aboriginal category of Food, including 'kangaroo meat' and 'damper', and the image of rocks which are associated with the Dreamtime schema in an Aboriginal informant. It can be seen how activation of one concept in a person's conceptual network may activate, in a chain fashion, certain other conceptual structures. Although this may hardly be a culturally unique phenomenon, it is the content of such networks and also the specific patterns of associations between the conceptual entities in the network which appear to be culturally distinctive. For instance, associating 'kangaroo meat and damper' with 'relative in the bush' and 'picking up rocks associated with the Ancestors' reflect a schema which is distinctively Aboriginal, both in terms of content (e.g., kangaroo meat and damper) and patterns of association (e.g., food with family, and environment with the Dreaming). Overall, as mentioned above, although the core concept attached to the word *lovely* appears to be similar for the two groups, the schemas that seem to have been activated in association with the stimulus word are somehow culturally constructed.

5.25 Responses to "Important"

The responses from the two groups to the stimulus word *important* mainly referred to similar schemas, such as school. Several responses from the Aboriginal informants, however, evoke distinctively Aboriginal schemas. Consider the following:

Aboriginal	Non-Aboriginal
– *Some people are important.* – *I've got test coming up, it's important to get 100 percent.* – *Stuff, work, school stuff, school.*	– *Stuff, us, nature, surroundings.* – *something that's important like documents, you shouldn't lose them and stuff, an something like a pet that is*

- *You never be a bully.*

- *Job, school, learn, food, drink.*

- *Special.*

- *Somebody's hurt, people are uncomfortable, people are sad.*

- *Worrying, remembering it.*

- *Don't steal.*

- *change your clothes, go to school every day, read every day, important to go to school every day, important to be clean and have a shower, and wash yourself with a soap and wash your hair with shampoo.*

- *Flags are important, cause the colours, Australia is important.*

- *It is important to win and get a prize, and important to do your homework and it's important to read and care about each other.*

- *Important education and I think it's important that Aboriginal people learn more Aboriginal words, and it's important that they need their relatives.*

- *Important to be at home after school, and important to clean up and before I go to*

- *important to you and your family*

- *Remember, meet.*

- *Education, food, water, shelter, air.*

- *Listening, speaking, reading, watching, talking.*

- *School is important, learning.*

- *If you have an important job that you're going to and you have to get there in time, you got an important job to do around the house.*

- *Special.*

- *People, nature, animal, sunscreen.*

- *um to be at interviews is important, being a principal is important, xxx*

- *Me, like famous people.*

- *sleep.*

- *Things that are important to me like my education, my learning.*

- *Reading a lot is important.*

- *Something urgent.*

- *I think everyone is important, although I feel about everything like trees, so they can breathe but people cut them down, xxx, I think of flowers, I think of all the important things, people people have to*

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school have a shower and it's important to wait for everyone to finish work and I can go to my friends house on my bike, and it's important not to ride on the road cause you can get hit by a car. – *Important is fire.* – *Life, parents, forests, trees.*	*live like water and food* – *Something important, like I don't know.* – *You need it, you have to remember it, celebrations.*

It can be seen that a good number of the responses from the two groups associate importance with school and school work and some responses from the non-Aboriginal informants also regard as important things such as documents, interviews, celebrations, and also pet animals. A number of responses from the Aboriginal informants, such as *don't steal,* represent the kinds of rules and orders that they receive at school. Aboriginal children are culturally tuned into sharing with family and friends whatever they have. Aboriginal schema of Sharing requires Aboriginal people to regard their possessions, such as clothes, as equally belonging to everybody else in the 'mob'. Thus, some Aboriginal students may freely make use of their classmates' stationery, for example, and as a result get into trouble for 'stealing'. That is why some teachers often remind Aboriginal children that they are not allowed to take other students' properties such as pens and pencils because it is considered as 'stealing'.

The response *important to clean up* again conjures up the Aboriginal cultural schema of Home, in which Aboriginal children actively participate in and share with their adults the daily chores of the house. Also several other responses reflect the schema of Home in that they reflect self-reliance on the part of Aboriginal children in

routines such as taking a bath and changing clothes, etc. The response *and it's important that they* [Aboriginal people] *need their relatives* clearly instantiates the Aboriginal cultural schema of Family. Finally the response *fire is important* evokes the Aboriginal schema of Fire. Fire in Aboriginal cultures is of utmost importance. Traditionally, ceremonial fire has been the focus of dramatic performance and storytelling. It has also been a vital tool in cooking, making artefacts, hunting animals, and managing the land through clearing and regenerating vegetation. Fire has also been used as a medicine and also for keeping the bad spirits away. Aboriginal people also tell Dreamtime stories about how fire came to be. Whether or not contemporary city-dwelling Aboriginal people make such uses of fire, it is still regarded as one of the spirits of Aboriginal existence and culture.

5.26 Responses to "Kangaroo"

The responses from the two groups to the stimulus word *kangaroo* reveal that non-Aboriginal informants have mainly categorised kangaroo as an 'animal' whereas the Aboriginal informants have variably categorised it as meat, food, animal, game, totem, etc. Consider the following responses:

Aboriginal	Non-Aboriginal
– *Joey, dances, eat feed.* – *Hop, they look, they can 'ear, they're in the bushes.* – *they jump, some people eat their tales, I don't like the smell of it, people use their furs for their jumpers an that.*	– *big kangaroo, people trying to hunt kangaroo, kangaroo can get away, [F: you said people try to hunt kangaroo, who are these people? I: mainly Aboriginals but may be some all the people like white people hunting too, but*

- *kangaroo I like going out to get some kangaroos and eat and tails and it tastes very nice and kangaroo skin can be white or brown and sometimes you can keep pat joeys, you can see them in the zoo, or out in the bush, or people like the mum of my friend is a ranger that goes to the bush to see the kangaroos, might have a joey take away to look at it.*
- *They hop, they eat.*
- *nice, some Aboriginals need it to survive in the bush, easy to cook, nice with damper and sometimes it feels a bit cruel to kill 'm and eat 'm but then in other words it's okay because you need it to survive.*
- *I like eating kangaroo, I like hunting kangaroo, I like kangaroos when they hop and jump, and when they are in a family, kangaroos.*
- *Jumping, fast, good to eat.*
- *shooting kangaroos, eating kangaroo stew, eating kangaroo meat, being a kangaroo.*

- *mostly Aboriginals.*
- *Hop, animal, jump, joey.*
- *hopping, high jumping, fast, strong, cunning, animal, nature.*
- *they have babies, they got a pouch, they are brown color, they have pointy ears.*
- *It's a animal, it has babies, it hops around, in dry places, eats leave.*
- *kangaroos jump, kangaroos have big tales, kangaroos have brains, hearts, skeleton.*
- *Mammal, it's cute, I see in the zoo.*
- *Brown, jumps, big, strong, long tail.*
- *Family.*
- *Joey, they can jump, they are mammals.*
- *kangaroos have front paws, they can hop, they can eat with their hands, have a little pouch and have a little joey.*
- *Kangaroo is an animal, Aboriginals hunt for kangaroos.*
- *kangaroo jumps, kangaroo is brown, kangaroo has tail, has a pouch, has claws.*
- *Jumping, cute, tall.*
- *Hopping, jumping.*

- *You can shoot kangaroo, kangaroos can jump, kangaroos fight.*
- *Aboriginal paint kangaroos, meat, you make stuff warm out of them like out of their skin.*
- *Hop, claws, they are fast.*
- *they jumps, very high, at a zoo, they got a pouch with their little a ba joey, you see em at a zoo.*
- *kangaroo jumps, hop, eat, eat people, chase people.*
- *you're shooting a kangaroo, you play with kangaroo, you try to catch a kangaroo.*
- *Animal, dance, hunting, fury.*
- *Kangaroo tail stew, they taste delicious.*
- *Jumps, feed, eat it.*
- *Tail, legs, arm.*
- *Kangaroos have a tail and they hop.*
- *Jumping, feeding, sleeping.*
- *Kangaroos hop, you spear at kangaroo.*
- *Jumping around in the bushes.*
- *Red kangaroo.*
- *I like kangaroo, I ate a kangaroo, I eat*

- *Bouncing, eating.*
- *red kangaroo, they hop, fast, and has a pouch for their babies, and jump.*
- *Australian animal, bushes, native.*
- *Cheetah, a family of kangaroos, a snake.*
- *Red and brown, hunting. [F: Who hunts kangaroos? I: Aboriginals].*
- *Aboriginals hunt for them.*
- *I like the colour of them.*
- *Jump, brown, ear, tail.*
- *Aborigines kill kangaroos to eat, and you can have kangaroo stew, kangaroos hop.*
- *An animal.*
- *Another type of animal that hops around..*
- *they jump, they hop, they come in different shapes and sizes, and have a pouch, marsupials, they live in the bush, sign says you watch out for kangaroos on the road.*

it.	
- *I like kangaroos, sometimes they're mean, they scratch you, I like going to bush to see kangaroos.*	
- *Something that jumps, an Australian animal.*	
- *seeing Kangaroo on the bushed, see kangaroo's dead, see kangaroo's baby, see that's it [have you seen dead kangaroos? We seen two dead kangaroos on the way we get home. AIEO: when driving along? I: Yeah cause me and my cousin we saw two dead kangaroos].*	
- *I like Kangaroo, I like everything, Kangaroo lives, Kangaroo eats wild stuff, rabbits, dogs eat cats, dogs eat kangaroos, [F: When you said "I like kangaroo did you mean kangaroo or kangaroo meat? I: Kangaroo and kangaroo meat].*	

It can be seen that the stimulus word *kangaroo* has evoked several categories in the

Aboriginal informants. Responses such as *I ate a kangaroo, I eat it, I like eating

kangaroo,* and *eating kangaroo meat* reflect categorisation of kangaroo as 'meat' and

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'food', whereas *you're shooting a kangaroo* and *you spear at kangaroo* categorise it as 'game', which is associated with the Hunting schema (Malcolm & Rochecouste, 2000; Malcolm & Sharifian, 2002). Among the responses given by the Aboriginal informants there are also certain descriptive responses such as *hop* and *kangaroo jumps,* which appear to arise from the categorisation of kangaroo primarily as an 'animal'. An Aboriginal informant has referred to *being a kangaroo,* which signifies its totemic conceptualisation. Some responses have also referred to the traditional uses of kangaroo, such as providing materials for making clothes. Overall, the responses from the Aboriginal informants reveal that 'kangaroo' is an instance of several categories and schemas in Aboriginal conceptualisation and this is due to the fact that it has occupied a very significant place in Aboriginal experience and spirituality. This observation is also reflected in the size of the responses given by the Aboriginal informants to the word *kangaroo,* as compared to those given by the non-Aboriginal informants.

Non-Aboriginal informants, however, have largely categorised kangaroo as an animal and their responses are largely descriptive of the animal and its baby. Several non-Aboriginal informants have revealed awareness of Aboriginal people hunting kangaroos, though the responses from the Aboriginal informants reveal that kangaroo is much more than that to them. Overall the responses to this stimulus word provide succinct evidence that a word or phrase can evoke differential categories and schemas in people from different cultural backgrounds, even in those who are said to speak the 'same' language.

5.27 Responses to "Smash"

The word *smash,* for Aboriginal speakers, evokes a cultural schema that includes conflict situations such as arguments and physical fights involving individuals or

crowds over personal issues as well as group issues such as those related to territorial intrusions (Sharifian, 2000). Malcolm (2001a) also notes that Aboriginal children often refer to 'smash' in this sense in their narratives. He associates this usage with the Smash schema, which he defines as follows:

> The representation of experience in relation to known individuals or factions ('mob' smash) who are in (potentially physical) conflict. The speaker may or may not identify with one of the factions. (p. 17)

Australian dictionaries have not noted any usage of the word similar to this in Australian English. The responses from the Aboriginal informants in this study largely instantiate the Aboriginal cultural schema of Smash. Also several responses from the non-Aboriginal informants reflect a similar conceptualisation. Consider the following responses:

Aboriginal	Non-Aboriginal
– *fighting, arguing, not getting along, not understanding each other's feelings.* – *my friends .. not my friends my cousins sometimes they throw a rock at thing to smash, people got a some people has a smashed cars, or smashed television, smashed toys, and smashed plate or bike.* – *gonna beat or something then you're*	– *I think of how people smash glass, I think of how people like can throw rocks at each other, that was a long time ago, I think of people going like kicking stuff and kicking like windows.* – *when somebody like may be gang of people like they could have baseball bat or something and they smash up somebody's car, and it's like they smack*

- *getting into a fight.*
- *Smash glass, smash your hand.*
- *glass, the word, someone smash you, other people's property.*
- *smash windows, and smashing, people smashing cars, smashing stores.*
- *what do you mean by smash? F: What do you think? I: people, glasses window, smash when you fight, houses, computers.*
- *People smash each other.*
- *smash people, smash cops, fight, smash door, keyboards, computers, doors, cupboards, tables, whiteboards, blackboards, with an axe.*
- *cars smashing like those clash, people fighting, aeroplanes crashing, people fighting like people smashing.*
- *Smashing a window with a tennis ball, playing net ball, smashing window.*
- *Smash a glass, smash plate, spoon, window.*
- *you smash person with a hammer, you smash glasses and window, a person's house.*

- *up people.*
- *Fist, break, people.*
- *Broken, break.*
- *there's different sorts of smash, like someone says I'm gonna smash you at the school, like that, and there's also smash something like a glass like a mirror.*
- *Hurt.*
- *Smashing cars and smashing windows.*
- *Smashing stuff, just like toys, cracking them.*
- *Fighting, grabbing, punching, kicking, wrestling.*
- *Car accident, a plane accident.*
- *smash your furniture, and your car, other people smash other people's car.*
- *Smash glass.*
- *Scared, upset.*
- *Smash windows, cars, I reckon trees.*
- *Glass, rocks, watches, glasses.*
- *A ball could smash window.*
- *Glass, lots of people.*
- *Mean, bad.*
- *Someone having a fight like sound effect.*
- *I drop something.*

– Broken, fight.	– Break.
– bullying, punching, getting drunk, you smash a window, or a vase or glass breaks.	– something breaking, an it's like window breaking, except you don't have window smashing it's window breaking.
– Smash a window, and smash people.	
– Something that breaks, somebody fighting.	– something break, somebody punches, someone smashes you, something like that.
– Dangerous, die, bleed, fight.	
– like if you are two person and you're smashing, and you got a rock and you smash a window, F: What do you mean "two people are smashing"? I: That means they are fighting, that means smashing.	– Somebody might throw something at window.
	– punch, kick, fight, hit
– smash somebody, smash a bottle, smash somebody in the face.	
– Smash something, smash TVs.	
– Smashing a glass.	
– make up smash with my brother, when he hit me sometimes.	
– I don't smash cause I get a pink slip, if I smash long time, detention, another one phone call to your parents, if I get another one I get suspended, like you can't come to school, like one day I bin	

suspended, unna? like for about we set another day off, say I don't school today, I don't come the next day, I won't school Monday, I don't come on Tuesday, I come on Wednesday like that. – *Some people play cricket and they smash.* – *When something like glass smashes.* – *Smash boy, I wouldn't do that, smash a man, smash a big man, smash spider man, superman, batman, smash a window.*	
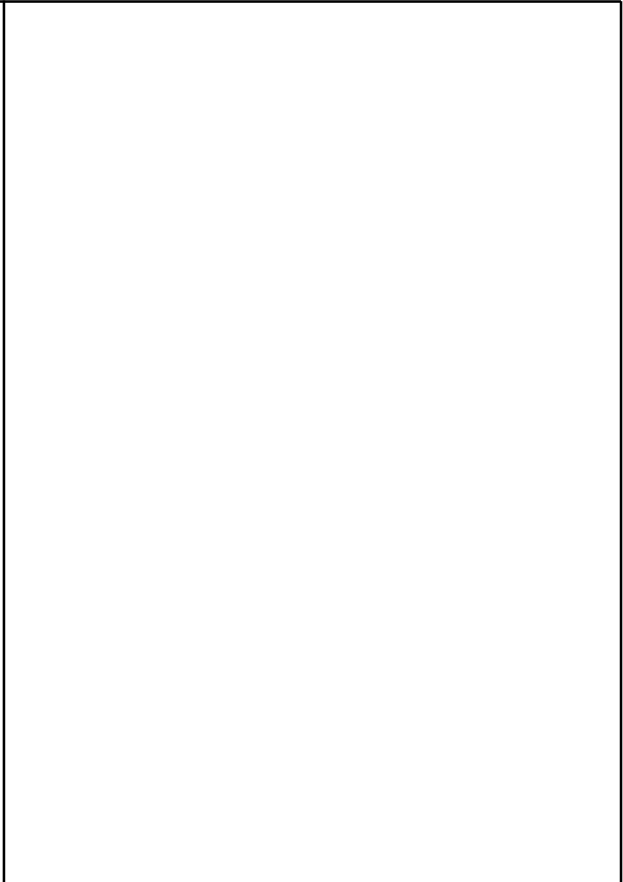
The majority of the responses from the non-Aboriginal group and several responses from the

Aboriginal group associate *smash* with 'breaking into pieces'. Among these responses are *smash glass, smash furniture, smash windows,* and *smash cars*. This sense of the word is listed as the primary meaning by the Australian English dictionaries. A good number of responses from the Aboriginal group, however, clearly instantiate the Aboriginal cultural schema of Smash. The chain of responses *fighting, arguing, not getting along, not understanding each other's feelings,* given by an Aboriginal informant, reveals that the smash can apply to psychological conflicts as well as verbal arguments and physical clashes. Also the response pair *someone smash you, other people's property* reflects the aspect of Smash schema which involves conflicts due to territorial defence. One of the informants has referred to 'getting drunk' which

is associated with the idiomatic phrase 'getting smashed' meaning 'getting drunk'. This usage is now common among young Australians.

Several responses from the non-Aboriginal informants seem to suggest a case of conceptual seepage, where the word *smash* has also evoked the sense of 'fight' in non-Aboriginal informants. This is reflected in responses such as *punch, kick, fight, someone smashes you, Someone having a fight, fighting, grabbing, punching, kicking,* and *wrestling*. One of the informants was asked about this usage of the word and he stated that he had learned it from his Aboriginal friends.

5.28 Responses to "Speaking"

A good number of responses by the two groups to the word *speaking* referred to a) various scenes associated with speaking, such as 'speaking in front of the class', b) qualities of speaking, such as 'loud' or 'soft', and c) evaluative comments regarding speaking, such as 'I like speaking', etc. The following responses from the Aboriginal informants were in one way or another reflective of Aboriginal conceptualisation:

- *speaking to your mum and dad, speaking to uncle and auntie, speaking to your cousins, speaking to your friends, speaking to teacher.*

- *like um speaking to you, you could speak to your grandparents, your mum and dad, sisters aunties, uncles and teachers and like if your stuck you can go up to your teacher, talk to er, and*

- *speaking to your parents, speaking to your mum, speaking to your aunties, speaking to your nan um pop, speaking to your speaking to the principal.*

- *some people can't speak some people can, or some people can talk a lot and some people can be quiet, and sometimes my friend talks a lot, and my friend's brother and sister doesn't, auntie and uncle,*

- *I like speaking loud and soft, and I like speaking to my friends, I speak a lot, and if I speak in my class I get jarred.*

- *speak like Nyungars, speak like you're Chinese, sometimes speak like watjellas,*

- *talk, language, talk language*

F: Is English a language?

I: No

F: So what is a language?

I: Aboriginal language

It is evident that for the first four informants above, the word *speaking* has activated the Aboriginal cultural schema of Family with images of talking to the members of their extended family such as their uncles and aunts. This is another piece of evidence for the centrality of the schema of Family in Aboriginal conceptualisation. We have so far seen in this study that various concepts have been able to trigger the schema of Family for Aboriginal informants. There seems to be hardly any aspect of an Aboriginal person's life that is not somehow associated with their extended family and 'mob'. Activation of most schemas and categories have in fact appeared to automatically activate the cultural schema of Family in Aboriginal informants. As mentioned earlier, 'family' is the essence of Aboriginal existence.

The word *jar* which has been used by an Aboriginal informant is a common word in Aboriginal English meaning 'to scold' and the phrase *I got jarred* means 'to get into trouble'. The chain of responses *speak like Nyungars, speak like you're Chinese, sometimes speak like watjellas* by a six-year-old Aboriginal informant clearly shows his awareness of the fact that Nyungars and watjellas [non-Aboriginal people] speak differently and that sometimes he has to speak like non-Aboriginal

people. If anything, the Aboriginal child has ranked his own dialect as a language, as he has also referred to Chinese in this context. This in fact reveals how different the two dialects may appear to the child and yet many non-Aboriginal educators believe that no one speaks Aboriginal English in metropolitan schools. The last set of responses above includes the phrase *talk language*. Aboriginal people often tend to use 'talk' in the sense of 'speak' and also the word 'language' in Aboriginal English means 'an Aboriginal language'. Thus, 'talk language' may be glossed in Australian English as 'speaking an Aboriginal language'.

5.29 Responses to "Hunting"

Aboriginal people have been hunting and gathering food in different environments across Australia for at least 60,000 years. However, hunting and gathering have not just been activities for providing food but have also involved Aboriginal people in a dynamic and productive relationship with their land. Hunting and gathering have also played an important role in Aboriginal religion. Different groups of Aboriginal people may not be allowed to hunt certain animals due to their spiritual significance. There have also been ceremonies associated with hunting. In some ceremonies the performers act out hunting scenes or imitate the movements of game animals. For Aboriginal people, hunting and gathering are not simple economic activities, they are central to their whole view of the world. Hunting was one of the things that the Spirit Ancestors did while journeying over the land.

