

# THE ORIGIN AND SPREAD OF ABORIGINAL PIDGIN ENGLISH IN QUEENSLAND: A PRELIMINARY ACCOUNT

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## INTRODUCTION<sup>1</sup>

From 1823 onwards, Europeans came in increasing numbers to that part of New South Wales that was later to become Queensland. As a result it was inevitable that some form of English would become the lingua franca between the original inhabitants of the land and the intruders just as it had done in New South Wales.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, because Queensland was originally part of New South Wales and was largely settled from it in the important formative years between 1823 and 1859 it was highly likely that forms of Pidgin English spoken in New South Wales would form the basis of that lingua franca, if it was not adopted entirely.

The purpose of this paper is to look briefly, and somewhat impressionistically (for want of better data and historical knowledge at this point) at the questions implied in these claims; e.g. How did Aborigines and Europeans communicate in early Queensland? Was there a recognised standard Pidgin English? If so, how did it develop and why; if not, why not? This is attempted by presenting and discussing linguistic data that have been obtained from a varied, though limited number of sources, both published and unpublished, covering the