In 'traditional' Aboriginal societies, women were chiefly responsible for gathering fruits, vegetables and other resources near to the camp, while the hunting responsibilities belonged to men, who traveled around the camp to sites known for their available resources. There is some evidence that some tribes used fire to help the hunting of larger game. An intentionally set fire flushed the animals into a narrow

passage, where the waiting hunters could easily kill them. Aboriginal people have passed on knowledge about hunting and its spiritual significance across generations through the Aboriginal cultural schema of Hunting. Malcolm and Rochecouste (2000) observed that a large number of narratives produced by the Aboriginal children in their study drew on this schema (See Chapter 3 for the details). In this study, the word *hunting* was used as a stimulus to explore this schema in Aboriginal children attending metropolitan schools. Consider the following responses:

Aboriginal	Non-Aboriginal
– *kangaroos I go hunting kangaroos and stuff, and sometimes when I go hunting I see snakes, xxx some rabbits, lots of trees and stuff, and there's lots of animals.*	– *um people go hunting to see animals and that, like my dad used to take me , like people go hunting to look for squirrels, just about every thin.*
– *'unting food, 'unting kangaroos, 'unting for dinner.*	– *Never been hunting.*
	– *Aboriginals hunting for like food.*
– *Hunting, I hunt the kangaroo down, I hunt a lizard down.*	– *A sword, spear, weapons, human, animals, hiding.*
	– *Boomerangs.*
– *my uncle goes hunting, [AIEO: Do you go with 'm? I: Na, only the boys are allowed to.*	– *Animals, bears, trees, bushes.*
	– *Hunting for animals, and hunting for a lion sometimes, guns.*
– *catching stuff, running around, with my pop hunting kangaroos.*	– *Aboriginals go hunting, people go hunting to find animals, people go*
– *tool, blackfallas hunt, food, throw spears, kangaroos, boomerangs.*	*hunting to find animals to eat.*
	– *Hunt rabbits, kangaroos, foxes, snakes,*

– *fun, sad, the animal gets killed, delicious, when you get to that part of eating it, fun, guns, bush.*	*wild birds.*
– *Spear, gun, spotlight, car, fun.*	– *Catching, eating, gun, spear, boomerang,* *F: Who hunts with all these? I: Aboriginal* *people.*
– *Kangaroos, kangaroo meat, food, like hunting for things to eat.*	– *Wild dogs, wild cats, tigers, leopards, cheetahs, birds.*
– *Catching, chasing.*	– *I've never done it.*
– *Aboriginals, hunting animals, spears.*	– *I think Aboriginal people, I think of throwing boomerang and spears even though whenever I threw it it never comes back to me, it always goes to the opposite end, I think of spears, and I think kangaroos and I think of all the poor hunted animals and trees.*

The responses from the Aboriginal informants largely reveal that they have derived their schema of Hunting from first-hand experience. Responses such as *catching stuff, running around, with my pop hunting kangaroos* suggest that the informant has experienced hunting in the company of his family. The responses from the non-Aboriginal informants mainly either reveal that they do not have this schema or they have formed a schema based on what they have read in their books or heard about Aboriginal people. Overall, the cultural schema that emerges from the responses by Aboriginal informants appears to be *experienced-based* whereas the one emerging from the non-Aboriginal informants appears to be based on school materials and what they have heard about hunting and particularly Aboriginal people hunting.

It can therefore be noticed that Aboriginal children attending metropolitan schools are still largely experiencing hunting and this has in fact provided a link for them with their relatives living in the country areas. Hunting has also been maintaining Aboriginal people's relationship with nature and the land. Aboriginal children find a chance to closely observe the nature and learn Aboriginal cultural skills and knowledge while accompanying their relatives in their hunting trips. Aboriginal consultants of this study observe that hunting is still a source of providing food for some Aboriginal people.

5.30 Responses to "Going out"

The responses to the stimulus "going out" from the two groups largely reveal overlapping schemas in that they mainly refer to going out to places such as movies, shops, restaurants, visiting friends, etc. However, a good number of responses from the Aboriginal informants appear to be associated with the Aboriginal cultural schema of Family. Consider the following:

- *go out somewhere, go to stay night, go to your nan, 'n go out to your nans and annies, and your mum and dad and brothers and sisters.*
- *Oh I like going out to the movies, and going out to church and going out to my friends house, going out to going out to xxx or going out to to places, going out to to uncle and aunties, to a party or something, or to your friend's party.*
- *I like going out to my friends, and go to the park, and I like to go out to meet my aunie, and going out to other places, and to the pools, and I like going out to my ... the shops and I like going out with my family*
- *fun, seeing Aboriginal people, and meeting up people, enjoying yourself, experiencing stuff.*

- *people can invite you to go out, your mum and dad take you out.*
- *going out to the zoo, going out to Adventure world, going out to church, going out to aunties, going out to your cousins, going out to friends.*
- *I like going out, I like going out with my parents and my family.*
- *going out to visit your grandma or your pop in hospital, or visiting a friend and family, in a party, in a park, visiting uncles and unties, visiting friends, visiting cousins.*

The above responses reflect that visiting extended family members is an essential part of Aboriginal life. As the analysis of the responses in this study have so far suggested extended family is an integral part of Aboriginal existence and runs through every single aspect of Aboriginal people's life experience. We have seen that various words which may be seen by non-Aboriginal people as unrelated to family have evoked the Aboriginal cultural schema of Family in the Aboriginal informants. The significance of the Aboriginal cultural schema of Fight is also reflected in the fact that it is mapped onto other domains such as nature. As it was noted earlier, Aboriginal people often refer to the earth as Mother Earth and also refer to their country by labels such as 'mother' and 'grandfather'. Just as the members of a family are related, everything and everybody in nature including animals, human beings and the land are also related.

Overall, it can be seen that the associative responses given by the informants to the above stimulus words largely reflect cultural conceptualisations. Even where the responses were limited to single words, they reflected prototypes and aspects of the cultural schemas with which the speakers usually approach their experience. This supports D'Andrade's (1995, 149) observation that "[w]ords signify schemas …".

The responses overall reveal that Aboriginal cultures are strongly maintained in metropolitan areas through Aboriginal domains and schemas such as Family and Shame. The merit of the analysis presented here lies in the fact that it explores culture through the conceptual system that embodies cultural elements, which may not otherwise be open to scrutiny through external artefacts of a culture. The human conceptual system not only reflects various cultural parameters abstracted from experience but is also often structured by cultural beliefs and worldviews. The next chapter will summarise the analysis presented here and will also present some concluding remarks on the analysis. This will be followed by a discussion of the implications of this study for the theory and practice in education and other fields of investigation.

CHAPTER 6
CONCLUDING DISCUSSION, LIMITATIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

6.1 Concluding Discussion

The analysis of data presented in Chapter 5 provides evidence for the operation of two distinct, but overlapping conceptual systems among the two cultural groups studied here. The two systems are integrally related to the dialects spoken by Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Australians, that is, Aboriginal English and Australian English. The discrepancies between the two systems largely appear to be rooted in the cultural systems that give rise to these dialects while the overlap between the two conceptual systems appears to arise from several phenomena, to be addressed later in this discussion.

A large number of responses from the informants in the two groups revealed conceptual discrepancies that appeared to arise from associating different cultural conceptualisations with the same English word. For instance, Aboriginal informants associated the word *shame* with the Aboriginal cultural schema of Shame. This cultural schema embodies knowledge and emotions associated with situations in which a person is singled out from the group, for either praise or punishment, or with the respect one has for parents, elders, sacred places, etc. For non-Aboriginal informants, the word *shame*, however, appears to have largely evoked schemas that are associated with 'wrong-doing' and 'feeling of guilt' (see Chapter 5 for a more comprehensive discussion). The analysis of the responses also reveals that even some basic words such as *home, people* and *family* have largely evoked cultural conceptualisations that distinctively characterise each group of informants.

A large number of responses reveal that for Aboriginal informants, the word *family* has evoked CCs that are associated with their extended family members and responsibilities that they have towards other members of the family. It is proposed here that, through the Aboriginal informants in this study, it has been possible to

accumulate evidence of what we may broadly term an *Aboriginal conceptual system*, and that this Aboriginal conceptual system strongly revolves around CCs of Family, which underpin Aboriginal behaviours, thinking, and speaking. In terms of categorisation, Aboriginal people usually categorise their kin differently from Anglo-Australians. The category of "mother", for instance, may include one's mother as well as aunts and even grandmother. In terms of schematisation, Aboriginal cultural schemas of Family derive from pervasive life experience in the company of extended family members, where one learns norms of conduct, obligations and responsibilities, norms of sharing, norms of respect and a lot more. These CCs are handed down from one generation to another and from one place to another, to keep Aboriginal conceptualisation alive in time and space, and also to enable Aboriginal conceptualisation to survive when overwhelmingly exposed to non-Aboriginal conceptualisation.

Another example of conceptual discrepancy reflected in the responses from the two groups is where several Aboriginal students have categorised 'kangaroo' as 'food' or 'hunting game' while non-Aboriginal informants have categorised it mainly as an animal. Other differences in the responses relate to associating stimulus words such as *deadly* and *camp* to different concepts across the two groups. For instance, while *deadly* has evoked in Aboriginal informants a concept which may be glossed in Australian English as 'fantastic' and 'great', the concept which emerges from the majority of the responses given by non-Aboriginal informants appears to be synonymous with 'dangerous' and 'poisonous'.

The overlapping conceptualisations which emerge from the responses given by the informants in this study may be attributed in various degrees to several sources including the following:

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- Experience in similar physical environments (i.e., school, park, etc)

- Membership of the same age group level

- Access to 'modern' life style

- Access to school materials

- Contact resulting in conceptual seepage.

It was observed in the analysis section that some responses from the two groups similarly referred to various aspects of school, shops, parks, etc. It is not surprising to observe such similarities in the responses given the fact that the two cultural groups have access to these places. In fact, whoever lives in Perth and experiences going to such places as parks, shopping centres, etc will in time form similar schemas of these places. It has, however, been observed that there are subtle differences between the two cultural groups participating in this study with respect to schemas associated with school, park, and shops. The responses from the Aboriginal informants, for example, have revealed that physical environments mainly act as a base for profiling the cultural schema of Family. It is the company of the extended family that gives significance to an event, not the place of the event or even the event itself. Aboriginal people often refer to localities and suburbs in terms of which family and 'mob' resides in them rather than where they are located in relation to the river, the city centre, or other suburbs.

Another set of responses that appeared to be similar across the two groups reflected CCs characterised by interests and practices of young age groups. It was observed that playing certain games and watching certain TV programs were considered by the informants across the two groups to be 'fun'. Members of other age

groups may not necessarily find such games and programs to be entertaining. This means that two different age groups, even from the same culture, may have different schemas of 'fun'. In other words, conceptual overlapping may derive from sharing various sub-cultures, such as the culture of age rather than anything else. It was again observed that there might be certain differences in the default elements of the schemas that each group has. For Aboriginal children, for instance, it appears that the company of 'siblings' and 'cousins' in having fun experience is a default element and this does not appear to be so for Anglo Australians. Note that the words 'siblings' and 'cousins' in the Aboriginal sense may even refer to second cousins.

Some of the responses from the two groups were associated with CCs that reflect aspects of 'modern' life style, such as 'having fast food' and 'playing computer games'. These are part of a more general process of globalisation, which aims at cultural homogenisation. Globalisation itself originates from a Western cultural schema and is intended to spread across all societies around the world. The ultimate aim for this process is in fact to impart a conceptual unity that would facilitate global hegemony. A thorough discussion of globalisation and its ramifications for local cultures falls beyond the scope of this dissertation (e.g., Rienner, 1997; Scholte, 2000).

A number of responses from both groups - more from non-Aboriginal informants – reflect conceptualisations that appear to have been derived from school materials or from the media. In other words, these conceptualisations appear to be school-based or TV-based and often relate to mediated rather than first-hand experience. For instance, mentioning the names of animals which are extinct, in response to the stimulus word *animal*, can be attributed to seeing their names and pictures in the books or their animations on movies.

However, the influence of school in forming conceptualisations does not end here and appears to extend to forming certain images and schemas about events and people. Several responses from both groups, for example, reflect the way Aboriginal people are often portrayed in school materials and in the media, for example, as black people living in the past or in the bush making boomerangs and spears. It appears plausible that 'success' at school on the part of non-Aboriginal students may entail forming such conceptualisations about Aboriginal people, some of whom may be their classmates, and also that success on the part of Aboriginal students may entail consenting to such conceptualisations about themselves and their culture. The corollary of this phenomenon for Aboriginal students would be that the more they can learn to alienate themselves from their people and culture, the more successful they might become in the school system.

A good number of responses that appeared to be similar across the two groups suggest the likelihood of what I have called *conceptual seepage*, or permeation of conceptualisations from one group to another due to contact. Several non-Aboriginal informants, for instance, gave responses to words such as *shame* and *smash* that appeared to be associated with Aboriginal cultural schemas. Conceptual seepage may occur consciously or subconsciously and for reasons that relate to identity, group membership, and disarming of adversity. Rampton (1995) observed a parallel phenomenon in several ethnically mixed groups, where the members sometimes switched into ethnically marked varieties of English such as Afro-Caribbean Creole in the UK. Rampton calls this phenomenon *crossing* and believes that by crossing people move out of their identity and into others' identity. He observed, for example, that an Anglo adolescent sometimes switched into Jamaican Creole and also used a Panjabi word, and by doing that he moved out of his 'Anglo-ness' and into their

friends' ethnic identity. Such an interpretation of crossing of course hinges on how one interprets 'identity'.

It should be noted that cases of crossing may or may not involve conceptual seepage. A person may simply use a word from a different variety to express his or her own conceptualisation. Such cases are simply *label-borrowing* and are different from cases where people learn to conceptualise experience in a way the speakers of a different variety do. This is however by no means intended to suggest an all-or-nothing situation; people may participate *more or less* in the conceptual world of others. Even with the instances of conceptual seepage, it is still uncertain whether the speakers feel that they are moving out of their identity.

As mentioned above, conceptual seepage may take place subconsciously in which case the speakers may not realise that they are using concepts from other varieties. In this regard, a distinction needs to be made between crossing to a different language and crossing to a different dialect. Crossing to a different language would most probably be a more salient process to the speaker than crossing to a different dialect. After all, as mentioned above, quite a few responses from the informants in this study may be characterised as resulting from the process of conceptual seepage from one cultural group to another. The degree to which each instance is a reflection of a total conceptual adoption is however uncertain and needs closer investigation.

Another important pattern that arose from the speech of the two groups was that their responses hardly appeared different in terms of accent. Even in terms of syntax, as far as it could be determined from the size of responses, there did not appear to be substantial differences between the syntactic structure of the responses across the two groups. Consultation with the AIEWs participating in this study suggested that while some of the Aboriginal informants simply switch accent, from

Aboriginal English to Australian English, in classroom situations, others have been able to incorporate the sounds and the syntax of Australian English into their dialect and they in fact sound as if they speak Australian English. That is, while some informants code-switch in educational contexts, others have acquired the sounds and the syntax of Australian English as part of their first dialect. The complexity of this situation is that this phenomenon usually leads non-Aboriginal teachers to assume that these Aboriginal students speak Australian English and therefore place certain expectations upon them accordingly.

It is apparent from the data obtained in this study that while the students from the two groups may sound similar, they largely draw on cultural conceptualisations that characterise two distinct cultural groups, and also two distinct dialects. That is, it appears from the data analysed in the present study that distinctiveness of speech in this situation emerges at the level of cultural conceptualisations and not the surface features of language. The theoretical implication of this observation for the studies of dialect is that a dialect may be characterised *solely* on the basis of its cultural conceptualisations. That is, there may be varieties of a language, either indigenous or not, that are distinct from each other only at the level of cultural conceptualisations rather than levels of phonology, morphology and syntax. This phenomenon calls for a revisiting of the definition of 'dialect'.

Wolfram, Adger, and Christian (1999) maintain that "[d]ialects may differ from each other at several levels in addition to pronunciation" (p. 4). For them, these levels would include syntax, vocabulary, and pragmatics (p. 5). In particular they maintain that regional dialects tend to differ from each other in terms of pronunciation and vocabulary whereas social dialects differ from each other in these areas as well as in grammatical usage. Given the fact that the approach followed in

dialect studies has so far been mainly sociolinguistic, it is hardly surprising that the treatment of dialect has ignored differences in conceptualisation as characterising distinct dialects. Although Wolfram, Adger, and Christian mention cultural differences as a source of variation with regards to dialect, their approach would not equip them with the appropriate tools to tap cultural systems through conceptualisations.

In the light of the data analysed in this study we can now clearly see the inadequacies of the above view of dialect in accounting for the speech of Aboriginal informants participating in this study. The above view of dialect, which is currently the dominant view, takes pronunciation as the starting point of dialectal distinction. As mentioned earlier, the informants in this study hardly sounded dissimilar from each other and therefore on the basis of this criterion they may not be identified as speaking a dialect different from Australian English. Even in terms of syntactic structure, which is viewed to characterise social dialects, the data do not reveal any fundamental differences between the speech of the two groups. As observed in the analysis, the discrepancies that emerge at the collective level from the two sets of data entail two distinct systems of cultural conceptualisations. Thus I propose that in order to provide an adequate account of dialects as distinctive varieties, it is necessary that they be viewed in terms of the cultural conceptualisations that they give rise to, over and above the surface levels of sound and structure. This may be viewed as an extension of Hymes's (1972) work on ethnography of communication where he anticipated the relationship of linguistic repertoire to cognitive repertoire. Palmer (1996) has also put forward the idea of marrying the ethnography of communication to cognitive linguistics.

Similarly, the results have implications for studies of code switching. Although several decades of research on code switching has produced a massive literature in this area, the concept of 'code' is still as unclear as it was half a century ago (Franceschini, 1998). The majority of studies on code switching have taken language as a point of departure in their description of instances of code switching. Even those who question such a view of 'code' in code switching (Meeuwis & Blommaert, 1998) still associate this phenomenon with some form of change in the surface linguistic features. The results of this study suggest that a surface change in linguistic behaviour may not necessarily mean the speaker is also able to change the way he or she conceptualises experience. In other words, it appears that although some Aboriginal speakers have been able to switch to Australian English in terms of phonology and syntax they still draw on their Aboriginal schemas and categories in formulating their speech. It appears that cultural conceptualisations are deeply seated in people and they are largely unconscious and as such they may not be so much available to consciousness for manipulation and 'switching' by people. The corollary to this observation is that the notion of 'code' in discussions of code switching may need to be delineated with reference to levels of linguistic behaviour that include the conceptual.

6.2 Limitations

As with any other inquiry into conceptual structures, this study has had to rely on overt behaviour to make inferences regarding the unobservable side of the human experience, that is, cognitive experience. The issue may even be more complicated when one is addressing conceptualisations at the group level. It is also recognized here that studying a relatively small sample of group members may not provide us with a perfect picture of the whole group.

With regard to the nature of "Anglo-Australian" society, it is also recognized that it is in fact not a homogeneous speech or even a cultural community, but it does find expression, linguistically at least, in Australian English and certain shared conceptualisations. Aboriginal groups seem to be distinct from other component groups of the Australian community, in that, only among them has a strongly distinctive dialect been maintained. It is, of course, certain that, in interlanguage situations many Australians of non-English speaking background will use English with conceptualisations which are not typical of Australian English, however in most cases these, being part of an interlanguage system will be transitory and will not be carried over into succeeding generations of English speakers.

6.3 Educational Implications

The results of this study have demonstrated, with respect to the population studied, that Aboriginal and Anglo-Australian participants in an educational setting operate on the basis of two distinct but overlapping conceptual systems. This pattern, however, is hardly evident in the surface features of these students' speech. As mentioned earlier, this has usually led teachers to believe that Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal students attending metropolitan schools speak one and the same dialect. The investigator has been involved in a number of professional development sessions for Western Australian educators, where the majority of teachers maintain that their Aboriginal students speak Australian English and not Aboriginal English.

The ramification of the above observation has been that teachers and educational systems have tended to make certain assumptions about the linguistic repertoire of Aboriginal students at school. For example, Aboriginal students have been expected to perfectly understand Standard Australian English spoken by their teachers and their classmate peers. Everything from the learning materials to the tests

The fact that, with respect to Aboriginal and "mainstream" students, there are two conceptual systems operating in schools similar to the ones where the data for this study were collected augments the chance of miscommunication between educators and students and between students themselves. Imagine cases where the following sentences, which were produced by Aboriginal informants in this study, would be interpreted differently with reference to either Aboriginal or Anglo-Australian conceptualisations:

your family is deadly

You look deadly

Interpreted with reference to Aboriginal conceptualisation, these utterances mean 'your family is great' and 'you look fantastic'. However, an Anglo Australian who is not familiar with the Aboriginal conceptualisations is likely to interpret these utterances as 'your family is dangerous' and 'you look scary'. It is not hard to imagine what sort of consequences such misunderstandings might have. Other examples of such potential misinterpretation would be where the following sentences from the data are interpreted with reference to Anglo-Australian conceptualisation:

– *shame to go to school*

– *Shame from the teacher*

– *I get shame when I see anybody else*

The use of the word *shame* in the above utterances is likely to guide Anglo-Australians to assume that the speaker feels guilty as a result of some wrongdoing, and therefore the speaker is inclined to either go to school or face others. This is,

however, far from reality. As it was discussed earlier in this study, for Aboriginal speakers there are certain situations which give rise to some form of discomfort, due to factors such as respect, unfamiliarity, or being singled out. School is an environment where Aboriginal students experience various forms of spotlighting, from being different from the majority to being singled out for learning activities and of course punishment and praise.

Several responses analysed in this study reflect the fact that even materials that are used at schools continue to create a 'shaming' situation for Aboriginal students by picturing Aboriginal people as 'black people who lived in the bush and mainly in the past, who made their own weapons, etc'. Such an image constructed by the publications may often lead to certain negative attitudes expressed in responses such as *scary, dangerous* to the word 'Aboriginal' by non-Aboriginal people (see Chapter 5).

On another level, there are significant implications arising from the way Aboriginal students conceptualise experience that can affect their school performance. For example, the way Aboriginal students conceptualise 'home' may have serious ramifications for school. There is anecdotal evidence showing that Aboriginal students may refer to their aunts' and uncles' houses as 'home' and this has sometimes been misjudged as 'lying' by school staff.

It is also common among teachers to design classroom activities around students' home experience. In doing so, teachers may consider, as a starting point, their own cultural conceptualisations and form certain presuppositions about students' experience. A teacher reported, for instance, an incident where she asked an Aboriginal student to describe his bed, to which the child replied "I don't have a bed Miss, I sleep on the couch".

The data collected for this study have consistently shown that for Aboriginal children, Family is the centre of existence; everything and everyone is about Family and every experience ends in Family. This of course moves much beyond simply a matter of word meaning and communication. In Aboriginal conceptualisation, Family is the first priority and overrides everything and anything in terms of its significance. Family obligations and responsibilities are the centre of one's existence. It has been discussed earlier in this study, in relation to several responses, that Aboriginal students assume familial responsibilities, such as helping their siblings and their parents, early in their life. Familial obligations may sometimes interfere with school schedule and thus an Aboriginal student may not attend school in order to stay home and help with certain familial issues. It is best for the school system to be informed of cultural conceptualisations that students bring to school to be able to recognize and accommodate the implications that such conceptualisations may have for school performance and attendance.

Another ramification of the Aboriginal conceptualisation of Family for the school system relates to issues of guardianship and responsibility. As mentioned before, for Aboriginal people the notion of guardianship often extends beyond that of immediate parents to include grandparents, uncles, aunties, etc. That is, one's extended family may share the guardianship of children and may often have an essential share in children's upbringing. The notion of responsibility for Aboriginal people is reciprocal and distributed in the sense that children and adults have mutual responsibilities towards each other and responsibilities again extend to the extended family members. Such a conceptualisation of guardianship and responsibility, however, is foreign to some school officials who regard parents and only the parents as children's guardians and responsible for children. Anecdotal evidence reveals

cases where schools have refused to cooperate with children's uncles and aunties, for example, where they have claimed guardianship of the children and such a clash has often resulted in serious complications.

Overall, it can be seen that differences in conceptualisation of experience can have serious implications for educational systems that aim at catering for the needs of culturally diverse students. These implications appear to relate to various levels of planning and implementation, and also appear to require measures to be taken in the direction of reforming policies and practices that are currently in place. It is hoped that this study has been able to shed some light on the appropriate directions that need to be taken in this regard.

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Appendices

Appendix I. Interpretation collection sheet

Inft's No	Stimulus word	Response	AIEO's Comments

APPENDIX II. BACKGROUND DATA SHEET

Tape label: ——————

Recording date: —————

Place: ————————————

Age: ————————————

Gender: ————————————

Year Level: ——————————

Background: Aboriginal ❑   non-Aboriginal ❑

Family cultural background (e.g., Nyungar)

Length of stay in Perth:

Consent form completed: ❑ yes   ❑ no

Where is the recording taking place? ——————————

Comments about the person's feelings (nervous, happy, excited etc.)

_____

_____

Anything else you think should be noted.

_____

_____

_____

Appendix III. Word List

- Learn
- Tree
- Aboriginal
- Home
- Food
- People
- Fight
- Family
- Country
- Fun
- Australia
- Camping
- Story
- Birds
- Animal
- Mum
- Dream
- Watching
- Take-away
- Walk
- Deadly
- park
- White
- Shame
- Life
- Lovely
- Important
- kangaroo
- smash
- speaking
- hunting
- going out

Appendix IV. Word Association Instructions

I'm going to read some words to you, one by one. After I say a word, tell me whatever you think of. There is no right or wrong. Do you want to ask any questions before we start?

Aboriginal (1)

1- Aboriginal
Dream, and bush,
2- Home
House, beds, doors, table, and kitchen, couch, a game, families,
3- Food
Bread, toast, Cornflakes, trupets, salad, and spaghetti, and meat, biscuits, ice cream, chips, chocolate, banana, orange,
4- People

5- Fight
People fight, like crying and that
6- Family
Mum, my sister, my dad, uncle, my annie, my nan, pop and my big brother
7- Country
Albany, cause I've been there, [several names of county places]
8- Fun
Playing, dance,
9- Australia
Countries, people, houses, cars,
10- Camping
A tent, and bush and people, and crabbing
11- Story
Books, reading,
12- Birds
Owls, crows, black birds,
13- Animal
Tiger, monkeys, crocodiles, alligators, crows, ducks, chickens, butterfly,
14- Mum

15- Dream
Bikes, a war, people fighting, yourself at the beach, yourself riding a bike, making something and that's it
16- Watching
Watching animals, watching people, watching pictures, people watching
17- Take-away
Take your things out of the house, take people take your things to family
18- Walk
You take your dog walk out for a walk, walk to aunnies, nanas, uncles, walk to school.
19- deadly
snakes, crocodiles, people, [F: Why did you say people? I: I don't know. AIEO: Do you mean people can kill people or, I: Tough, F: Tough means good? I: Yeah, AIEO: Yeah, solid.
20- park
swings, monkey bars, flying fox, slides,

21- White

22- shame
shame to say hello, shame to go to school, Shame to go to family [F: Why did you say "shame to go to school"? I: Like not used to school F: Why did you say "shame to go to family"? I: Like when you don't really know your old family, you're too shame to go]
23- life
cars, houses, clothes,
24- lovely
flowers, trees, family, house,
25- important
no fighting, no spitting, and no swearing, that's it
26- kangaroo
hop, claws, they are fast
27- smash
cars smashing like those clash, people fighting, airplanes crashing, people fighting like people smashing,
28 - speaking
speaking Chinese, Turkish, Noongar,
29- hunting
 sometimes I … dog, [name of a fish] [F: Why did you say dog? I: because we sometimes use dogs for hunting kangaroos, but they are really growls]
30- going out
shops., Fast Teddies, fish and chips, going out to your car, to get a house,

1- Aboriginal

2- Home
House, xxx,
3- Food
Steak-

4- People
Aboriginals, wangais, yamatjis, watjellas,
5- Fight
Arguing, swearing, kicking,
6- Family
Brothers, sisters, aunnie, uncles, nan, pops, father, nephew and nieces,
7- Country
Norsman (I've been there)
8- Fun
Laughter,
9- Australia
Perth, Kargooli, Esperance,
10- Camping
Camp, food, protection,
11- Story
Xxxx

12- Birds

13- Animal
Lion, zebras, tigers, leopards, monkeys, apes, gorillas, birds,
14- Mum
mother
15- Dream

16- Watching
Looking, listening,

17- Take-away

18- Walk
Run, walk,
19- deadly

20- park
swings, sand, trees, grass,
21- White

22- shame
when you're feeling down and sad for what you've done,
23- life
you've only got one of them,

24- lovely
what do you mean, pretty, beautiful,
25- important

28- kangaroo
jumps, feed eat it,
29- smash
something that breaks, somebody fighting,
30 - speaking
talking, yelling, screaming,
31- hunting
 catching, chasing,
32- going out
nice cars, train, transport,

1- Aboriginal
Family, skin is brown,
2- Home
House, xxx,
3- Food
Steak-

4- People
Aboriginals, wangais, yamatjis, watjellas,
4- Fight
Arguing, swearing, kicking,
5- Family
Brothers, sisters, aunnie, uncles, nan, pops, father, nephew and nieces,
6- Country
Norsman (I've been there)
7- Fun
Laughter,
8- Australia
Perth, Kargooli, Esperance,
9- Camping
Camp, food, protection,
10- Story
Xxxx

11- Birds
Some got colored wings, feather, some are big some're small, they all hunt for
food, some eat fish some don't, some fly and some don't

12- Animal
Lion, zebras, tigers, leopards, monkeys, apes, gorillas, birds,

13- Mum
mother
14- Dream
When you go to sleep you dream sometimes,
15- Watching
Looking, listening,

16- Take-away
Take back, junk food, [when you take some away from someone you take it back, it's
not good to take away it might not be yours]
17- Walk
Run, walk,
18- deadly
dangerous,
19- park
swings, sand, trees, grass,
20- White
The color white is really bright,

21- shame
when you're feeling down and sad for what you've done,
22- life
you've only got one of them,
23- lovely
what do you mean, pretty, beautiful,
24- important
Special
28- kangaroo
jumps, feed eat it,
29- smash
something that breaks, somebody fighting,
30 - speaking
talking, yelling, screaming,
31- hunting
 catching, chasing,
32- going out
nice cars, train, transport,

1- Aboriginal

Nice people, language, I like all kinds of Aboriginals if they are darker than me, any kinds,

2- Home

Noisy sometimes, video,

3- Food

Lasagna, chips, pies, salad, hot chips, Mailow, biscuits, meat, chocs, pizza, garlic bread, bread Nattlea,

4- People

Aboriginals, white people, Chinese people, and other countries,

5- Fight

Scary sometimes, good, not really good, but makes you tough, bad and sad, it's alright, I like fighting, not that much like wrestling, if someone hits me I hit them right back,

6- Family

Nice, happy, sometimes sad, most of the time happy

F: Why did you say 'sometimes sad'?

I: cause we heaps of people who died in our family.

7- Country

Weigne, Narrajin, Kattanin, Nabaka, Albani,

8- Fun

Going out, going to ten pin bowling, going to too much fun, going shopping, going to modeling, going to town, playing football, playing net ball, playing soccer,

9- Australia

We're lucky, it's fun, lots of places to go, pools, shopping centers, plains, car, motorbikes, rives, boats, rivers, sea, fish, everything

10- Camping

I haven't been camping before, but it's all right, fun, good,

11- Story

The twin twigs, Mazing, books,

12- Birds

I like all kinds of birds, cockatoo, parrot, magpie, bird,

13- Animal

I have some pets, one we used to have a kangaroo, two rabbits, the kangaroo's name was Skippy, I had four mouces,

14- Mum

Happy, fun, exciting, boring, mainly boring, cleaning stuff all the time, clean, teacher, school,

15- Dream

Stars, good dream, bad dream, ugly dreams, disgusting dreams, healthy dreams, school, to much fun,

F: What's a bad dream?

I: Someone eating you up.

16- Watching

Being witch, Wheel of fortune, TV, shoes, actress, video, playing Nintendo, basketball, tennis, ten ball, outside, trees, flowers, cars, motorbikes, bikes, park,

17- Take-away

Take away food, take away clothes, toys, pencils, paper, glasses, chips, lasagna, books, flowers, painting, pizza,

18- Walk

Fun, happy, relaxed, comfortable, walk for a long time, walking is good for your,

19- deadly

cars, play, shoes, bikes, houses, dogs, school, I think deadly is boss, like that's deadly that car, people, houses,

20- park

swings, slides, flying fox,

21- White

Boring, happy,

22- Shame

I'm not shame, good, bad, people, animals, when I see other people I go around and hide, school, people, swearing, fighting,

23- life

happy, boring, fun, going to school,

24- lovely

I don't like the sound of lovely, it's too girlish, books, pictures, houses, something doing for someone, helping people, listening to your people, respect,

25- important

family, friends, school, police, ambulance, fire engines, dresses, houses, paper, money, hair dresses, shops, books, pencil,

26- kangaroo

jumping, fast, good to eat,

27- smash

what do you mean by smash? F: What do you think? I: people, glasses window, smash when you fight, houses, computers,

28 - speaking

What do you mean speaking? F: Whatever comes to your mind. I: Singing, saying things, learning new words to say

29- hunting

 fun, sad, the animal gets killed, delicious, when you get to that part of eating it, fun, guns, bush,

30- going out

ten pin bowling, Carossel, in cars, going Albany, going shopping, going bike riding, walking around, running, buying stuff

What if I say I hate school?

1- Aboriginal

Cool, because Aboriginals was the first one in Australia, cool, they draw some stuff, they make spears, boomerangs, and an Kangaroo skin that's for jumpers, and like walking round in the bush

2- Home

Home is good, it protects you from storm and it's a good shelter from stuff like dogs, and some wind an from stuff falling on the roof so it doesn't fall in your house an keep warm, and good place to sleep and live, and that's it

3- Food

sometimes I eat yaki food that I don't like, sometimes I eat good food like ice cream an Pizza and sometimes I have salad sandwich, and some cheese, and the food that I like best is xxx, hamberger, potato, chicken, in a role

4- People

Some people can be very nice, some people can be a bit sad, some people can be a bit grumpy, some people are friends and some people I don't like, some people that are mean, some people lots of people, and people can be very nice and people can be can hurt themselves, people can die, people can get very old, that's it

5- Fight

Sometimes I don't like fights, sometimes people pinch stuff from you so I wanna fight with them, lots of people fight in the street and so many shots, xxx fighting is a bad thing too because you can go to jail, biig trouble

6- Family

Sometimes we don't have families and some nice families, and some bad families, and I've got a family and some people don't

7- Country

I like country so it can be a rich country, so you can talk differently, different countries, country that I'm in now is Australia and the best country that I like is India, China, and Queensland and Western Australia [Why India? Cause India is cool.]

8- Fun

Fun is good, an xxx it's good to be fun, you can be happy and good stuff, playing with your friends, happy, doing things.

9- Australia

Australia is a big country, it's in a big globe of universe and in Australia they've got lots of countries, New South Wales, Queensland, Northern Territory, and lots of countries in and that's it

10- Camping

I like camping, we going camping sometimes with uncles and cousins and stuff, sometimes we sleep in a tent, sometimes we sleep in our house, sometimes we stay in a friend's house xxx and you can go out hunting and we play hide and seek, and you can play spotlight,

11- Story

I like stories, xxx sometimes people they like stories, some people don't like stories, night stories, my brother and sister like stories, good for you to listen to when you go to bed, and then you go to sleep so you don't get scared, that's it

12- Birds

I like birds, they're colorful, they can fly high, they got nice pretty wings, their feathers they tickle, and they know if it's gonna be a rain so they fly out to warm place, and xxx parrots and the twin twigs

13- Animal

Animals I like animals, cause they got different shapes and sizes, some's got sharp teeth, some got no teeth, people use them to protect them when they go for a walk, xxx when you walk to a shop or somewhere you walk your dog with you too and the best thing about animal they look after ya

14- Mum

Mum? she is nice xxx on school days not on holidays, because she often you know aks me if I can sleep over my friend's house, and sometimes I have sweets at my friend's house after dinner, and sometimes I have parties at my friend's house, mum has her birthday sometimes, mum makes some birthday cake for my dad and sister or brother, or my birthday, and she but dad makes a cake and buys one when it's mum's birthday, and sometimes we get our presents and she mum's very nice

15- Dream

Some good dreams, I like good dreams, but I don't like the nightmares, and sometimes I wake up in the middle of my dreams, cause I have nightmares in the middle of the night or 1 o'clock in the morning, then I try to go back to sleep, xxx sometimes I have a dream sometimes I stay up all night, sometimes my dreams just bin black, and my head is just being black, my head's seeping too, my brain, that's dead, [your head is playing black? Yeah I can't dream, it's just playing black cause my eyes are trying to clean, sometimes I get up, das when I don sleep, I just see nothing, but I jus think of good stuff]

16- Watching

Watching, like watching TV, and I watch some newspapers, xxx watching pictures, an watching animals, and watching bird, and watching watching the city, watching stuff in the water, and thas it

17- Take-away

Take away food, I like take away food sometimes I don't sometimes I do, like when it's got chocolate and it's yak and lots of people say it's good but I say it's not good and I don't eat much take away food sometimes I do when I'm hungry, but when I'm not hungry I jus make a sandwich wif cheese and butter an tomato xxx

18- Walk

Walk um cause um I walk to school, I walk back home, I go on a walk to my friends' house or sometimes I ride and I walk for a little stretch, I walk around, walk to shopping centres and walk just about everywhere, sometimes I go for a walk with my friends to my football and to skating Friday night

19- deadly

deadly like deadly animals, like sharks, crocodiles, and snakes and whales and goannas and some can be fish, can nick your skin off, and deadly ye can be good ye can be a big person, cool

20- park

sometimes my mum drives me to the park, and she parks in the parking spot, and I play in the park, I play in the sand xxx on the playground run around and have a rest on the grass n look the sky xxx

21- White

I like the color while and it's it's my favorite color, and xxx and like white dog, white house, and got inside paint,

22- shame

sometimes when I go to my friend's or house and I see their mum I feel a bit shame and some people say shame on you and some people can be shame when they see other people

23- life

It's good to have a life so you can go to your friend places and xxx and in time you get old, cause your life gets old,

24- lovely

like flowers and houses and animals and things that are in the city like cars, xxx clothes,

25- important

important to be at home after school, and important to clean up and before I go to school have a shower and it's important to wait for everyone to finish work and I can go to my friends house on my bike, and it's important not to ride on the road cause you can get hit by a car, and that's it

26- kangaroo

kangaroo I like going out to get some kangaroos and eat and tails and it tastes very nice and kangaroo skin can be white or brown and sometimes you can keep pat joeys, you can see them in the zoo, or out in the bush, or people like the mum of my friend is a ranger that goes to the bush to see the kangaroos, might have a joey take away to look at it and xxx

27- smash

my friends .. not my friends my cousins sometimes they throw a rock at thing to smash, people got a some people has a smashed cars, or smashed television, smashed toys, and smashed plate or bike

28- speaking

some people can't speak some people can, or some people can talk a lot and some people can be quiet, and sometimes my friend talks a lot, and my friend's brother and sister doesn't, auntie and uncle,

29- hunting

 kangaroos I go hunting kangaroos and stuff, and sometimes when I go hunting I see snakes, xxx some rabbits, lots of trees and stuff, and there's lots of animals

30- going out

Oh I like going out to the movies, and going out to church and going out to my friends house, going out to going out to xxx or going out to to places, going out to to uncle and aunties, to a party or something, or to your friend's party, that's it

Aboriginal (6)

1- Aboriginal
Noongars, and Yamatjis,
2- Home
Keep your house clean, healthy,
3- Food
Healthy food, don't eat junk food,
4- People
Families, friends, cousins, uncles and aunties, an pops, and mums and dad
5- Fight
Against people, bullying somebody, knock over people's or steal people's lunches, or put rubbish in people's bags,
6- Family
We have mum and a dad an sisters and brothers, my uncle, my two sisters, and me
7- Country
Perth, don't know that one
8- Fun
When you do sports, competitions, being nice to other people, playing safely, playing xxx
9- Australia
Western Australia, don't know that one
10- Camping
Bring your stuff, bring sleeping bags,
11- Story
Read Pooh Bear story, an Noongar stories, when you're out in the bushes, an I know how to make fire with a stick [showing with gestures] cause when we do Noongar xxx well um we get a stick and dig it in the ground an do that thing that's fire
12- Birds
Make nests in the tree, and they lay eggs, and xxx
13- Animal
Elephant, giraffes, lizards, crocodiles, penguins, cats, an dogs, an birds, an rabbits, lizard,
14- Mum
Mums help you mums make your lunch, mums wash your clothes, mums makes the room tidy, an buys you lolli,
15- Dream
Scary dreams an comes sometimes it comes true, that's what my grandpa, not my gradpa, my nana says it, she tells me stories and what comes true and what comes not true [can you tell me what comes true?] stories, dreams, and I saw, I think I saw about Simpson, Bat had a dream that came true
16- Watching
Watching TV, Simpsons, Neighbors, watch Rag rats and watch I can't remember it
17- Take-away
Take away things, I mean steal things, an you get in trouble by the police an your mum and dad
18- Walk
It's good exercise for you, do power walk and nothing else.
19- deadly

means when you do good working, not good working when you get when're on the stage and you go around and when ye show your work to other people and they think it's very nice and they say deadly to it, and my mum and my dad and my auntie calls me deadly if I do good things, an my uncle an he says deadly to me when I play with my cousins

20- park

have fun on the playground, roller-skating at the park or bike riding

21- White

White pencil, white pen, white seats, white wood, white house

22- shame

when you're shy when you're to school or when xxx holidays when go on holidays, when you go to your friend things, your shy and not shy you get used to em

23- life

when you have a bad life or a good life, or happy life or sad life,

24- lovely

see a nice house, when you see a nice building, nice traffic, nice schools, an nice people and they nice to you and they bring in toys and it's nice and people's work, an nothing else

25- important

important is when somebody's hurt, I mean people uncomfortable and when people are sad and [is it for important? silence]

26 - kangaroo

run so fast across the road, if they can't find their feed they walk over to find some over there in the trees, that's what my mum told me when I'm staying with my mum and she hit a kangaroo she said 'e wanted to go have some find some feed cause he couldn't find some feed on that side [idiosyncratic schema].

27- smash

smash a window and smash people

28- speaking

speaking nice, speaking mean, telling sad stories,

29 - hunting

 hunting for food, hunting for Easter eggs, hunting for lollies,

30- going out

going out to visit your grandma or your pop in hospital, or visiting your friends, visiting your family, when you party, and when you are at the park, visiting uncles and aunties, visiting friends cousins

Aboriginal (7)

1- Aboriginal
Aboriginal flag, Aboriginal people, Aboriginal kid,
2- Home
Talk to your mum at home, bring people at home, read at home, pick some flowers at home, watch TV at home,
3- Food
Eat at home, have bananas, apples, grapes,
4- People
Meet people, see people, xxx
5- Fight
People fight, some people have play fight, real fight,
6- Family
Happy family, great family, have picnic with family, have party with your family, wake up with family
7- Country
I can't think of that one
8- Fun
Have fun at the park, too much fun, have fun at home, park, talk to your mum, that's fun, play a game, watch video,
9- Australia
Born in Australia, Australia park, sing Australia [that's about the National Anthem they sing every morning]
10- Camping
Go camping, sleep in a house when ye go camping [which house is that? When we went camping with … we lived in a big house, like a two-storied and that's xxx [and whose house is that? That's far away from here? AIEO: Is that a house in Esperance? Yeah]
11- Story
Read stories to kids, read stories to mum, umm I think that's it
12- Birds
Feed birds, feed white birds, feed I think that's it
13- Animal
Elephant, giraffe, zebra, horse, donkey, monkey, gorilla, cat, dog, some birds, butterfly,
14- Mum
Bring presents for mum, bring cake home for mum, mum goes everywhere, mum goes out to Sydney, mums catch fish, mums go takes kids everywhere, [AIEO: Do you go fishing at all? With dad, AIEO: and does mum come with you? Uhu, cause when we went up to my uncle's house which we ..some people catch thing and we didn't know what they were, they were catching fish.
15- Dream
Dream of a funny rabbit, dream for a present, dream for a happy birthday, dream about everywhere, dream when you go have a cubby,
16- Watching
TV, watching people, watching people go down the slide, watching people draw, that's it

17- Take-away
Take-away McDonalds, take-away Chinese, take-away 'ungry Jacks,

18- Walk

Walk to the park, walk to people's houses, walk to school, walk to pools, walk to the kitchen, walk to the room

19- deadly

deadly clothes, deadly motorbike, an deadly room,

20- park

xxx play at the park,

21- White

White car, white pencil, white book, white shoes, white folder

22- shame

shame of people, shame to go everywhere [why did you say shame to go everywhere? Cause my mum takes me to my cousins. AIEO: and you get shame down there? Yeah. AIEO: are they bigger than you? My cousin um my mum takes me there and I get shy cause they have a dog.

23- life

save people's lives, um save people on horses, save people on motorbike

24- lovely

lovely flowers, lovely gardens, lovely house, lovely picture, lovely TV,

25- important

some people are important,

28- kangaroo

seeing Kangaroo on the bushed, see kangaroo's dead, see kangaroo's baby, see that's it [have you seen dead kangaroos? We seen two dead kangaroos on the way we get home. AIEO: when driving along? Yeah cause me and my cousin we saw two dead kangaroos]

29- smash

smash glass, smash windows, smash computer, smash phone, smash TV

30 - speaking

speaking to your mum and dad, speaking to uncle and auntie, speaking to your cousins, speaking to your friends, speaking to teacher

31- hunting

 hunting for bears, hunting for emu, hunting for kangaroo, hunting for crokodile, hunting for I think that's it [Hunting for bears? Have you been hunting bears? My dad we haven't been hunting for bears for very long time, but my dad is gonna takes us out for hunting for bears tomorrow. Tomorrow? Yap]

32- going out

going out to the zoo, going out to Adventure world, going out to church, going out to aunties, going out to your cousins, going out to friends

1- Aboriginal
Making damper, having medicine off leaves,
2- Home
Cleaning up at home, watching TV at home, having a swim at home,
3- Food
Making vegetables, making dinner,
4- People
Walking on the footpath, driving cars,
5- Fight
Hitting, pinching, kicking,
6- Family
Having dinner with the family, having a party, having a going out to a restaurant, Walking with the family, [who is your family? My mum, my sister, my brother, and my little cousin and my uncle]
7- Country
Driving your car to umm to Bunbary, living in Esperance, staying at Kalgooli, live at Portheadland, live go somewhere to stay in Koogari, camping for night at Broom, [have you been to all these places? Yeah. Do you like them all? Aha]
8- Fun
Sliding down in the waterslide, doing a swim xxx in the pool,
9- Australia
Seeing Australia, talking of Australia, [seeing here refers to seeing the map]
10- Camping
Camping in a tent, having dinner and camping out, **camp at your friend's house,**
11- Story
Reading a book, laying down and reading, reading a book xxx pretend to sleep,
12- Birds
A bird's flying
13- Animal
Being a Kangaroo, being an emu, being a Koala, being a poky pine, being a Kangarro being a Koala
14- Mum
Giving a mother's day card to your mum, giving chocolates to your mum, having chocolates at night, making something for your mum,
15- Dream
Having scary dreams, having [what do you see in your scary dreams? Aliens and monsters,
16- Watching
Watching a bird, watching a rabbit, watching a rabbit, watching a
17- Take-away
Having pluses, take-aways, having fat food,
18- Walk
Waking to the park, walking to school, walking with somebody.
19- deadly
when you got good clothes on and brand new shoes and brand new hat,
20- park
having a swing, taking your dog for a walk,
21- White
Making white with pink out of paint,

22- shame

being shame of somebody, [what do you mean "being shame of somebody"? AIEO: when're you shame of somebody? That you don't know

23- life

you heart stops beating,

24- lovely

when you got lovely clothes, and you love your great great nana

25- important

when you got important phone calls, an when you got important work, when you got important hard work,

26- - kangaroo

shooting kangaroos, eating kangaroo stew, eating kangaroo meat, being a kangaroo

27- smash

28- speaking

speaking to your parents, speaking to your mum, speaking to your aunties, speaking to your nan um pop, speaking to your speaking to the principal,

29 hunting

 hunting for food, hunting for

30 going out

going out to a party, going out to your friends, going out to the pool,

1   Aboriginal
Aboriginal dance, Aboriginal song,
2   Home
Do dishes, cleaning up, be kind at home, sweeping, cleaning the table, cleaning the lounge room, cleaning your room, cleaning the laundry an the bathroom, help them put their clothes on and their shoes [F: help who? help people with their shoes. Right, Na who are the people? I: Pardon? F: Who are the people? AIEO: What people do you help put on their shoes? I: [Sister's name] and my cousin. F: She lives with you? I: nod. F: right
3   Food
I eat my food up, I eat bread,
4   People
Playing people at the park, through the oval, making friends with people, playing nicely with people you don't know,
5   Fight
Xxx start to fight, annoy someone, help someone you think they are you friend but they start to fight, [F: what was it? AIEO: you think someone is your friend and they help you but they start fighting. F: all right]
6   Family
Talk to your family very nicely, talk to your family you don't know, ye respect someone's orders, don't be cheeky, [f: why did you say "family's you don't know? Which family is that? I: AIEO: The informant has been living with an Aboriginal foster family]
7   Country
It's cold in the country, windy, [F: which country did you think of when we said country? Can you give me the name of that town? I: Yes, but I don't know. AIEO: Somewhere you've been to that you were thinking of or somewhere you like to be I: Somewhere I've already been].
8   Fun
Making things, play, playing at park, playing chasing, hide an seek, xxx, watch for deers,
9   Australia
It's nice in Australia, it's a nice thing in Australia, sing a song about Australia,
10 Camping
It's nice going camping, camping somewhere you haven't ever been, xxx it's fun,
11 Story
Story about ghost snake, own stories, good stories, reading about insect books
12 Birds
Bird can be on trees, on top of your roof, it can lie on the ground, it flies, it can be cockatoo birds, dat's it,
13 Animal
Elephants, tigers, lions, cheetahs, kangaroos, birds, parrots, turkeys,
14 Mum
Ye can help your mum, help her clean up, clean her room up, xxx
15 Dream
Dream of something, dreams about where you haven't been, xxx, also where you want to go, somewhere like a big park,
16 Watching

Watching TV, watching a rain, watching them putting their shoe right way, watching if they've got everything for their lunch
17 Take-away
Takeaway something for lunch, take away things that don't belong to them, taking away people's things like skates, take away mask
18 Walk
Walking to the shops, walking to get something for yer parents, walk to school, walk home, walk someone's place, walk to their friends house, walk to park, walk to xxx the train station,
19 deadly
I don't know that one [AIEO: So what would you say if your auntie said "deadly" to you? I: Thank you. F: You would say thank you? I: Yeah.
20 park
I like going to the park, someone drive you to the park, someone comes to a big park,
21 White
White board, white paper, a white plug, white book, white box, white table, white bench, white chair, white shoes,
22 shame
Shame of someone you haven't seen before, some of your people you're shame of them, [F: What? AIEO: Shame of people you haven't seen for a while, unna? I: for a long time], shame of someone that you haven't seen,
23 life
life in nice, like is fun,
24 lovely
lovely breeze, lovely smell, nice breezes, nice flowers, nice house, nice and clean house,
25 important
change your clothes, go to school everyday, read everyday, important to go to school everyday, important to be clean and have a shower, and wash yourself with a soap and wash your hair with shampoo,
26- kangaroo
they jumps, very high, at a zoo, they got a pouch with their little a ba joey, you see em at a zoo,
27- smash
Smashing a window with a tennis ball, playing net ball, smashing window
28 - speaking
speaking nicely, speak nicely at home, speak nicely at school, speaking nicely to someone,
29- hunting
 hunting food, hunting for kangaroo, hunting for gold, [F: have you been hunting far kangaroos? I: yep. Have you had it? I: Nod, F: Eaten kangaroo? I: Nod, kangaroo tail, F: yum? I: an kangaroo soup F: yum? yep]
30- going out
going out town, going out in Perth, in town, in the city, going up to a circus and to a show,

1- Aboriginal

People that were here before us,

2- Home

Place where I live, place where I go to have food an drink

3- Food

Stuff that we eat to keep us alive,

4- People

Human, living things

5- Fight

People fight when they disagree and they're angry at each other,

6- Family

A relation, people with the same house

7- Country

An island, Australia,

8- Fun

To enjoy something

9- Australia

10- Camping

11- Story

12- Birds

13- Animal

14- Mum

15- Dream

16- Watching

17- Take-away

18- Walk

19- deadly

20- park

21- White

22- shame

23- life

24- lovely

25- important

26- kangaroo

27- smash

28 - speaking

29- hunting

30- going out

1- Aboriginal
Nice,
2- Home
I like it, it's fun,
3- Food
Yum, I like it
4- People
They're nice,
5- Fight
I don't like fighting
6- Family
I love em,
7- Country
Different, [F: why did say different? I: Cause they're different, F: what is different?
Like they are out like in the bush an that]
8- Fun
Enjoy it,
9- Australia
It's a good place, I like it, clean, with heaps of bush
10- Camping
I like it, it's fun,
11- Story
I like reading and I like telling,
12- Birds
They're nice, they're different
13- Animal
Different animals
14- Mum
I like her, she's nice, she's the best mum in the world
15- Dream
They're nice
16- Watching
I like it watching TV an that
17- Take-away
I like it [AIEO: you mean the food? I: yeah]
18- Walk
I like to walk a lot, It's fun
19- deadly
poisonous,
20- park
It's fun, there's heaps of things that you play with
21- White
It's a good color,
22- shame

23- life
it's good,
24- lovely

25- important
reading a lot is important
26- kangaroo
I like the color of them, and
27- smash
what do you mean? AIEO: what do you think when we say smash? I: drop something xxx
28 - speaking
I like to talk a lot
29- hunting
Never been hunting
30- going out
I like to go out, it's fun

1- Aboriginal
Oh, I think of Aboriginal people and the colors of their flag which is red, yellow, and black, and um they are black people,

2- Home
My nice bed, that's nice and soft and I like going to sleep, because I just like going to sleep, and I think about my family at home, an my cat [F: who's your family? I: my mum, my dad and my sister]

3- Food
I think of fruit and veg, I think of meat, an um mostly I think of the 5 food groups

4- People
I think about my family again, I think of people in the community, and my cousins and my relatives, just about everybody

5- Fight
I think of getting scared and being scared mostly

6- Family
I think of all the people in my family [F: Who are they? I: My mum, my dad, an my sister]

7- Country
I think how safe my country is, because we're not fighting all the time, and we've got nice people, mostly

8- Fun
I've been fun I think, like playing like going around to my dad's friend's house even though it's not built yet, we go around to see when he's gonna build it because he just bought a block of land,

9- Australia
Ah, when I think of Australia, I think of what the shape of it is and how many people are in Australia, cause I don't know yet, [F: 18 million now] and wonder how Australia became to be

10- Camping
All I can think of is the time when went camping with my family went camping

11- Story
I love to read stories, cause I always read stories in bed, an at chapter one I wonder how everything is gonna work out, even though I always get it wrong,

12- Birds
I think of what colors they are and how many are they because there's lots of birds and how many birds my nanny used to keep, cause she had lots of birds, actually sold them off, except two

13- Animal
I think my nanny's dogs, my cat, um any kind of animal really,

14- Mum
I think that she's kind, an quite grumpy, cause she doesn't have to go so hard on me sometimes, and

15- Dream
What dream I'm gonna have tonight, an what dream I'm gonna have next night, an I dream of my dreams that I've already had,

16- Watching
Watching television, I like it, an I like watching people playing with computer, and watching people do things and watching myself do things

17- Take-away

It isn't healthy sometimes because Macdonald isn't really healthy, and that's yumi
and you go and order it and you take it away
18- Walk
Walking down the park, walking down the street if there isn't any park, and walking
across the road, walking through the bush,
19- deadly
people being dead,
20- park
that in a park there's swings, monkey bars, things like that and they have fun I haven't
got a park around my house
21- White
White paint, red and white together and that makes pink, white makes lots o things
very bright, an things in the areas around us is white,
22- shame
it's like when you lose then you have to walk of shame because you didn't win, and
shame when you're being bad
23- life
everybody has lives, an people say cats have nine lives which I don't believe
24- lovely
something nice, pretty,
25- important
something that you have to do urgently, give something to someone,
26- kangaroo
Aborigines kill kangaroos to eat, and you can have kangaroo stew, kangaroos hop,
and that's about it
27- smash
something breaking, an it's like window breaking, except you don't have window
smashing it's window breaking,
28 - speaking
speaking right now and everybody speaks the … ummm
29- hunting
 um people go hunting to see animals and that, like my dad used to take me , like
people go hunting to look for squirrels, just about every thin
30- going out
going out having fun like going places

19- Aboriginal
People with brown dark skin,
20- Home
Xxx Bedrooms and stuff
21- Food

22- People
Friends, family, grandparents, an great great grandparents
23- Fight
People xxx fight
24- Family
People who share your house with, and parents [F: and who is your family? I: My mum, my dad and my brother]
25- Country
States, countries,
26- Fun
Excitement, playing, an sometimes you wok with fun
27- Australia
Um a huge Australia, it's continent but a country, from um and we have six colonies came to create Australia,
28- Camping
Camping ooh? I think of bush, camps, foxes, wolves, trees, [F: have you been camping a lot? I: I've been to Kalbury]
29- Story
Words, it's chapters in it
30- Birds
xxx
31- Animal
Tigers, birds, chickens, play with animals,
32- Mum
Some mum are nice an um
33- Dream
Something you get in the night, sometimes you have bad dreams, sometimes you have good
34- Watching
Watching? Cameras, people watching televisions, xxx
35- Take-away
Food, it's somewhere you can dine or you can like you can dine or you can pick up take it home, you can just take you food and walk home
36- Walk

37- deadly
snakes, poisonous, goanna
38- park
lying on the grass and swings,
39- White

40- shame

you're shamed of yourself because you've done something really strange or people
just angry at you,
41- life
our bodies, health, bodies, our health
42- lovely
I think of flowers, um think of my dog
43- important
um to be at interviews is important, being a principal is important, xxx
26- kangaroo
red kangaroo, they hop, fast, and has a pouch for their babies, and jump
27- smash
a ball could smash window, um xxx
28 - speaking
I think of my voice
29- hunting
 hunting, guns,
30- going out
going out to get something special, and nice and xxx

1- Aboriginal
All the Aboriginals um a big corroboree, all the Aboriginals hunting
2- Home
It's like Nintendo, mainly my mum and dad big hug and kisses
3- Food
Chocolate, apples and pears, xxx
4- People
When you're shaking hands with somebody,
5- Fight
We bash somebody up, you get in big trouble
6- Family
All my family, my brothers and sisters, my mum and my dad
7- Country
All the people in the county, like all the Aboriginals, everybody from everywhere
8- Fun
Me having fun playing with my friends, my cousins and that,
9- Australia
Island covered with water, all the people in Australia,
10- Camping
Me sleeping in sleeping bag, um going hunting,
11- Story
You're writing story about a dragon,
12- Birds
Big birds fly and um bird having egg, an um little baby birds, mother bird coming
down giving baby some food,
13- Animal
All the animals like elephants all my favorite animals, tigers,
14- Mum
My mum and lots of hug,
15- Dream
Dreaming about something,
16- Watching
Me watching, me watching like TV or something

17- Take-away
Take-away food like Macdonald's, chips and ice cream
18- Walk
Walking across the street,
19- deadly
stuff like deadly stuff like poisonous animals and stuff like that,
20- park
me going to a park may footing a football with my dad an my brother an my sister and
my mum
21- White
All the color white, and all things that are white like butterflies and that,
22- shame
like when I've done something really bad and I feel like Real bad and that's all
23- life
living my life,

24- lovely

something lovely, um be on my family

25- important

something important like I don't know

26- kangaroo

big kangaroo, people trying to hunt kangaroo, kangaroo can get away, [F: you said people try to hunt kangaroo, who are these people? I: mainly Aboriginals but may be some all the people like white people hunting too, but mostly Aboriginals

27- smash

when somebody like may be gang of people like they could have baseball bat or something and they smash up somebody's car, and it's like they smack up people and that's all

28 - speaking

me speaking from the class,

29- hunting

somebody hunting for something, like people hunting for whales and animals and that and for food

30- going out

Me going out to somebody's house, like to my friend's house, cousin,

1- Aboriginal

A person who's different color, has culture, eating different stuff like vigiti crops but not like chips and stuff

2- Home

Somewhere where you live, have fun, eat there, sleep there,

3- Food

Eat it, sometimes they'll get to play with it,

4- People

Living, growing, walking, talking, buying stuff, selling stuff, that's all

5- Fight

Angry, mad, punching and kicking, and hurting, injuries, bruise, that's all

6- Family

You go somewhere with 'em, have fun with em, when's your birthday they'll be there

7- Country

Something you respect, that's all I can think of

8- Fun

Sometimes laughing, playing, may be xxx

9- Australia

Respect, language, culture, that's all

10- Camping

Going somewhere you never been before, meeting friends, having fun, that's all

11- Story

Something might be made-up, might be not, like Cinderella and three bears, and something to make you to fall sleep at night time,

12- Birds

Something that flies, lives, hatches eggs, eat, feeds their babies, um makes sure the baby's safe

13- Animal

All sorts of different animals, like dogs, cat, birds, an something that lives don't need to eat and drink some don't need to drink or eat, there's lots of different animals

14- Mum

Someone who cares for you, loves you, help you with homework, that's all

15- Dream

Something that's nice and peaceful, like something magical

16- Watching

Watching there's lots of different things to watch, like TV, animals, things, plants, grow, farming crops,

17- Take-away

Something like you go to a res.. you ring up someone and you place an order and they'll make it, and they'll when you come they'll give it to you and then you pay for it.

18- Walk

Something that can be good exercise, and good travel, without have to using your car, cause you might run out, walk with friend's family

19- deadly

lota of different deadly stuff like snake helicopters if you'going like thing and they can kill something deadly can kill you,

20- park

somewhere where you go and play soc … ball or have fun there, go there with your family and play

21- White

Someone who is different color from Aboniginal person, there's lots of different white people like from other countries, and it's a color like for there's black paper you can just use white crayon, that's all

22- shame

something that can be pretty embarrassing, you don't wanna do sometimes, that's all

23- life

something that you take care of yourself, and

24- lovely

like there's a game, you really want it, and you ask your mum real nicely an something like that, tha's all

25- important

something that's important like documents, you shouldn't lose them and stuff, an something like a pet that is important to you and your family

26- kangaroo

It's a animal, it has babies, it hops around, in dry places, eats leave

27- smash

there's different sorts of smash, like someone says I'm gonna smash you at the school, like that, and there's also smash something like a glass like a mirror

28 - speaking

29- hunting

30- going out

1- Aboriginal
People that were here before us,
2- Home
Somewhere where you go before dark, get dinner
3- Food
That you eat, and that keeps us alive,
4- People
Human beings,
5- Fight
People punch and hit each other and kick,
6- Family
Someone you are alike to, like your mum
7- Country
Land where your home is on,
8- Fun
Enjoy yourself
9- Australia
Country,
10- Camping
It's better than staying at home, going to the bush or something, an set up a tent and sleep there for awhile
11- Story
You read a story that someone has written,
12- Birds
Animal that flies around,
13- Animal
All types of variety of them, they're like human beings, but some of them have four legs,
14- Mum
Someone that's related to you, and someone who birth you know where you born,
15- Dream
Falling sleep and think about something or a goal,
16- Watching
Looking at something, watching TV,
17- Take-away
When you have something and then you get take-away food and stuff,
18- Walk
To get somewhere, or instead of running you can walk
19- deadly
something that's dangerous to us, and you get bitten by it or something, you can go to the hospital,
20- park
somewhere where you go and play sometimes, cause there's swings, an a big area to play,
21- White
Color, an you can mix it together with another color and turn the color lighter,
22- shame
you feel embarrassed
23- life

you live
24- lovely
beautiful
25- important
something special, you can do it early
26- kangaroo
another type of animal which hops around, xxx
27- smash
somebody might throw something at window,
28 - speaking

29- hunting

30- going out

1- Aboriginal

My dad's Aboriginal, Pauline and Macy an me [F: Who are those? AIEO: Her two sisters]

2- Home

You live in there,

3- Food

Good food, everything you could eat,

4- People

5- Fight

You can get a pink slip if you fight, an you might get **jarred** from your dad

6- Family

I got a family, [AIEO: Who's in your family? [names of people][F: who are these people? I: My cousins and relatives? [names continued]

7- Country

Indonesia, Perth, Cathera, Labedon, Western Australia, that's still Perth, Kalgooli, [a name], Bunbary, [F: Have you been to all these places? I: nah F: So how do you know all these places? I've been to Cathera, bin Portheadland, I bin to I haven't bin to Canb there's Canberra,

8- Fun

can have fun at the park, ye can 'ave like a Disney land, Adventure world, Swimming pool, xxx, go to Paris, you can go to the videos, skate, like, cycling thing, underwater, water slides, fun factories,

9- Australia

It's fun in Australia, oh I got one question about fun, the pictures, Australia is fun

10- Camping

You're camping just like Livervale we went everywhere [F: What was it? I: Well, we went on a camp, and I think you have to pay 300 I don't know, and they've been takin us everywhere, xxx park, you can fun at the park on Sunday, Saturday we went on this some other mob das up and xxx sleeping in the rain, and you put your hands together like that and they chuck out lollies and I got it [AIEO: These are the people that took you camping? I: yeah and I think we go out on a camp this year]

11- Story

You just sit down and read a book

12- Birds

I like birds, I like to have a bird,

13- Animal

Snakes, kangaroos, lizards, dogs, all sort of animals

14- Mum

Eeee you mum gives you food and buys ye clothes

15- Dream

Nah I don't like dreams I dream about it, xxx [AIEO: Are they good dreams? I: bad dreams AIEO: you don't like it? F: What dreams are they? I: I had one dream about this ghost he came out to my dog, knocked him over and chased me, the whole school chased us, and I came out like I'm not scared of you you can't kill me, so I got up and rang the police, and I got a gun and I shot em]

16- Watching

17- Take-away

I like take-away, I love Mac's, I love chines, I love pizza, what else?

18- Walk

I walk so I can get exercise like in the school carnival cyc win a medal, I like to win medals, I like to be like Cathy Freeman,

19- deadly

too boss

20- park

it's fun at the park, play chasing, play dodge, play relays, play scare crow,

21- White

You can wear white clothes at school, you can have white shoes like me,

22- shame

I would be too shame to sit in front of whole people, to sing and dance for people, I don't like it I dance at home, my dad's friends umm, used to come to school here, he's

23- life

I don't know about that one

24- lovely

xxx sometimes I wear nice clothes like this, my school one, my nice blond hair

25- important

I like to give secretes to myself, like to keep them like in a diary,

26- kangaroo

I like kangaroo, I ate a kangaroo, I eat it

27- smash

I don't smash cause I get a pink slip, if I smash long time, detention, another one phone call to your parents, if I get another one I get suspended, like you can't come to school, like one day I bin suspended, unna? like for about we set another day off, say I don't school today, I don't come the next day, I won't school Monday, I don't come on Tuesday, I come on Wednesday like that

28 - speaking

29- hunting

30- going out

1- Aboriginal

2- Home
You live in a home, you buy a home, you can go to a business and try get a home and umm,
3- Food
You eat food, you buy food, food in shopping centers and like that,
4- People
People live in Perth, people all around Perth
5- Fight
People fight and you can make stop fight, you can make them stop fighting,
6- Family
People have family, people can invite other families to your house for tea, and that's it
7- Country
Australia is a country, and people live in a country, people like countries, and some people live in a country,
8- Fun
You can play a game and you have fun, where you run you have fun, when you skip you have fun, and you can cook and that's fun an you can dish up the feed and its fun and schools are fun, um teacher's fun and yeah my mum and dad's fun, that's it
9- Australia
People live in Australia, people like Australia, Cathy Freeman runs for Australia, what's the other woman who swims for Australia? umm
10- Camping
Some people go can go camping and you can have some fun, and when you go camping ye
11- Story
People tell stories, and that's it
12- Birds
Birds fly, birds look good, birds look fun look good, and birds have fun when you see them fly, and lady birds like lady birds, when they lay eggs and you can see them lying on the eggs and like that, and xxx
13- Animal
Some animals are mean, some animals are nice, and you can buy some animals from a pet shop, you can feed birds animals, and
14- Mum
Mums are nice, mum cooks teas for you, mum dishes the tea for you, mums get paid for you, mums buy you things, and xxx
15- Dream
Some dreams are bad some dreams are good and that's it
16- Watching
You can watch TV, you can watch people playing, you can watch people fighting, you can watch videos, you can watch people walking, you can watch your brothers and sisters, watch them like if they go away and that there, you go watch people playing you can watch your brothers and sisters playing together,
17- Take-away
You can take away your money off, if can take away your teddy, you can take away your dog, you can take away your bed nah you can take away [F: What do you mean

you can take away your teddy? Like if I give it to my cousin and I want back and I just take it, and das it

18- Walk

You can walk to school, you can walk with your friends, you can walk with your sisters, you can walk with your brothers and sisters and walk on your own, you can walk with teachers, you can walk with boys ooh you can walk with girls, you can walk with your mum and dads, you can walk with your nana and pop

19- deadly

when people say you're deadly [F: What does it mean? That mean when you go up there, and they go "chooo deadly" AIEO: What do they mean when they say that? I don't know. AIEO: Does it make you feel good? I: make you feel good, yeah. F: What do you mean by up there? I: When you get up there to get your certificate and you walk up there and people call you "choo you're deadly (laugh). F: Who are these people? I: Like my friends, my teacher, Ms X (AIEO's name), and your mum and dad and your grandpa and your grandma]

20- park

you can play at the park, don't be mean at the park, don't fight at the park, xxx and don't fight with the people at the park, don't tease people at the park

21- White

Sometimes white's your favorite color, some people are white, and you can be kind to white people, xxx and some people are half-caste with like white and black

22- shame

you get shame when you go out and shame like you could be shame in front of your nana, your pop, your sisters and brothers, and your mum and dad, and your aunnies and uncles, your teachers, your sis friends, [AIEO: What makes you feel shame? I: I don't know]

23- life

people, I don't know that one,

24- lovely

like when you dress up people'd say "oh, you look lovely, like your friends and your uncles, aunties, and sisters and brothers, when you change and finish and you can say to yourself "oh lovely", that's it.

25- important

like if you leave a letter there, and like it's important and important means … that's it

26- kangaroo

you can shoot kangaroo, kangaroos jump, kangaroos can fight

27- smash

people smash each other, xxx

28 - speaking

like um speaking to you, you could speak to your grandparents, your mum and dad, sisters aunties, uncles and teachers and like if your stuck you can go up to your teacher, talk to er, and

29- hunting

you can go hunting, your'd take you hunting, you can go hunting all together,

30- going out

people can invite you to go out, your mum and dad take you out,

1- Aboriginal
Simpson, flowers,
2- Home
House, garden, xxx, bike, windows, pillows, bed,
3- Food
Bananas, oranges, mandarins,
4- People
Clothes, pants, shoes, picture,
5- Fight
Punch, kick, hitting in the cheek
6- Family
Kids, mums, dads, sisters, brothers,
7- Country
Trees, farms, horses, ponies, dogs,
8- Fun
Playing games, hide and seek, going on a picnic, going to the pool,
9- Australia
Kangaroos and dingoes, xxx, platypus,
10- Camping
Making a tent,
11- Story
Books, picture, letters,
12- Birds
Flying, living on trees, making a nest, laying egg,
13- Animal
Fish, shark, alligators, dinosaurs, long neck dinosaur,
14- Mum
Hug, going out, going shopping, buying food,
15- Dream
Scary dreams, skeletons,
16- Watching
Watching dogs, watching where you're going
17- Take-away
Macdonald's, fish & chips, Red Rooster, Hungry Jack's
18- Walk
Walking home, walking to shops
19- deadly

20- park
swings, slides,
21- White
White clouds, white pictures, white lights, white
22- shame

23- life

24- lovely

nice
25- important
you have to do something, when xxx
26- kangaroo
hopping, jumping,
27- smash
smash windows, cars, I reckon trees,
28 - speaking
talking, talking nice,
29- hunting
 hunting for animals, and hunting for a lion sometimes, guns,
30- going out
going out to the shops,

1- Aboriginal
They were here before us, they tell stories,
2- Home
My bedroom, kitchen, and the dining room
3- Food
Meat, potatoes, celery, and corn
4- People
My cousins, and my nany and popy and my grand granddad, and my mum dad and my brother, and whatever,
5- Fight
Fighting, kicking,
6- Family
Mum, dad, my brother,
7- Country
Perth, Darwin, Hobart, Rottnest Island, New South Wales,
8- Fun
Football, basketball, slides, swings, monkey bar
9- Australia
Kangaroos, wombats, houses, crocodile,
10- Camping
Bulls, cows, horse, fish, cousins, tents, and [F: Do you see bulls and cows when you go camping? I: cause my uncle has a farm. F: So you go to their farm and they've got bulls and cows I: yeah, bulls and cows].
11- Story
Janes and John, Robrats, Pokemon,
12- Birds
Eagle, rooster, magpie,
13- Animal
Alligator, dinosaurs, birds,
14- Mum
Home, when she takes us to places, and when she goes to school, when she takes me over to my cousin's house
15- Dream
(Name of a movie), dinosaurs, fox,
16- Watching
Pokehman, (name of a movie), Jurassic park 2 and Jurassic park 1, and
17- Take-away
When somebody took away my dog and we had to take away our birds
18- Walk
Walking to the school, walking to my aunties, walking to footy training, walking to the park,
19- deadly
red, snakes, spiders,
20- park
swings, slides, seasaw, monkey bar
21- White
Paper, white paint, an a white picture
22- shame
shy,

23- life

xxx reptiles, and humans

24- lovely

flowers, fish, animals,

25- important

cars,

26- kangaroo

joey, they can jump, they are mammals

27- smash

car accident, a plane accident

28 - speaking

words, talking to someone, people talk

29- hunting

 kangaroos, dolphins, panda bears, tigers, [F: Have you been hunting kangaroos? I: no]

30- going out

going out to your aunties, my friend's house, and going to shop.

Non-Aboriginal (21)

1- Aboriginal
Aboriginal people, Aboriginal writing, drawing,
2- Home
Home that you live in, door, books,
3- Food
Food that you eat,
4- People
People play sport,
5- Fight
You kick and punch,
6- Family
Family people,
7- Country
Country that you live in,
8- Fun
Playing sport and, fun going to someone's house,
9- Australia
You can drive in it, it has water, xxx
10- Camping
Camping with a tent and sleeping in the tent, and you make fire, camping in the bush,
[F: having you been camping in the bush? I: No]
11- Story
Stories in the books and xxx
12- Birds
Birds that fly, xxx
13- Animal
Animals that run fast, some have trunks, some have long necks,
14- Mum
Mums cook dinner,
15- Dream
Like dream bad dream, a good dream,
16- Watching
Watching television, watching scary movies,
17- Take-away
Take away food, take away house, take away dog, [F: What do you mean by
takeaway house? I: A big house. F: And you take it away? I: Yeah, knock it down. F:
All right] you can take flowers,
18- Walk
Walking to the park, walking to the shops, walking to school, walking home,
19- deadly
Deadly animals, deadly spiders,
20- park
some have swings, have slides,
21- White
White piece of paper, a white rubber, a white pencil,
22- shame

23- life
life the life that we have,

24- lovely

lovely flower, lovely picture, lovely sparkles, lovely dress, lovely clothes,

25- important

important

26- kangaroo

kangaroo jumps, kangaroo is brown, kangaroo has tail, has a pouch, has claws,

27- smash

smash glass, xxx, smash

28 - speaking

speaking about birds,

29- hunting

 hunting food,

30- going out

going out swimming pool, and to school, going to get a scooter, going to the shops,

1- Aboriginal
Me, desert,
2- Home
Roof, wall, furniture,
3- Food
Chocolate, chips, digestive system,
4- People
Mean, kind,
5- Fight
Blood, skin, bruises, people,
6- Family
mobs, Aboriginal, White,
7- Country
Land, trees, grass,
8- Fun
Places, mum and dad
9- Australia
Beautiful country, land, people, xxx
10- Camping
Camps, sleeping bags, fire, animals,
11- Story
Long, book, voice,
12- Birds
Fly, feathers, beak,
13- Animal
There's all kinds, feathers, fur, there's water, there's land
14- Mum
Love me, cleaner, cooker,
15- Dream
Exciting, place, work,
16- Watching
See, stare,
17- Take-away
Steal, pay,
18- Walk
Long, tiring, feet,
19- deadly
delicious, mean, bad,
20- park
place to play, fun, equipment, school,
21- White
Color, paint,
22- shame
something bad to do, may be something good, something people regret [F: Why did you say something good, like what? I: Like you might have shame because you might have done something, but might be something good]
23- life
long, short, fun, sometimes tragic,
24- lovely

flowers, birds, nature,

25- important

life, parents, forests, trees

26- kangaroo

joey, dances, eat feed,

27- smash

glass, the word, someone smash you, other people's property

28 - speaking

voice, public,

29- hunting

 spear, gun, spotlight, car, fun

30- going out

sometimes could use car, walk, places,

1- Aboriginal

Animals, wonderful people, smart, Australia, I think of my friend K, She's gone to Bently, and I think of N too. [F: Why did you say animal for Aboriginal? I: because I mainly think of kangaroo, because this how the kangaroo got the name of a white person went up to Aboriginal person and said "What's this creature's name?" and Aboriginal person said "Kangaroo", which means like I don't understand you and so the white person carried it on. I'm telling the truth, I heard it twice in the same show "wild life" F: So that's why you said animal? I: Yeah, plus that they ate animal]

2- Home

Warm, fun, small, that's why I'm getting a new house soon saving enough money, my bedroom cause I've got a big TV, I think the lounge room TV, that's pretty big, the computer, and I think eating

3- Food

Yumi, disgusting, okay, and eating, and going to Val's she cooks very good and restaurants and take it [F: Going to whom? I: Val F: Who's Val? I: She's Brian's mum, my step-dad who is going to get married soon because they've only been engaged] I think of my nan too cause she cooks good [F: Who's that? I: My nan, on my dad's my real dad's side, I think of her cause every now and then she cooks spaghetti, and roast

4- People

I think of me, I think of other people, I think of how hard they work to make a good environment, I think of John Howard (The Prime minister) who I hate, sorry dislike and I think of all my friend [F: Why don't like John Howard? I: Cause I don't know he is not too good, I wish I had a better Prime Minister]

5- Fight

I think of my mum and … nah I don't think of that, I don't know what I think of , the first word that pops into my mind is fighting I think of dis hatred dislike, and I think of people, police, and rubbers,

6- Family

Nice, big, my cousins on my mum's side are all the way in (a places name) and I think of my cousins on my dad side, I think of my dad and my mum, Brian, and all the rest of my family like my grandpas, lots of different relatives even though I don't know them yet, I don't know all of them

7- Country

Think of big, think of Australia, think of big continents, I think of the equator, think of all the countries, Indonesia, and I think of all the places that we study when we are doing our maps, and I also think of my grandpa cause he lives in Indonesia, I'm not sure where, and I think of all the good animals everywhere, that's all

8- Fun

I think of playing, I think of my friends, I think of the computer, I think of the TV, I think of the radio and stereo that I have, I think of all the playgrounds and I think of all the fun station, play station and those kinds of stuff,

9- Australia

I think of me I think of big, I think of small island, ey the small continent, I think that's what they call it, or big island, something like that, I think my friends, and I also think of all the continents in Australia, mainly Tasmania even though it's not attached and people

10- Camping

I've never been camping but it's good, fun, I hope I go soon, I think the outback the outside, I think of natures, I think of dingoes and I think of not bringing my tent, we're getting a tent, xxx, and I think of being nice and warm, sleeping bag, my mum

11- Story

I think of me, cause I don't usually say good things about myself but I know I am a good story writer, in class we're writing a story right now, xxx, I think of books, I think of Sally Morgan, an I think of Paul Jenings, (two other writers), and I forgot this, Men fox, and I think of the books, I think of the twigs, most books I've read, I also think about that guy, cause right now I'm reading a book called I'm reading too, I'm reading that book Morris Maud's memory, I love all the books, or stories, my favorite, [F: Have you read a book by Sally Morgan (an Aboriginal writer)? I: We're just going to about her, and Miss X is gonna read a book about Sally Morgan, she's already started AIEO: My place (the book's title), I: Yeah, and we've listened to "my place" and um we're listening to gonna if Miss x hadn't put it in the library we're gonna listen to xxx.

12- Birds

I think of animals, I think of singing, and I think of whistling even though I can't, I think of eggs, and I think of when I was at my dad's I stole an egg and put a pillow over chicken eggs and I sat on it, (laugh) I was only six

13- Animal

I think of kangaroos, animals, wombats, I think my favorite animal cheetah, and I think of one of my favorites too, monkeys, cause if we straight that we came back with another life of an animal I choose monkeys cause I can swing in the trees and I think of apes and I think of tigers, and I think of me and all the other people cause they're animals too and I think of dolphins, and I think of all the animals.

14- Mum

I think of fun, I think of learning cause she teach me year 12 things, she learned by year 12 biology, I think of helping me to learn, cause I have to I do my own homework I think of computer, and I think of talking cause she was learning me how to talk, I think of all sorts of things, I think of mother's day cause I like stuff for mother's day, and I think about her

15- Dream

I think of nightmares cause I had a nightmare a few days ago, and I think of dreams like bad dream, and I think of nice dreams, good dreams, and I think of the dream of my life to become and actor, that's why I'm in acting classes right now, but all we do is playing games,

16- Watching

I think of the TV, mostly, computer cause I watch it watch myself play, right now I'm on the game, xxx I think of watching my friends play, I think of watching xx in my room, that's probably all

17- Take-away

I think of the dream that Kavin made up, what's Robert's favorite food, its takeaway cause xxx I think of yum, I think of MacDonald's, Chicken Treat, Red Rooster, I like Red Rooster probably the best cause if you order a burger they give like instead of meat they give you nuggets, big grand nugget, and I can have nugget chips in a burger, cause I usually order I think of parties, like the ones that we went in (a place) and I think of restaurants and Fast Teddies I always get it wrong, that's all

18- Walk

I think of the poor people in the wheelchair, I think how funny they spin their scoot, I think of xxx and I think of little pickis, and I think of running cause I wanna be lots of things and also running is one of them, being a runner, I think of jumping.

19- deadly

I think of the new book, the book deadly, and I think me being dead, sometimes I think about mum dying or when she talks about stuff crying, sad and I think of great nana who died a few days ago, and I think of me dying, and I think about fighting too

20- park

I think of playground, I think of this really fun park that's just being new built near Karinyup near Valleries st., I think of playgrounds in restaurants like MacDonalds, and I think of fun station because of the giggles and all that and I think of all the people that vandalize playgrounds which I don't really like, I think of fun too

21- White

I think of my socks, I think of having white bedroom, I think of the walls in my bedroom cause their paint is white I think of the color opposite to black, I think of white and I think of paper too

22- shame

I think of being embarrassed, I think of losing, every single time I go on a race or something, X told me there's another reason for shame in the Aboriginal language but I forgot it, it was like scared I feel like being scared too

23- life

I think of being alive, I think of me, think of old people, I think of God too

24- lovely

think of flowers, think of love hearts even though they're just not so lovely, I think of pictures, I think of ribbons, because like people like dance with ribbons and I think of what lovely hat

25- important

I think everyone is important, although I feel about everything like trees, so they can breathe but people cut them down, xxx, I think of flowers, I think of all the important things, people people have to live like water and food

26- kangaroo

I think of how got its name, which I've already said, pretty funny, I think of kangaroo stew, and I think of I heard that people can eat kangaroo brains, or ears or something like that, I might have heard it wrong I'm not sure that grandpa could eat could kangaroo brains and could eat tongues, I think of yum, and I think of going around hiking and shooting kangaroos, and I remember when we went to dad in x he doesn't live there anymore in Rockingham anymore, we had kangaroo spaghetti bolonaigze, tastes nice, and I think of x because they eat kangaroo stew

27- smash

I think of how people smash glass, I think of how people like can throw rocks at each other, that was a long time ago, I think of people going like kicking stuff and kicking like windows

28 - speaking

I think of me I speak, I speak a lot, I think of Kavin cause he can always beat me in this trash talk, too annoying, and I think of X cause he can talk longer than me I think of him cause he talks more than me now, I'm not the talk of lot now, um I think of how people can speak and they use computers, I think of that guy that I just found about, that xxx

29- hunting

I think Aboriginal people, I think of throwing boomerang and spears even though whenever I through it it never comes back to me, it always goes to the opposite end, I think of spears, and I think kangaroos and I think of all the poor hunted animals and trees

30- going out

I think of getting dressed nicely, I think of restaurants, I think of food mostly, I think of going to Vall's and Tiphenies, and all my other fun places Tiphhonies is my best, and I think of sleep in x's house and I think of all my friends coming out to like parties and stuff

Aboriginal (mother non-Aboriginal) (24)

1- Aboriginal
Culture, languages and stuff,
2- Home
Place, somewhere to live
3- Food
Something to eat,
4- People

5- Fight
People getting hurt,
6- Family
Your parents and brothers and sisters, and people who you are related to,
7- Country
Somewhere where people can live
8- Fun
Going out to a place or something, playing games,
9- Australia
Countries,
10- Camping
Going out and having fun,
11- Story
Something that could be fiction or non-fiction
12- Birds

13- Animal

14- Mum
Parent,
15- Dream
When you think about something, it comes into your mind,
16- Watching

17- Take-away
Something that's already cooked, easy to prepare
18- Walk

19- Deadly
Could be a deadly spider or something,
20- park
somewhere to have fun, playing
21- White
A plain color,
22- Shame

23- Life
Something that's living
24- Lovely

25- Important

26- kangaroo
something that jumps, an Australian animal,
26- smash
when something like glass smashes
28- speaking

29- hunting

30- going out
having fun when you go out, go to different places.

1- Aboriginal
Australia,
2- Home
Place,
3- Food
Yum, hungry, filling,
4- People
different
5- Fight
Bullying, hurting, teasing,
6- Family
Fathers, sisters, parents, caring,
7- Country
donno
8- Fun
Friends, games,
9- Australia
Perth, Sydney, Melbourne, Darwin, New South Wales, Queensland,
10- Camping
Tent, bush, snakes, trees,
11- Story
Book, writing, fun,
12- Birds
Singing, cages, seed, perch,
13- Animal
Dogs, pets, care, taking care,
14- Mum
Person, kind, loving, caring, she buys me stuff
15- Dream
Sleep, nightmare, good things,
16- Watching
TV,
17- Take-away
Fast food, snack,
18- Walk

19- Deadly
Naives, guns, murderers, people, prison and stuff
20- park
trees, fun, playing, playgrounds, swings,
21- White
Car,
22- Shame
Embarrassment, torture,
F: Why did you say embarrassment?
I: cause I feel shame when I get embarrassed
F: Is it when you have done something bad?
I: when I like do something like stuff something up
23- Life

Old,
24- Lovely
Flowers, beautiful, nice,
25- Important
Me, like famous people,
26- kangaroo
Australian animal, bushes, native,
26- smash
glass, lots of pieces,
28- speaking
loud, I do a lot of it,
29- hunting
Shooting, animals, I don't like it, guns
30- going out
Shopping, movies, places, friends, buying stuff, money

1- Aboriginal
Somebody who was already here,
F: What do you mean by that?
I: They are form Australia.
2- Home
A place where you stay or a place where you live
3- Food
Chips 'n stuff like that,
4- People
Human beings,
5- Fight
People get really angry, and just throw punches around
6- Family
People, your mum and dad, and your sister and brother,
7- Country
A place in earth, Indonesia,
8- Fun
Something joyful and yeah you enjoy it
9- Australia
Country, and people live there
10- Camping
Something you do, you go out and do it in your backyard or you can go somewhere
11- Story
Something you can tell somebody,
12- Birds
Something that flies in the air,
13- Animal

14- Mum
Your mother, person who sometimes looks after you.
15- Dream
You can day dream or you can dream at night
16- Watching
Looking at something,
17- Take-away
I don't know
18- Walk
Move your legs, walk around
19- Deadly
Poisonous, can kill you
20- park
place where you play and children go to
21- White
A color
22- Shame
Feel sorry for yourself
23- Life

24- Lovely

Something nice,
25- Important
Something urgent,
26- kangaroo
An animal,
26- smash
something break, somebody punches, someone smashes you, something like that
F: What do you mean by someone smashes you?
I: Like if they punch
28- speaking
talking, talking words
29- hunting

30- going out
going somewhere, going to a place,

1- Aboriginal

Not everyone is Aboriginal and sometimes they just don't have a house and they live in out in the bush or something because they can make houses out of sticks and paint out of rocks.

2- Home

You live in a home, sometimes you could live in a two-story house, some people like flying away

3- Food

You get food from the dellies, there's food in you cupboards, some shops only have little amount of food, like milk or bread or something that most people need,

4- People

There is heaps of people in our country, there's people nearly all over the world

5- Fight

Some people can really get angry and other are teasing them and they could get into a fight, some people fight to get their money or wallet back

6- Family

You can have a family of three people, just mum and dad, even sometimes including your aunties and stuff

7- Country

You can go live out in the country, some people in a country like Australia, there are heaps of kangaroos in Australia

8- Fun

You can have lots of fun swimming you could go to a fun park,

9- Australia

There's northern Territory, ACT, Queensland, Victoria, and South Australia and in the Northern territory there is I don't know

10- Camping

You can camp out in the bush, sometimes if you're too little you can camp out in your backyard, and if you're driving and you're going far far way and you got to get somewhere to sleep and there's no hotels or something around you could tent in your tent

11- Story

You can read a story out of a book, you can make up your own story

12- Birds

There are all different kinds of birds,

13- Animal

If you have a pet that is an animal, there are heaps of animals around

14- Mum

Got a mum

15- Dream

You can have a dream in your sleep about something, and you could dream that you have brand new car that is crashed,

16- Watching

You can watch TV, watch people at pony club, watch the lighting when its storming, if you live somewhere near the harbor, you can watch people pass driving their cars,

17- Take-away

Can buy something at a shop like food, you can get it take a way or dinning, you could say someone took away something of yours,

18- Walk

You can walk to the shop, cats can walk, horses can walk
19- Deadly
You look deadly [F: Which means? I: you look very very nice], that is a deadly snake
20- park
you can park your car here, you can go to the park
21- White
There is a white house, a white car, wearing a white t-shirt and pants, old people have white hair, you can get paint that's white,
22- Shame

23- Life
Say you don't do much in life, or this is my life I wanna be in it
24- Lovely
There's a lovely car, lovely tree,
25- Important
If you have an important job that you're going to and you have to get there in time, you got an important job to do around the house,
26- kangaroo
kangaroos have front paws, they can hop, they can eat with their hands, have a little pouch and have a little joey,
26- smash
smash your furniture, and you car, other people smash other people's car,
28- speaking
say words, speak to other people, like we're doing now, and if you have any problems you speak to someone,
29- hunting
hunt rabbits, kangaroos, foxes, snakes, wild birds,
30- going out
going out to the shops, parties, people's houses, to the park, just for a drive, to the chemist, and the doctor's, to the shop, to the deli, school

1- Aboriginal
Some people are Aboriginal,

2- Home
Sometimes home's boring, and homes are big and they've got front yard and backyard.

3- Food
People eat lots of food, there's apples, vegetables,

4- People
There's different kinds of people, they speak different language, some people are nice, some people are mean

5- Fight
Fighting's bad,

6- Family
People have families, some people have 10 in their family and 5,

7- Country
There's different countries

8- Fun
Fun is what you enjoy 'n if you play with other friends and that,

9- Australia
Australia is big, it's got water, schools, people,

10- Camping
I haven't been camping

11- Story
People make stories, stories help you learn, spell

12- Birds
Birds, they lay eggs, they talk, kookaburras,

13- Animal
People have animals in their houses, they take care of animals, animals live in the trees

14- Mum
Mum' s good, they look after you and they make sandwiches,

15- Dream
people dream when they're asleep, some have good dreams some have bad dreams,

16- Watching
People watch TV,

17- Take-away
You do take away sums, you can buy take-away

18- Walk
People always walk, his legs get sore when you walk too much

19- Deadly
People die for a reason, people kill other people,

20- park
It's fun, it's got swings n' slides, it's got heaps of things that you enjoy.

21- White
People are white, some paint white, there's houses that are white,

22- Shame
Some people get shamed of things, some people get shamed of saying things to people. F: What do you mean by some people get shamed? I: When my cousin comes

over she wants me to stay at her house and she wants to stay at my house and she's
too scared to ask. F: She's too scared to ask. I: Yeah, she's shy
F: So she's ashamed? I: yeah
23- Life
Life's good,
24- Lovely
Some people are
25- Important
It's important that you don't lie
26- kangaroo
they have babies, they got a pouch, they are brown color, they have pointy ears,
26- smash

28- speaking
people speak different language
29- hunting
I've never done it
30- going out
I like going out,

1- Aboriginal

Some types they speak different languages, different culture type thing, black, talented,

F: Why talented?

I: Because they're quite talented in bush and hunting and they way they climb trees and hunting and stuff like that, they're probably better than us in that

2- Home

Bedroom, bed, backyard, shed, driveway, ceiling, garden

3- Food

Meat, vegetarians, sea food,

4- People

Personalities, white, black, languages,

5- Fight

Bad, dangerous, injury,

6- Family

Mother, sister, brother, life

7- Country

Separate, nation, capitals,

8- Fun

Adventures, imagination

9- Australia

Nation, island, people, hot, shady, dry, hills, gross land

10- Camping

Adventures, nature, tent, people, fire, wood,

11- Story

Books, imagination, your wife, heroes,

12- Birds

Flying, feathers, beaks

13- Animal

Nature, features, different types, two-legged, four-legged, no-legged, jump, hopping, jumping, running, slithering,

14- Mum

Lovely, nice, helps you,

15- Dream

Imagination,

16- Watching

Looking, see, birds, animals, creatures, plants, nature,

17- Take-away

Sums, family, children,

18- Walk

Dog, slowly, fast, friends, son, wife, mother, daughter, sister

19- Deadly

Murderer, knife, gun, weapons, our people

20- park

nature, parks, swings, people, walk, run, dog,

21- White

Color, culture, I mean race, personality,

F: Why did you say "personality"?

I: because there's black people and white people, different races, for example white people are different personalities to black people. Aboriginal people build their own weapons and know, a lot more about the bush and nature and hunting than us, and us white people we just live in old houses, just straight and we do a lot other things.

22- Shame
Guilt, honesty,

23- Life
Huge, adventurous,

24- Lovely
Surroundings, people

25- Important
Stuff, us, nature, surroundings,

26- kangaroo
hopping, high jumping, fast, strong, cunning, animal, nature

26- smash
broken, break,

28- speaking
voice, voice box, language,

29- hunting
animals, nature, bush, water, animals,

30- going out
having fun, relaxing, having a rest

1- Aboriginal
People, brown,
2- Home

3- Food
apples, vegetables, chips,
4- People
Friends,
5- Fight

6- Family
Brothers, sisters, mum, dads, cousins,
7- Country

8- Fun
Playing,
9- Australia

10- Camping

11- Story

12- Birds
fly
13- Animal
Dogs, birds, cats, guinea pigs, rabbits,
14- Mum
Nice,
15- Dream
Scary, nice,
16- Watching
Fun,
17- Take-away

18- Walk
Leaving,
19- Deadly

20- park

21- White

22- Shame

23- Life
Fun,
24- Lovely
Nice,
25- Important

Good,
26- kangaroo
jump, brown, ears, tail,
26- smash
break,
28- speaking
words,
29- hunting
boomerangs,
30- going out
shops, restaurants,

1- Aboriginal

Me, Jasmin, you (Miss Ingram), Nicholas, Brian, my mum, my dad, my cousin, my cousin's baby, my brother's baby, my aunie, my other brother, little Mathew, little Liz, and little niece, some other names, and Haley, and Gazzel,

2- Home

I play playstation, I play nintendo, I play 64, wrestling,

F: you do wrestling at home?

I: Yeah

F; With whom?

I: my brothers and my cousins and tonight tonight umm if you ask me the question about who's sleeping over, ask me that, say it.

F: Who's sleeping over?

I: My cousins, Stacy and Broklin, she's Aboriginal, you know Beki?, you know Robbie?

F: They're coming over

I: Yeah, and Kyle, they are my cousins

F: All right so your cousins are staying over, good you're having fun, man

3- Food

Noodles, Piazza, Macdonald's, Jacks, Red Rooster, pear, apple, banana, everything, I eat the plate

4- People

My girlfriend, my friend, my aunie, my girlfriend, Aboriginals, my cousin Kylie, are you Aboriginal? F: may be.

5- Fight

I chase my girlfriend,

6- Family

My family, you know how many family I got? one thousand millions, Hundered ninty nine million thousand thousand nine nine sixty one … million million, uncle, Joe, Stacy, … What's your name? Cousins, uncles, sisters, brothers, grilfriends and my million sixty one thousand family

7- Country

Australia, Australia, Kalgooli, Africa, American, Asia, Kalgooli, Aboriginal

F: What is Aboriginal country/

I: Don't you know it? It's Australia … silly …..at the sea, out

8- Fun

We love fun, funny, fun factory, fun station, smack down,

9- Australia

Fun Australia, Jasmine,

10- Camping

I love camping, catch kangaroos, catch snacks, caterpillars, lions, tigers, cheetahs, pirate

F: Have you been camping, catching kangaroos?

I: and snakes, an fish, and lizards, and goannas,

F: How many?

I: Thousands

11- Story

Once upon a time, this man 'e live happily after, is that right? I give up

12- Birds

I like birds, I play with words, I count birds,

13- Animal

Tigers, cheetahs, monkeys, goanna, snakes, alakonda (a kind of snake),

14- Mum

I love my mum, I make lunch for my mum, make everything for my mum

15- Dream

I dream of scream, scary movie

16- Watching

Watching screen, watching scary movie, watching clock network

17- Take-away

Three take a way one is two

18- Walk

I walk down the street, I walk down the park, I walk down the King's park

19- Deadly

Bury,

20- park

I walk down to the King's park, I walk down to the park, I walk down to every place I know,

21- White

Fish is white, xxx, that thing is white

22- Shame

Shame of yourself

F: Why do you say that "shame of yourself"?

I: when you do something wrong.

23- Life

I live my life, I'm drunk,

24- Lovely

My girlfriend's lovely, colors are lovely

25- Important

Very important,

26- kangaroo

I like Kangaroo, I like everything, Kangaroo lives, Kangaroo eats wild stuff, rabbits, dogs eat cats, dogs eat kangaroos,

F: When you said "I like kangaroo did you mean kangaroo or kangaroo meat?

 I: Kangaroo and kangaroo meat

26- smash

Smash boy, I wouldn't do that, smash a man, smash a big man, smash spider man, superman, batman, smash a window,

28- speaking

I speak too much, I speak too much, I can't stop my big mouth up,

29- hunting

hunting, I hunt the kangaroo down, I hunt a lizard down,

30- going out

I go out with my girlfriend,

Aboriginal (32)

1- Aboriginal
She's Aboriginal (referring to AIEO), I am, Nathan, Nicholas, and you (referring to Farzad)
2- Home
happy,
3- Food
Oranges, apples, vegies, and chips,
4- People
Like Aboriginals,
5- Fight
I fight with brother and my sister and my little baby brother
6- Family
Mum, dad, sister, brother, baby, cousins, aunties, god
7- Country
Park, pools,
8- Fun
Funny, play funny games
9- Australia
Perth, Mirabooka, pools,
10- Camping
Shops, next to the shops,
11- Story
Story teller,
12- Birds
Birds fly, fly high, they're little
13- Animal
Tiger, leopards, dogs, cats, rabbit
14- Mum
Nana,
15- Dream
You dream of fighting, dream of your mum,
16- Watching
Watching a video, watching a screen, scary movies,
17- Take-away
Eat, food,
18- Walk
Walk down the shop, park, pools, movies, school, library,
19- Deadly
 Deadly clothes, hat, shoes, hair, face, ring (AIEO: Oh you like my deadly ring!),
20- park
play at the park, an
21- White
White color, white chart, white light, white hair, white ski, white eyes, white teeth, white shoes,
22- Shame
Shame from the teacher, shame from your mum and dad
AIEO: Why would you be shame from your mum and dad?
I: I dunno
AIEO: Do you feel scared or shy?

I: shy
23- Life
I donno,
24- Lovely
Lovely teachers, lovely mum, lovely dad, cousins
25- Important
Don't steal,
26- kangaroo
kangaroo jumps, hop, eat, eat people, chase people,
26- smash
Smash a glass, smash plat, spoon, window,
28- speaking
speaking of a movie,
29- hunting
snakes, kangaroos, horses,
30- going out
going out to the park, pools, to houses, talk, shops,

1- Aboriginal
Baloa (branch in an Aboriginal language),

2- Home
Watching TV, me 'n my mum and Shalica (her sister's name),

3- Food
Kangaroo meat, Kangaroo soup, that's it

4- People
My cousin, my dad, my nana, my auntie, my brother, and my mum

5- Fight
I make up fighting with my brother and my sister and my cousins, when my cousins come over all my cousins and we make up fight

6- Family
My cousins and aunts, my cousins on my dad's side, I'd say … my mum and my aunie, my brother and my sister, that's it

7- Country
Kalabury, Geraldton, Sprence
F: Have you been to these places
I: I've been to Kalabara and Geraldton cause my dad's nana lives there and my aunie lives in Sprence

8- Fun
I like funning around, I like playing with my friends, I like playing with my cousins,

9- Australia
I like going to town, I live somewhere in Australia, town,

10- Camping
I like camping at my nana's house, my dad's house, and my aunie's, and my uncle's

11- Story
I like telling scary stories, I like telling stories that I hear at school.

12- Birds
Parrots, magpies,

13- Animal
Rabbits, kangaroos, emus, n my cats

14- Mum
I go out with my mum

15- Dream
I dream of a big house, big pool,

16- Watching
I like watching Simpsons, I like watching Pokeman and Gigiman

17- Take-away
You mean feed, food? I like take away my cousin's stuff, cause I like tricking her all the time

18- Walk
I like walking to my aunie's house, I like walking to the pool, I like walking to the shops, I like walking to the park,

19- Deadly
New clothes

20- park
I like taking my dog to the park, I like taking my cousins to the park,

21- White
I like white clothes, white shoes, an white carpet,

22- Shame
I get shame when I see anybody else,
23- Life

24- Lovely
I like being at my friends'
25- Important
Important stuff, important people,
26- kangaroo
red kangaroo,
26- smash
make up smash with my brother, when he hit me sometimes,
28- speaking
I like speaking to my friends,
29- hunting
my uncle goes hunting, [AIEO: Do you go with 'm? I: Na, only the boys are allowed to, xxx
30- going out
I like going to Mirabooka and to town,

1- Aboriginal

There's lots of Aboriginals,

2- Home

I like my home, I like my backyard

3- Food

I like food, fruit, sandwiches,

4- People

I like people, Cathy, Samantha, Tiona, and Cloie,

5- Fight

I like playing fighting with my brother after school, and it's fun,

6- Family

My family is nice, and when it's sunny day me and my sister play together,

7- Country

I like very much countries, Carnavorn, Vietnam,

8- Fun

Drawing, coloring, playing teachers, going to school,

9- Australia

Lots of people live there,

10- Camping

I like camping, imora,

11- Story

I like reading stories, Some stories are long, little bear ones,

12- Birds

They got so many colors on their wings, I like them, some birds peck you,

13- Animal

I like animals, kangaroos, tiger, leopard, a koala,

14- Mum

I like my mum, she's sometimes nice to us

15- Dream

I don't like dreaming because I sometimes have scary dreams, I dream of my friends going to schools,

16- Watching

I like watching movies,

17- Take-away

I like take-aways,

18- Walk

I like walking down the street, it's fun to walk,

19- Deadly

Some people say you're deadly

AIEO: What do they mean?

I: you're good

20- park

I like going to the park, it's fun at the park,

21- White

I like the color white,

22- Shame

When I don't know someone and I have to shake their hand and it's shame

23- Life

My life is good,

24- Lovely

The smell of perfume is lovely,

25- Important

I know lots of things that are important, if you see a syringe you have to tell a teenager

26- kangaroo

I like kangaroos, sometimes they're mean, they scratch you, I like going to bush to see kangaroos

26- smash

Some people play cricket and they smash,

28- speaking

I like speaking, I like speaking to my friends, sometimes I'm shy to speak

29- hunting

30- going out

I like going out, I like going out with my parents and my family

1- Aboriginal
Didgeridoo, boomerang, lizard, people, kangaroos, emu,
F: Why did you say lizard?
I: cause lizard is part of it
F: Part of Aboriginal?
I: Yeah
F: Why did you say kangaroo?
I: I donnu
2- Home
Bed, TV, toilets, windows, cupboards, food, drink,
3- Food
Carrots, potatoes, wheatbics, bread, tomatoes,
4- People
There's lots of Aboriginal people,
5- Fight

6- Family
People, mums, dads, brother, group of families, like aunties and uncles nanas and
pops,
7- Country
Animals, people, houses, children,
8- Fun
Playing, playing with balls and all that, dancing, painting, and
F: painting what
I: Aboriginal stuff
F: like what?
I: Boomerangs and all that
F; And what kind of dancing?
I: Aboriginal dancing
9- Australia
Park, school,
10- Camping
Hunting, sleeping, talking, walking, playing, setting up camp, making a fire,
11- Story
Learning, enjoying, fun,
12- Birds
Flying, sitting, eating,
13- Animal
Fish, shark, lizard, snake, spider, kangaroos and emus
14- Mum

15- Dream
Fun, reading, writing, singing, dancing
16- Watching
TV, Dancers, singers, trees, water,
17- Take-away
Things,
18- Walk
Fast, slow,

19- Deadly
Looking for someone, sadness, look very nice,
20- park
swinging, jumping,
21- White
White people, white paper
22- Shame
When you're dancing or singing, or it's your first coming to school,
23- Life
Living, standing, thinking, writing, reading, typing,
24- Lovely
Beautiful,
25- Important
Stuff, work, school stuff, school,
26- kangaroo
jumping, feeding, sleeping
26- smash
smash somebody, smash a bottle, smash somebody in the face,
28- speaking
laughing, singing,
29- hunting

30- going out
dancing, walking, eating, sitting, talking,

1- Aboriginal
dad
2- Home
Lounge, room, kitchen, mailbox, car, grass, bedroom, food, TV, lounge, carpet,
3- Food
White, salad, meat
4- People
Clothes, shoes, care, eyes, pants, ears, neck,
5- Fight
Hurt, punch, kick,
6- Family
Children, brother, sister, and dad, and dog
7- Country
Kangaroo, snakes, sand, road, classes, schools, cars, signs, park, shop
8- Fun
Play, run, friends, dogs,
9- Australia
People, countries, snow,
10- Camping
Fire, people,
11- Story
People, words, house,
12- Birds
Black, green, white,
13- Animal
Sheep, snakes, dogs, birds, Koala, elephant, wolf,
14- Mum
Care, T-shirt, shoes, pants, mouth, nose, eyes, and ears,
15- Dreaming
Scary, good,
16- Watching
Looking, people,
17- Take-away
Chips, ice-cream, lollies, pie, pizza, hot dog, drinks,
18- Walk
Legs, run,
19- Deadly
Good, dangerous,
20- park
bush, grass, chairs, sticks, leaves, sand, path,
21- White
People, color, cars,
22- Shame
That's hard, shy
23- Life

24- Lovely
Nice,
25- Important

Job, school, learn, food, drinks,
26- kangaroo
tail, legs, arms,
26- smash
dangerous, die, bleed, fight
28- speaking
talk, mouth,
29- hunting
gun, spear, knife,
30- going out
jumper, T-shirt, pans, shoes,

Aboriginal (37)

1- Aboriginal
Indigenous, pride, bush,
2- Home

3- Food
Tucker, berries, dugongs, yams, digidi grubs, emu, kangaroo, bush tomatoes,
4- People

5- Fight
Punch, kick, wrestling, boxing, I think of my brother, cause he always punches me
6- Family

7- Country
Town, communities, elders,
8- Fun
Wicked, deadly, people,
9- Australia
Countries, states, communities, Aboriginals,
10- Camping

11- Story
Dreamtime, pride, studies, people, cartoons,
12- Birds
Flying, tree, nest,
13- Animal
Kangaroos, wallaby, emu, platypus, food, kill,
14- Mum
Family, kind, helpful,
15- Dream
Nightmare, think,
16- Watching
TV, actress,
17- Take-away
Thirsty, chicken treat, dinning, food,
18- Walk
Run, footpath,
19- Deadly
Wicked, cool, solid,
20- park
play, swing, slide, sand,
21- White
Color, skin, cream,
22- Shame
Shy,
23- Life
Live, die,
24- Lovely
Nice,
25- Important

Work,
26- kangaroo
animal, dance, hunting, fury,
26- smash
broken, fight,
28- speaking
talk, language, talk language
F: Is English a language?
I: No
F: So what is a language?
I: Aboriginal language
29- hunting

30- going out
dinning, restaurant, movies,

incomplete due to tape problem

1- Aboriginal

Black, they live in the bush, desert I mean, eat kangaroo, and celebrate naidoc week

2- Home

I like going home after school so I can have a rest, I like going home to watch TV, and I like going home to listen to the radio, and I like going home to see my mum and my family, and that's it,

3- Food

It's yum, fruit are healthy for you to eat,

4- People

I like seeing people who I know, and I don't like seeing that I don't know, and I like people when the bin nice to me

5- Fight

It's bad, you don't get much friends if you fight, and it's not really nice, you may get into trouble by your teacher and your mum and dad, and the principal as well and they send you to the office

6- Family

I like my family, all of my family, my aunties an uncles and cousins, and I like Dryandra,

AIEO: Does it feel like your family?

I: Yeah, school, lots of people are nice to me and I like

7- Country

Australia is my country, I feel sorry for America though because they had a crash, but my favorite country is Australia,

8- Fun

When you can play with your friends, play games, it's really good,

9- Australia

I like Australia, because I've been around Australia, and I like my favorite town is Darwin, near , where there are all Aboriginals are, and all the places an Tasmania

10- Camping

You have to bring your stuff you need for camp, and sleep right in the bush in the tent, and you dream of something bad cause you're sleeping,

11- Story

I like scary stories, and happy ending stories, and I like going comics,

F: What was the scary story?

I: It was called … forgot now.

F: Who told you that story?

I: My mum

F: Can you remember the story?

AIEO: What was it about?

I: I' was about these two men who lived in a haunted house but I don't quite remember the name though

12- Birds

They can fly, they got big wings, they can make noises, and they can sleep in the nest, and they can grab worms,

13- Animal

I like animals cause they're furry, cuddly, and I like animals cause they run fast, they fly and hop, and I like animals the ones that I haven't seen before,

14- Mum

I think she's good, I love her, she's really great

15- Dream

I like dreaming about me and my family going out to Mirabooka shops and getting lots of stuff, an I like dreaming cause you never know it might happen,

16- Watching

I like watching other people, they're doing dances, I like watching TV, and videos, I don't like people playing games,

44- Take-away

Takeaway food, and I like taking my sister away when she's finished, and I like

45- Walk

 I walk to my friend's house, I walk around the school, I walk home, and I walk with my friends to my house,

46- Deadly

I feel deadly when I'm the boss, and I'm deadly at playing football, and I'm deadly at running

47- park

I like the park cause it's got lots of swings, and there's big space, and it's fun to go there having fun with your family and friends, there's monkey bars and slides

48- White

White people, white cars, white piece of paper, and white boxes,

49- Shame

When you hide behind your dad when they are talking when they say hi, I get shame,

F: Why are you shame then?

I: Cause I haven't met them before

And I'm shame when I'm going to go on a ride, my sister goes but I don't want to, it's too shame,

AIEO: What ride, like a show or something

I: yeah, people stare at me

50- Life

Life is good, but I hate it sometimes,

51- Lovely

My mum is lovely, the flowers are lovely, and they got lovely smells, and I love animals, and I love my family and my cat as well and I love my uncles and aunies

52- Important

It is important to win and get a prize, and important to do your homework and it's important to read and care about each other,

26- kangaroo

I like eating kangaroo, I like hunting kangaroo, I like kangaroos when they hop and jump, and when they are in a family, kangaroos,

16- smash

smash windows, and smashing, people smashing cars, smashing stores and all that

28- speaking

I like speaking loud and soft, and I like speaking to my friends, I speak a lot, and if I speak in my class I get jarred

29- hunting

hunting with my family, with my uncles and my uncle cause they know how to, and I just watch and I see big kangaroos get passed

30- going out

I like going out to my friends, and go to the park, and I like to go out to meet my aunie, and going out to other places, and to the pools, and I like going out to my …
the shops and I like going out with my family

1- Aboriginal
Black, white, darks, lizards, Naidoc week
2- Home
My mum, my family, all possessions, my dad,
3- Food
Chocolate, cereal, vegetables, carrots, potatoes,
4- People

5- Fight
Police, yelling,
6- Family
Relatives, I hope everyone is alright and no one gets sick
7- Country
Australia, American,
8- Fun
Games, playing, messing around, not do work, and going out to a place for a birthday party.
9- Australia
People,
10- Camping
Bush, animals, tents,
11- Story
Fairy tales, fiction and non-fiction, books, libraries,
12- Birds
Song, different birds, like woodpecker,
13- Animal
Dogs, cats, rabbits, crazy crabs, fish, pons, wild,
14- Mum
How nice she's been, how well she treats me
15- Dream
Bed time,
16- Watching
TV, watching out xxx, sometimes you watch your dinner plates so they don't get flies on it
17- Take-away
Hungry jacks, McDonald, KFC, Red rooster, Chicken treat, cars, chicken, and burgers,
18- Walk
Shops, school,
19- Deadly
Spiders, snakes,
If you say it in a nice manner it means I'm cool
20- park
friends, playing, I usually take my baby sister down there,
21- White
Black, colors,
22- Shame
Being embarrassed, the walk of shame,
23- Life

Death, knifes, killing, bombings,

24- Lovely

Flowers, roses, lovely scents, like smells, I like

25- Important

Worrying, remembering it,

26- kangaroo

kangaroo tail stew, they taste delicious

26- smash

bullying, punching, getting drunk, you smash a window, or a vase or glass breaks,

F: Why did you say getting drunk,

I: Like cause there's a word if you get smashed it's like there's another meaning for it, that .. my sister always says, "Sometimes on weekends she's gonna get smashed, like drunk" [AIEO says it is this usage is common between young people]

28- speaking

speaking language, speaking like when you have to go up in front of the class, speaking

29- hunting

Aboriginals, hunting animals, spears,

30- going out

I think of movies, sizzler, having fun

1- Aboriginal

They're doing the painting, they play with animals like snakes, tiger, lion, kangaroo, a bull

2- Home

They play at home, they sleep at home, they eat dinner at home, they get a drink at home, they wash up at home, make a mess at home

3- Food

Eating you food, lunch, recesses, you're having lunch from work

4- People

Playing with another person, you walk with another person, you eat with another person, playing soccer with another person,

5- Fight

You're fighting rough,

6- Family

Playing with your family, playing rugby with your family

7- Country

You're travelling to each country, you're looking at each country,

8- Fun

Eating and playing

9- Australia

You talk in Australia, you walk in Australia

10- Camping

When you're camping you're sleeping, playing, look for animals, snakes, and goannas

11- Story

Your mum reading a story to you when you go to bed,

12- Birds

They're catching a bird, the birds play with him,

13- Animal

Any animals, snakes, bulls, tiger, lions, elephants, giraffes, goannas,

14- Mum

You're playing with your mum, you sing with your mum, you may go for a walk

15- Dream

You're dreaming of something, jumping into a pool, you dream of a new house, and animals

16- Watching

Watching TV, videos,

17- Take-away

Take away your food, sandwich, take away your money, take care your fingers and arms and eyes, and blood everywhere

18- Walk

You walk with your mum, you walk across the bridge with your mum,

19- Deadly

Your dress is deadly, your family is deadly, you dress animals,

20- park

you play at the park, playing basketball at the park, playing catching at the park, playing chasing at the park and rugby

21- White

You're playing with white stuff,

22- Shame

You're shame of other people, shame of animals,
23- Life
Have a different life, life change
24- Lovely
Your family is lovely,
25- Important
Late for work, late for school, you miss the boss and you go to the hospital, you miss the bus and you're having a baby
26- kangaroo
you're shooting a kangaroo, you play with kangaroo, you try to catch a kangaroo
26- smash
you smash person with a hammer, you smash glasses and window, a person's house
28- speaking
speaking to a person, speaking to your friend,
29- hunting
you're hunting for animals,
30- going out
going out to a place,

1- Aboriginal
They were born first, they were in Australia first, I don't know anything else,

2- Home
Home you can sleep in, you can you can put your stuff in your house, you can have a dinner in your house, lunch, play sony, have fun,

3- Food
McDonalds, KFC, Red Rooster, Fish & Ships, Hungry jacks, Sandwich, Spaghetti balanades, Pizza Hut, chips, steak,

4- People
There's lots of people in the world. People live in houses, people go hunting,

5- Fight
People fighting, cats fighting, dogs fighting,

6- Family
You got brothers and sisters in your family and your mum and dad, and you have fun with your family, have dinner with your family, you go out with your family

7- Country
New Zealand, South America, Australia, Bali,

8- Fun
Fun factory, go to the park, go to the beach, go to your sister's and have fun at school, have fun at computer, have fun at sony,

9- Australia
People,

10- Camping
You go camping at another place, going camping with your mum and dad, you can go camping with your brothers,

11- Story
Books, magazine, newspaper, writing,

12- Birds
Birds fly, they live in trees, birds have babies, they feed their babies, birds fly everywhere, birds are colorful, birds have wing,

13- Animal
Cow, sheep, lizard, horse,

14- Mum

15- Dream
About people,

16- Watching
Watch TV and watch a movie, and watching your friend play with computer, watching somebody else play, watch your friend or your bother play sony

17- Take-away
Chips, hamburger, ice-cream,

18- Walk
People walk to go home from school, and to walk home, walk to the park

19- Deadly
Dog, cat

20- park
people play at the park, they swing at the park, playground, oval, people live across the road from the park

21- White

You can use it, somebody made it, sheeps are white,

22- Shame

people are shame when they see somebody they don't know

23- Life

24- Lovely

Flowers are lovely,

25- Important

It's important that your granddad doesn't die,

26- kangaroo

kangaroo is an animal, Aboriginals hunt for kangaroos

26- smash

I don't know

28- speaking

people speak, animals speak, cows speak, cats speak, they speak animal language

29- hunting

Aboriginals go hunting, people go hunting to find animals, people go hunting to find animals to eat

30- going out

going out to people places, having dinner, lunch, going out to a party, going to the shops, going shopping,

1- Aboriginal

2- Home
Has a roof, doors, carpet, trees at the back, tiles, and carpet, the kitchen, the rooms, beds, lights, clocks,
3- Food
You eat food, dog biscuits, cat biscuits,
4- People
Their hearts, sometimes they have glasses on, hair, hands, necklaces, clothes, and bags, skeletons,
5- Fight
Fight people, you trying to fight
6- Family
They have a house, they have a car, their have their kitchen, their room, their toilet, their backyard, their carport, they have a dog and a cat
7- Country

8- Fun
You play, playing with dogs, playing in the sand, ride bikes, and going to the shops and buying toys, playing in your room
9- Australia
Australia has lots of people on it, and different places,
10- Camping
I haven't gone camping before so I have to think very hard, a tent, and a drink of water, and cups,
11- Story
Read a story book,
12- Birds
They have a beak, they have wings, they have tails, and skeleton, an hearts,
13- Animal
Dogs, cheetahs, leopards, wild cats
14- Mum
She's nice, she does all these things for me
15- Dream
Dreams of nasty things, dreams of good things,
16- Watching
Watching TV, watching people riding bikes, watching a birds, watching airplanes, watching car go,
17- Take-away
Take away people, take away dogs or cats, take away the mail
18- Walk
Watching a dog, sometimes you can walk a cat,
19- Deadly
Dinosaurs,
20- park
you can play there, xxx
21- White
There's white clothes, white videos, white beds
22- Shame

Some people die, some cats or dogs die,
23- Life
Life is for living in, and doing skateboarding,
24- Lovely
Someone looks nice, handsome,
25- Important

26- kangaroo
kangaroos jump, kangaroos have big tales, kangaroos have brains, hearts, skeleton,
26- smash
smashing cars, and smashing car windows,
28- speaking
saying words,
29- hunting
wild dogs, wild cats, tigers, leopards, cheetahs, birds
30- going out
going to the shops, going to your cousins,

1- Aboriginal
A, I'm Aboriginal
2- Home
You live in a home, and you sit in a home, you have chairs in a home, you have TVs in a home, you may have four doors in a home, I have four doors in my home, you might have one door, may be two or five, you may be playing in your house, and you may be find money in your house, it's like if your mum buys something.
3- Food
You eat, you drink,
4- People
People you do work and stuff like that
5- Fight
There might be two big boys and bad one that's gonna fight, may be gonna hit 'm
6- Family
Family give you prizes and they let you in a house,
7- Country
You live in a country
8- Fun
You play in the playground
9- Australia
You live in Australia
10- Camping
You camp at night time
11- Story
You writing a story and you're reading a story,
12- Birds
Birds fly, fly on trees
13- Animal
Animal can move
14- Mum
You mum is our family,
15- Dream
You dream like a bad dream, you had a dream and you jus wake up
16- Watching
Watching TV,
17- Take-away
Taking away your toys, taking away your bad toys,
18- Walk
You walk to somebody's house,
19- Deadly

20- park
you walking down the park and you wanna stay there down till night time
21- White
You seen a person and the color is white
22- Shame
In your classroom and if you're running around and your teacher says 'shame',
23- Life
It means don't if you're not married and you have a life

24- Lovely

If means if you see a person and they're lovely

25- Important

It means if you say it's important it is important, you never be a bully

26- kangaroo

kangaroo have a tail and they hop

26- smash

like if you are two person and you're smashing, and you got a rock and you smash a window

F: What do you mean "two people are smashing"?

I: That means they are fighting, that means smashing

28- speaking

it means the person speaking to you, they tell you something what to do

29- hunting

it means you're hunting, you're going somewhere to hunt

30- going out

it means you're going out to get some food at home, to get food to home

1- Aboriginal
Aboriginal play didjeridoo, they draw good pictures, do Aboriginal painting, like don't have no water, they get it from the dam,

2- Home
Dog, person, a bed,

3- Food

4- People
Food, babies, drink, spider,

5- Fight

6- Family
Dad, mum, brother, dog

7- Country

8- Fun
Running, playing, playing football , playing soccer, playing cricket,

9- Australia

10- Camping
In the bush, at the beach, in the lakes,

11- Story

12- Birds
Cockatoo, pirate, seagull, scarecrow,

13- Animal

14- Mum

15- Dream

16- Watching
Watching Pokemom, Digimon, play school,

17- Take-away

18- Walk
Walking your dog, walking with your mum, walking with your dad, walking with your friends, with your family,

19- Deadly

20- park
go down the slide, on the swings, climbing, play chasing,

21- White

22- Shame
Shame you don't play with anyone, shame you don't go anywhere, shame you don't get a lollypop,

23- Life

24- Lovely
You love your family, you love your friends, love your dog, love your bed, love your house, love your school
25- Important

26- kangaroo
cheetah, a family of kangaroos, a snake,
26- smash

28- speaking
you speak to your family, speak to your friends, speak to your teacher, speak to your grandma, speak to your maty,
29- hunting

30- going out
you go in a car, you go in a truck, you go on motorbike, going to friend's house, going to your friend's park,

1- Aboriginal

I think of uniting, just Aboriginal words n food n being and the Dreamtime story and the culture an everything

2- Home

I just feel like there's two kinds of home to me, like one is actual house then when you actually go to the like countries places feel like your home there

F: to which place?

I: Like Mullowa an everything

3- Food

I think of having dinner with your nanna an everything an they're making damper stew an I just think of Aboriginal food

4- People

I just think of the Nungar people, and the Wadjellas an everything and now some Aboriginals only just starting to become like friends with Wadjellas and some Aboriginals just think that it their fault an everything about past, but it's not really

F: About what

I: like the past cause just cause some other wadjellas an all that from like how they took their children away an everything and some people are a bit racist

5- Fight

Some, it's not really good to see Aboriginals fighting against each other and cause it kind o puts like if you go into North Bridge or something and you see Aboriginals fighting kind of puts you to shame, like cause everyone is watching and they're thinking, … like you can't really go to a public place an people think that you're like them, when you might not be and then people can't trust like the security guards an police and yeah

6- Family

Just having family that is Nungar and meeting each other an everything, yeah, like my cousins an everything and love,

7- Country

I think of going to like country sides that my mum says that Nungars used to live there and we went to this place and there was like all these rocks and everything and I wanted to take some home, but my mum said that it's has to stay there, cause they're from the Ancestors,

F: Where is that?

I: I don't know exactly where it is but it's on the way to Marridon

F: Are they big rocks?

I: Na, just little rocks, but for some reason my dad I think he said some about umm they're black sand

F: Right, what would happen if you take them?

I: they said that the spirits will follow you.

F: Little fallas?

I: They're just spirits from the Ancestors

8- Fun

Doing Corroborees, and like this having Aboriginal day with damper, an on holidays like for naidoc week an everythin , yeah and it's really fun

9- Australia

I just think that it used to be Aboriginal land and now people are taking over it an everything and that is not much places now that still like travel

10- Camping

I think of like going with all your mob an go camping in the bush, um just having fun, and telling Dreamtime stories, an yeah telling Dreamtime stories,

11- Story

I think of the Rainbow Serpent (A Snake in the Dreamtime) story a lot an cause my pop showed me that cause it's in York where the Rainbow Serpents trails are left, an my grandfather showed me that, and he said that tracks are the lanes an it's just unbelievable, that they were here an I think of the Rainbow Serpent

12- Birds

I think of Kookaburras singing an laughing an everything in the bush

13- Animal

I think of people when they eat animals an everything, like in other cultures everyone says like Chinese people eat cat an everything, I think of the kangaroo an goanna that we eat an everything

14- Mum

I think of love and care and she's always there for you, and she might know a little bit more about the culture and tells ye,

15- Dream

Like when you try to achieve something, like if you're running go to the Olympics or something, it's like a dream, but it's a dream that you can achieve, it just reminds me of the Dreamtime, and Dreamtime stories,

F: Do you know Dreamtime stories?

I: My grandfather used to tell me a lot

16- Watching

Watching videos, like Rainbow Serpent an everything, getting to know what it was like,

17- Take-away

I think of McDonalds, Chinese food,

18- Walk

Going for walk in the bush with your parents and grandparents and they show you stuff like some stuff that you used to great to like make us knife out of rock ... like they used to like rub it an everything with another rock, feeling the breathe,

19- Deadly

I think of like Aboriginal people like Anthony Mundane and Kathy Freeman (Aboriginal champions) and they are really deadly, and

20- park

going with your family and having fun, loving each other, an just enjoyin yourself, and may be having a barbecue, parties an everything

21- White

It's just reminds me of white people and it reminds me of when they take over kids an everything

22- Shame

When you meet somebody that you might like or something, sometimes it's a bit shame when you walk in a place and there's a lot of people sitting down watching you, it's a few Nungar people in my class are a bit shame o f .. that when they see pictures in books and like this like the lady sometimes when someone makes fun of them then they go along with it, start laughing and everything,

F: What was the last bit? When someone …?

I: When someone um like someone tha's white they see Aboriginal people in books they start laughing and everything and some Aboriginal person sitting next to them starts laughing with 'em

F: and then it's a shame?

I: Yeah, that's they're shame of their culture

23- Life

It's fun having a Nungar life, and mistakes,

24- Lovely

Kangaroo meat and damper, relatives, and in the bush, and some lovely rocks that you pick up in the bush from the Ancestors,

25- Important

Important education and I think it's important that Aboriginal people learn more Aboriginal words, and it's important that they need their relatives,

26- kangaroo

nice, some Aboriginals need it to survive in the bush, easy to cook, nice with damper and sometimes it feels a bit cruel to kill 'm and eat 'm but then in other words it's okay because you need it to survive,

26- smash

fighting, arguing, not getting along, not understanding each other's feelings

28- speaking

Nungar, learning words and English,

29- hunting

kangaroos, kangaroo meat, food, like hunting for things to eat

30- going out

fun, seeing Aboriginal people, and meeting up people, enjoying yourself, experiencing stuff,

1- Aboriginal
Lots of Aboriginals at the school, I'm Aboriginal,
2- Home
I don't like being at home much, too boring,
3- Food
Food is yum,
4- People

5- Fight

6- Family
I've got lots of people in my family, got a big family, got lots of family
7- Country
The country I come from is Kija country
8- Fun
I went out with my friends and had fun
9- Australia
A nice place to live, it's not as busy as Melbourne an all that
10- Camping
Camping with my family in the bush
11- Story
My pop's Dreamtime stories, they're like how Dreamtime's stories and all that
12- Birds
Birds like to fly, they're scared of humans,
13- Animal
I've got four animals, four dogs, actually two dogs and two pups
14- Mum
My mum is nice
15- Dream
I've a dream that I get my test right, get 100 percent,
16- Watching
Watching TV
17- Take-away
Have a pencil and someone took it away
F: you mean steal it?
I: Yeah
18- Walk
Walking through the bush,
19- Deadly
Tiger snake is deadly
F: What if someone says "Your deadly"
I: It means 'you'er wicked, cool'
20- park
today after the class I'm going to the park, park has got lots of trees in it,
21- White
Most people are white
22- Shame
If you say the wrong word, cause everyone starts laughing
F: What's the difference between shame and shy?

I: Nothing, it's just the same

23- Life

My life is good,

24- Lovely

Flowers are lovely

25- Important

I've got test coming up, it's important to get 100 percent

26- kangaroo

jumping around in the bushes

26- smash

smashing a glass,

28- speaking

in loud voice, speaking to you

29- hunting

catching stuff, running around, with my pop hunting kangaroos

30- going out

to dinner or to the movies or something, with someone,

1- Aboriginal
They lived here before everyone else came here,
2- Home
You house, you go home after school,
3- Food
You eat food, and you go for wegies,
4- People
Friends, not friends, some people are selfish
5- Fight
People get hurt,
6- Family
They're there for you, when you need 'm they look after you, you call 'm aunie and uncle an cousins
7- Country
We live in a country, there's country sides,
8- Fun
Having a good time, doing what you look, making houses, and playing ghost
9- Australia
All the lands that are connected to Australia, Tasmania, and I live in WA, Perth, Aboriginal people lived here before and everyone used to not see Australia because of the water and the water went away and everyone could see it, and I think Captain Cook or something went the opposite way and saw it
10- Camping
Can be at school with school, with your mum, your parents, with your cousins an all that, at the backyard in home, sleeps,
F: how do you camp in the backyard?
I: You get a tent in the backyard,
F: Is it fun?
I: Yeah
AIEO: We do it with a sheet, make a tent out of a sheet,
11- Story
Bedtime story, you can be reading a story, reading and listening a story, someone can be reading it to you
12- Birds
Fly, they're different colors, they go north or south when it gets to winter
13- Animal
Furry, cute, little, big, tall, short, an poisonous, not poisonous, they live in water or land,
14- Mum
One of the people who look after you, one of your parents, someone you loves,
15- Dream
In your sleep you can dream, an you aunies and your granmas tell you Dreamtime stories,
16- Watching
Looking, you can do spying,
17- Take-away
Food, it's got heaps of grease on it, and you have to take away,
18- Walk
You can fast, slow, you can walk the same paste, you can

19- Deadly
Dangerous, it depends on what you're talking about, sword or something
20- park
slings, slides, and sand
21- White
Color, people, Aboriginals used to paint with it,
22- Shame
embarrassed, shy,
23- Life

24- Lovely
Nice, beautiful, girls, it's not easy,
25- Important
A test, going somewhere, family's house, or going to my brother who lives in
Geraldton, school
26- kangaroo
they jump, some people eat their tales, I don't like the smell of it, people use their furs
for their jumpers an that,
26- smash
gonna beat or something then you're getting into a fight
28- speaking
talking to their face, looking at 'm
29- hunting
looking, using a tool,
30- going out
Town, Mirrabooka, in a car, bus, taxi,

1- Aboriginal

2- Home
Made out of brick and wood, cements, you can catch lizard, cause in my house heaps of lizard live on this tree, I have pets, a vicious dog, every time some one passes he barks, even if you knows them he barks,

3- Food
Chocolate, bicies, cream, wheatbics, breakfast, meat, Lasagna, Pizza, steak, kangaroo, kangaroo is meat,

4- People
African people, whitefalla, blackfallas, and Chinese, an Vietnamese,
F: Don't you use 'blackfalla' for African people?
I: Na, Aboriginal, Nungar

5- Fight
Black, die, kill people, kick 'm over, push 'm over, dunna.

6- Family
Black, play, chasing, hide, scare 'm like trick or treat,

7- Country
Africa, Australia, Tasmania, North, South Wales, North, South, East an West, they're countries, China, Vietnamese, New Zealand,

8- Fun
Parks, teddy,

9- Australia
Four different people, the whole world is Australia, some Aboriginals live in it and white falla, Chinese, Vietnamese, Indian,

10- Camping
Tent, sticks to hold up to your tents, sleeping bags, pillows, people,

11- Story
Books, words, letters, pages, pictures, people, read the stories, made, paper, cardboard, plastic,

12- Birds
Fly, chickens, chiks , African birds,

13- Animal
Cats, dogs, kangaroos, birds, wolf, snow wolf, bears, snow bears,

14- Mum
Kids, mum make kids, mum makes, the mothers make name for them, people love mums, buy them presents even if it is not their birthday, but I bought my mum something nice,

15- Dream
Dogs, dream of dogs, trying to hurt, dream of people, story, like you dream of someone reading you a story, or if you tell they might come true,

16- Watching
TV, Television, watch light go on and off, electricity,

17- Take-away
Adds, take away money, steal money from the bank, sums, dogs run away,

18- Walk
Go for a walk, walk holding stuff, jump, jumping, skipping,

19- Deadly

Deadly animal, wolfs, lizard, tigers, bears, polar bears, vicious dogs, psycho people,
20- park
play, hide, pole, slide, hoarse, riding,
21- White
White people, white paper, white cardboard, white light, white bright like bright stuff, as you get up you can see bright stuff,
22- Shame
When you go in class you're shame, when you first see 'em, when you're baby people are shame, when you just come out of their stomach, they're shy, shame means shy, blackfallas they're shame,
23- Life
Live, nothing, safe your life, wife, women and men have wife,
24- Lovely
Sexy, animal, when they're babies, they're kids, babies are lovely, when their skin soft,
25- Important
Flags are important, cause the colors, Australia is important,
26- kangaroo
Aboriginal paint kangaroos, meat, you make stuff warm out of them like out of their skin
26- smash
smash people, smash cops, fight, smash door, keyboards, computers, doors, cupboards, tables, whiteboards, blackboards, with an axe
28- speaking
talk, walk, when you walk you speak, we're talking now, and run,
29- hunting
tool, blackfallas hunt, food, throw spears, kangaroos, boomerangs,
30- going out
play, talk I'm going out, going for a walk, go out for weeks and don't come back, just walking off,

1- Aboriginal
Hunting animals, culture, painting, spears and boomerangs
2- Home
Rooms, toilet, bathroom, people, pool, drinks
3- Food
Hungry, eating, drinks
4- People
Body, walking
5- Fight
Sad, speared
6- Family
People, together, walking, fighting,
7- Country
Town, people, animals, plants, an animals
8- Fun
Happy, playing,
9- Australia
States, towns, countries, flags,
10- Camping
Tents, hunting, animals, trees, people, food,
11- Story
Good, bad, talking,
12- Birds
Feather, cats, bugs,
13- Animal
Nature, scary, good and bad,
14- Mum
Lovely, happy, sad, angry,
15- Dream
Bad,
16- Watching
TV, cartoons, shows,
17- Take-away
chips,
18- Walk
Places, town, park, shops,
19- Deadly
Snakes, crocodiles, spear, guns,
20- park
swings, playing, together, grass,
21- White
Colors,
22- Shame
Unhappy, scared, talking, you're shame to talk to people (learning from his
Aboriginal sister),
23- Life
Nature, people, God,
24- Lovely
People together, kisses,

25- Important
People, nature, animals, sunscreen,
26- kangaroo

bouncing, eating,
27- smash
glass, rocks, watches, glasses,
28- speaking
words, questions, teachers,
29- hunting
animals, bears, trees, bushes,
30- going out
cars, buildings, trucks, roads, bushes, people, signs,

1- Aboriginal

They eat different food, they're different color, they were first people at Western Australia,

2- Home

Trees, leaves, plants, a dinner table, an bothers,

3- Food

Chicken, bread, milk, worms, kangaroo, octopus,

4- People

Some people have different color skins, not all the people look the same, some people hunt, different nationalities,

5- Fight

Punching, kicking, inching, biting,

6- Family

Mum, dad, brothers and sisters, babies, unties and uncles, nanas and pops

F: All of them are around you?

I: No

F: Where are they?

I: My nana and pop is live up in the hills, my auntie and uncles live up in the hill with my nana and pop, and my mum and dad live at home with me, except for my dad lives up in Mandura, and my brother sister, my brother lives with his dad, and my sister lives with her boyfriend or husband

7- Country

People,

8- Fun

Laughter, happiness,

9- Australia

Different nations, countries, different lands, different colored people, cities, towns,

10- Camping

Tent, fire, wood, people, kangaroo hunting sometimes,

F: What people do that sort of thing?

I: Aboriginal people

11- Story

Words, people, pictures,

12- Birds

chirping, funny, some birds talk

13- Animal

Deadly, predator,

14- Mum

Loving and caring person, helpful,

15- Dream

Happiness, adventures,

16- Watching

TV,

17- Take-away

18- Walk

Movement, feelings,

19- Deadly

Snakes, knives, hot water,

20- park
play, grass, trees, kids, parents, animals,
21- White
Color,
22- Shame
Disappointed, not happy,
23- Life
People, families,
24- Lovely
Beautiful, caring,
25- Important
School is important, learning,
26- kangaroo
family,
26- smash

28- speaking
laughter,
29- hunting
kangaroos, spears, people,
30- going out

1- Aboriginal
Friends, playing, strong,
F: Do you have a lot of Aboriginal friends?
I: Yeah
F: How many?
I: Six
F: Do you play with them?
I: Sometimes
F: Have you learned any words from them?
I: A bit boomer
F: What does it mean?
I: Kangaroo
F: Yeah
2- Home
Lounge, wardrobe, kitchen, laundry, bedroom, chair, table, door, bathroom, toilet, spoon, saucepan, oven, fridge,
3- Food
Sweet, delicious, yum, nice,
4- People
Aboriginal people, Malaysian people, English people, Muslim, Vietnamese, Chinese,
5- Fight
Country, kicking, hitting, smashing, hurting, scared,
6- Family
Brother, uncle, auntie, nana, grandma, mum, sister, cousin,
7- Country
Big, small,
8- Fun
Football, soccer, silent ball, dancing, singing, baseball, basketball,
9- Australia
Friendly, enjoyable, nice, playful.,
10- Camping
Friends, playing, sleeping, drinking, eating,
11- Story
Reading, listening, talking,
12- Birds
Magpie, crow, eagle, black, white,
13- Animal
Friendly, mean, strong, tall, small,
14- Mum
Nice, sweet, playful,
15- Dream
Fun, scared, frightened,
16- Watching
Looking, listening, seeing, fun,
17- Take-away
Toys, games, people,
F: Why did you say people?
I: cause some people steal.
F: Steal what?

I: like food
18- Walk
Run, jump, jog, foot, muscles, breath,
19- Deadly
Wrestling, punching, kicking,
20- park
fun, slides, running, friends,
21- White

22- Shame
Sad, heartbreak,
23- Life
Fun, enjoyable, late, fighting, singing, dancing,
24- Lovely
Sweet, loveable, nice,
25- Important
Listening, speaking, reading, watching, talking,
26- kangaroo
brown, jumps, big, strong, long tail,
26- Smash (notice he says friends for Aboriginal)
fighting, grabbing, punching, kicking, wrestling,
28- speaking
mouth, talking, eating, yelling, writing,
29- hunting
catching, eating, gun, spear, boomerang,
F: Who hunts with all these?
I: Aboriginal people
30- going out
fun, excited, play, walking, running,

1- Aboriginal

I think they are just like people too, and there's no reason we can't live in harmony and everything, and I don't really know many people that are Aboriginals, but I know lots of people that are from other countries, they're really nice, if there wasn't so much conflict in the world I think everyone could live in piece and harmony and that would be good.

2- Home

Is where I go every time I finish school, where I can sit down relaxed lay on my bed, and do whatever I want, whenever I want, I don't have to live up to the standard or anything at home like at school, so I can basically relax

3- Food

I like eating food, especially salads and cheese and ice-cream and I like eating chicken, and fish every once in a while and it's really good to come home for a snack or something, and it's just you need food

4- People

People I think just the most popular inhabitant of the world and I just feel that from just more people are born everyday

5- Fight

Personally I hate fighting, and I reckon fighting is like not very very good, cause people can get hurt, and here they should live in piece and harmony, stuff like that,

6- Family

Everyone needs a family, and it's great to be able to come home to your mum, and talk about the stuff that you did, make something bake a cake or do something with them, just to make you feel good, and to be able to come home and your dad be able to make a model with you or something or help do the dishes

7- Country

Well, there's lots of them around the world and I'd like to travel to some of them when I'm older, particularly one like Australia, yeah Australia is one of the best, country is basically where your home is, and I reckon you should never forget that

8- Fun

I think apart from education you have to have some fun and that it should at least once a day it's really good for your body when you fun, cause most fun it's done outdoors and that is

9- Australia

Where I live, where lots of native plants and animals wild life live, a very green country, it is very pretty, it's go t some great sites, and I'm really glad that I lived here all my life, rather live anywhere else cause it's just a great place to live in.

10- Camping

I like camping indoors but not outdoors, because it's too cold outdoors, and I like campfires and roasting marshmallows on them, and I like just doing craft and stuff like that

11- Story

I like writing them and listening to them to get different ideas, I like fantasy ones, cause I reckon they are imagination and I think if you a work you can keep your imagination, and that's good and precious,

12- Birds

Magpies and I like them, they are really cute and pretty, and I've got or used to have one, they would whistle to you a canary

13- Animal

Most of them are cute and cuddly, I like seeing them at the zoo, I like treating them as pets, I like watching them on TV,

14- Mum

Is just a person in my life so far, and I really appreciate her, and I reckon they should get awards, and paid and stuff like that, the house can be hard

15- Dream

Nice when they're not nightmares and it's just doesn't happen very often now,

16- Watching

Watching television is fun, watching things happen is fun and you learn a most you watch, and it's good to watch before you actually do it, so you know what you're doing,

17- Take-away

The food or take something from someone, my from take-away is Chicken Treat, and I like the burgers, it's nice to have a change from making and it costs lots of money,

18- Walk

You do for fun or fitness, let go and have a good time

19- Deadly

Stay from it, snakes, and stuff like that

20- park

fun, just do whatever you like basically,

21- White

It's not really color, it's nice color, not so hot, it's a great color for clothes, and it's color for camouflage

22- Shame

Disorder and annoying, naughty, thinking about what you did

23- Life

It's really great and it's fun and I hate to be without it, everyone should have it

24- Lovely

Flowers, nice shoes, some animals, a figure of speech

25- Important

Education, food, water, shelter, air,

26- kangaroo

mammal, it's cute, I see in the zoo mostly

26- smash

smashing stuff, like just toys, cracking them

28- speaking

languages, communication, learning, chatting, communicating

29- hunting

spears,

30- going out

dinner, fancy dress, meeting friends, relatives, having good time, polite,

1- Aboriginal
Cultural people, Dreamtime stories, spear, hunting, boomerang,

2- Home
It's a good place, play different games, TV, hobbies,

3- Food
Eat it, lots of different kinds of food, different colors, healthy for you, you need food to live, it can rotten

4- People
Humans can do different sorts of things, they eat, they'll drink, poeple are related

5- Fight
Kicking, teasing,

6- Family
Mum, and dad, brother, and sister,

7- Country
They have a boundary

8- Fun
Things that are fun, sport, play in the playground,

9- Australia
Island, Tasmania broke off, tourists,

10- Camping
You take water, you take sleeping bag, pillow, you bring a tent, usually go in the bush to camp, you take candles,

11- Story
You can read them you can tell them, you can act them out

12- Birds
They fly, they can be different colors, usually eat seeds, you can have a pet bird, they come in different sizes, they live in the trees,

13- Animal
Amphibians, all over the worlds, they live in different trends

14- Mum
She gave birth to me, she looks after you,

15- Dream
Myths, gods,

16- Watching
You look at it, you look at something, keep a close eye, spy, see something, you stare,

17- Take-away
You can get take away from different countries, Chinese food, Hungry Jacks and Pizza and dissert from take away, sometimes you can go through drive through, and vegies,

18- Walk
You move your legs, you can a walk in different places, you can move in different directions,

19- Deadly
Poisonous, can be creatures,

20- park
play there, lots of slings, you can play different games, you can walk your dog there

21- White
It's a color, it's bright, you can see it from far away,

22- Shame

You've done something wrong, you feel guilty, walking in front of a crowd and you're a little shame
23- Life
You grow up, you go through stages, teenager, adult, and child
24- Lovely
Nice, caring, yum,
25- Important
You needed, you have to remember it, celebrations,
26- kangaroo
they jump, they hop, they come in different shapes and sizes, and have a pouch, marsupials, they live in the bush, sign says you watch out for kangaroos on the road,
26- smash
punch, kick, fight, hit (He says his Aboriginal friend uses the word in this sense)
28- speaking
talk, speaking different languages, some people are speechless
29- hunting
a sword, spear, weapons, human, animals, hiding,
30- going out
going out to different places, going out to the shops, movies, restaurant, park,

1- Aboriginal
Scary, dangerous,
2- Home
Happy, excited, sad,
3- Food
Apple, banana, orange, mashed potato, peas,
4- People
Sad, excited,
5- Fight
Upset, angry, hurt,
6- Family
Exciting, happy, sad, upset, cheerful,
7- Country
Exciting, fun, dangerous,
8- Fun
Exciting, hopeful, laughing,
9- Australia
Exciting,
10- Camping
Fun, exciting, dangerous,
11- Story
Exciting, sad, funny, boring
12- Birds
Funny, boring,
13- Animal
Exciting, playful,
14- Mum
Fun, beautiful, exciting,
15- Dream
Exciting, fun,
16- Watching
Fun, looking,
17- Take-away

18- Walk
Slow, fast,
19- Deadly

20- park
fun, exciting, playful,
21- White
Bright,
22- Shame

23- Life
Wonderful, fun, special,
24- Lovely
Pretty, beautiful,
25- Important

Special,
26- kangaroo
jumping, cute, tall,
26- smash
scared, upset,
28- speaking
loud, soft,
29- hunting
dangerous, fun,
30- going out
fun, exciting, special,

1- Aboriginal
People, culture, and nice people, they like to tell lots of stories,

2- Home
A place where we sleep, there's family lives in it, there's chairs and TVs and heaps of rooms and place where people go,

3- Food
Eat, sausages, cooking, meat and vegetables,

4- People

5- Fight
People hitting and punching, kicking, bad, and people get hurt, and not friends,

6- Family
People who love each other and care for each other and heaps of people, and old people and young people,

7- Country
A place, the world, people,

8- Fun
Cool, playing, going to a movie or something is fun

9- Australia
Beautiful, green, heaps of people, heaps of country,

10- Camping
Tents, fishing, swimming, beaches, trees, animals, people,

11- Story
Book, imagination, pages,

12- Birds
Wings, colorful, fly, they have eggs, they live in trees,

13- Animal

14- Mum
Lady, nice, sometimes mean, person who looks after you, someone who loves you and care for you,

15- Dream
Nightmares, imagination, good things,

16- Watching
Working,

17- Take-away
Maths,

18- Walk
Moving, slowly,

19- Deadly
Lions, snakes, and stuff like that

20- park
trees, equipment, people, lakes, rocks,

21- White
Car, paper,

22- Shame
Embarrassed, like if you say something, it's not right something, you get shamed.

23- Life
Living together,

24- Lovely
Nice,
25- Important

26- kangaroo
hop. Animal, jump, joey,
26- smash
fist, break, people,
F: Why did you say 'fist'?
I: cause people smash and fight
F: So smash means 'have a fight'?
I: yeah
28- speaking
listening, talking, mouth,
29- hunting
spears, knives, animals, food,
30- going out
getting dressed up, putting up make-up brush your hair,

1- Aboriginal

Another culture that was here in Australia before the settlers came and my friends

2- Home

Where I live, where I was brought up to,

3- Food

What I eat, different foods that I eat, like take away food, Chinese, Australian

4- People

my friends, people who I love, like business people,

5- Fight

When two people argue, it's kind o like fight and bloodily, people punching each other kicking each other,

6- Family

People, my relatives who I love, people who I care about, my mum and dad, auntie and uncle, our relatives

F: Have you got relatives here?

I: Most of them are in Malaysia and China.

7- Country

Like Australia, any other country from the world, Albania,

8- Fun

Enjoy myself and friends, have a joke or something

9- Australia

Where I was born, where I live, and it's great nation

10- Camping

Like I go to a camp and camp in a tent, go for school camps and other camps,

11- Story

Like a story book or novel, fiction, non-fiction,

12- Birds

Things on the air, have great sound,

13- Animal

Not human, something like a pet a dog, cat,

14- Mum

A person who I love, she gave birth to me,

15- Dream

Go to bed and I dream, Dreamtime stories from Aboriginals and other cultures,

F: Do you know any Dreamtime stories?

I: yeah

F: Have you got a lot of Aboriginal friends?

I: yeah

16- Watching

Watch like looking at something, watching TV,

17- Take-away

Not to give but to take, greed

18- Walk

Verb, action, like running

19- Deadly

Something's dangerous towards my life,

20- park

I go to park to play, parks have picnics,

21- White

It's a color,

22- Shame

I do something wrong and I blame myself, and

23- Life

Live my life like in future, have done a life in past and present,

24- Lovely

Something is nice, good, someone is in love with someone else,

25- Important

Things that are important to me like my education, my learning,

26- kangaroo

Aboriginals hunt for them,

F: Do they still hunt kangaroos?

I: yeah

26- smash

someone having a fight like sound effect,

28- speaking

like when different languages I don't speak, like Indonesian,

29- hunting

Aboriginals hunting for like food

30- going out

go to friend place and play, , or like go to dinner, celebrate,

1- Aboriginal
Black, hunts a lot
2- Home
Sometimes boring, fun,
3- Food
Chocolate, sweet
4- People
Nice, lots of people
5- Fight
Scary, bad and
6- Family
Nice,
7- Country

8- Fun

9- Australia
Place to live and lots of cool places, exciting, and
10- Camping
Scary, fun, and wicked
11- Story

12- Birds
Flying, high, and small
13- Animal
Lovely, cute
14- Mum
Nice and playful,
15- Dream
Sleeping
16- Watching

17- Take-away

18- Walk
Society and fun
19- Deadly

20- park
fun, playful,
21- White

22- Shame

23- Life
Cool,
24- Lovely
nice

25- Important
Sleep,
26- kangaroo
red and brown, hunting,
F: Who hunts kangaroos?
I: Aboriginals
26- smash
mean, bad,
28- speaking
speak
29- hunting
scary, bad
30- going out
fun, exciting,

1- Aboriginal
Color, skin, friends,
F: Do you have Aboriginal friends?
I: Yeah
F: Do you spend a lot of time with them?
I: yeah
2- Home
Family,
3- Food
Hungry, tasty, eat,
4- People
people, body, leg
5- Fight

6- Family
children, adults, mum and dad, ,
7- Country
Outback, old, car, tent, love, fruit, together,
8- Fun
Funny, play, friends,
9- Australia

10- Camping
Rug, pillow,
11- Story
Listen, long, short,
12- Birds
Wings, big, fly, eggs,
13- Animal
Dangerous, deadly, cute, cuddly
14- Mum
Love, funny,
15- Dream
wanted, fight
16- Watching
Eyes, fun,
17- Take-away
Sad, upset,
F: Why did you say upset?
I: cause if someone takes your favorite things away you get upset
18- Walk
Legs, feet, toes, shoes, pathway,
19- Deadly
Kill, poisonous,
20- park
swings, ball, monkey bars,
21- White
Mix,
22- Shame

Scared, embarrassing,
23- Life
Eggs,
24- Lovely
Beautiful, pretty, colorful, good looking,
25- Important
Remember, meet,
26- kangaroo
jump, big, big feet,
26- smash
hurt,
F: Why did you say 'hurt'?
I: Cause if people smash you it hurts?
F: What do you mean by 'people smash you'?
I: fight you
28- speaking
mouth, tongue, teeth,
29- hunting
killing, die, bush,
30- going out
car, dog, family,

Aboriginal,
Nungars,

Home,
Place, a house, home

Food,
Dinner, vegetables, dinner, vegetable food

School,
Play,

group,
class, a room,

play,
a playground, you play, you play with friends, you play with puzzles,

teacher,
to be good for teacher,

lovely,
fun, good, happy, fun, good,

money,
not allowed to bring money to school,

fight,
not allowed to fight at school, gotta be friends,

family,
be good to your family,

country,
 a place,

fun,
happy, good, fun,

colors,
pink colour, yellow colour, orange, blue, purple,

Australia,
A place, a house, you run,

Camping,
A place, a house,

City,

Time,
A clock,

Story,
Read a book, you look at the book, read a book,

Bird,
 They fly, they got wings, they can go and land on the trees, they can go on the fence, and they can eat, they go in the cage so they can't fly

BBQ,
You eat BBQ, you get a chair and bring outside, sit on the chair,

Kangaroo,
They hop, they eat,

Drink,
You drink it all up, you put it in the sink,

Mum,
You listen to your mum, you watch TV, you go with your mum,

Open,
You open the door, you knock on the door, you shut the door,

Horse,
They run, they walk, and they have dinner

Feed,
You eat feed, you make feed, da's mean dinner, after you finish feed you put it in the sink and you wash it.

Dream,
You dream about God, you dream about Jesus,

Watching,
You watch people, you look after people , you make sure they don't go,

Someone,
Person, people,

Sing,
You sing to people,
take away,
you take something away, and you steal

 walk,

you walk so you don't sleep, you walk to shop, you walk to the pool and a bank,

cousin,
 you'd be good to your cousin,

Deadly,
Fun, you're happy, you're good,

Aboriginal (60)

Aboriginal,
Nungars, wangies, Yamatjies, Kennedys, Nungars kids, Nungar's uncle, Nungar's
pop, Nungar's nan, Nungar's brothers, 'n sisters, 'n aunnies, yr cousin, 'n yr mum '
dad, yr friends

Dream,
Cousins, 'n uncles, 'n brothers, 'n mum , 'n dad, tiger, 'n a crocodile, snakes, koalas,
dolphin, 'n sharks,

Home,
Families, clean, live, mum and dad, sisters an' aunnies, an' uncles an' aunnies, an'
cousin, an' brothers, an' you look after it, got your own bed, and it got lounge,
kitchen, an' table,

Food,
Ye eat, cornflecs, you get up in the morning, fruit, wheetbix, rice bubbles,

People,
Families, an' your uncles, an' your brothers, 'n your cousins, sisters, and aunnies, 'n
your uncles, 'n your pop, an' your mum and your dad, an' mum,

Animal,
Tigers, 'n dolphins, sharks, crocodiles, snakes, koalas, crocodiles, monkies,

Shame,

Life,
Uncles, mum, dad, brothers, sisters, aunnies, cousins, pop, 'n nan, sisters,

White,
Car, white door, white house, white shirt, white 'elmet, white short, white shirt, white
bricks,

Important,
Important is fire,

Kangaroo,
Hop, they look, they can 'ear, they're in bushes

Smash,
Smash glass, smash your hand,

Watching,
Watching a movie, watching a video, TV, watch you're playing football,

Deadly,
Your work,

Walk,
Walk with your aunnies, walk with your uncles, walk with your mum and dad, walk with your pop and nans, 'n uncles, 'n cousins, 'n your mum, 'n your cousin, 'n your sisters, and walk with your dog,

Take away,
Like you take away something, take away your stuff,

Mum,
Mum'd take you to shops, mum'd take you to your brothers, 'n yer aunnies, 'n yer uncles, 'n to yer brothers, 'n yer sisters, 'n cousins, 'n then back home,

Country,

Camping,
Camping with your uncles, sisters, and your uncles, pop, and nan, brothers, 'n sisters, uncles, cousins, 'n, mum'n dad, 'n nan 'n pop,

family
at home, ye clean up it, look after it, water the garden, sweep up the driveway,

story,
read,

lovely,
lovely is your work, lovely is your writing, lovely friends,

fight,
fight with your friends,

birds,
trees, fly, nest,

fun,
fun with your friends, play fun stuff, fun climbing up the trees, sitting on the swings,

Park,
Play with your friends at the park,

Hunting,
'unting food, 'unting kangaroos, 'unting for dinner,

go out,
go out somewhere, go to stay night, go to your nan, 'n go out to your nans and annies, and your mum and dad and brothers and sisters,

speak,
speak like nungars, speak like you're Chinese, sometimes speak like watjellas,

Home,
You live at home, you can play with your friends at home, you sleep at home, make breakfast at home,

Kangaroo,
Kangaroo hops, you spear at Kangaroo,

Food,
Ye eat food, eat food for lunch, eat food for breakfast,

People,
People can walk, people can jug, people can run, people can walk,

Fight
Ye have a fight, people punch, they kick, they slap people,

Fun,
Fun on the wings, fun on the slides, you play with your friends, go down the poles,

Birds,
Birds fly, birds live in trees, birds have babies, birds have a nest,

Story,
You read story, you read books, you read different books, you have fun with stories, read story at night, you read 'em

Animal,
What does animal mean?

Mum
You like your mum, we love our mum, our mum reads us stories, mum gives us stuff,

Family,
Love your pop, love your nan, love our mums, love our dads,

Smash,
Smash something, smash TVs,

Lovely,
Love people, you love yourself, you like your friends, love peoples,

Shame,
Shy, people are shame,

White,
People are white, papers are white, tissues are white, shirts are white, cars are white, shoes are white,

Speak,
You speak to people, speak quietly, Speak loud, speak English,

Dream,
Dream of something, dreams of lots of stuff,

Australia,
We come from Australia, you care about Australia, you have fun in Australia,

Walk,
People walk,

Country,
To live in a country, you come from a country,

Hunt,
Go out hunting, stay out hunting,

Deadly,
You look deadly,

Important,

Go out,
You go out somewhere,

Life,
You live with your life, you like to stay with your life,

Park,
You play at the park,

Camping,
You get ready to go somewhere, you camp out,

Watching,
Watching television, watch people, watch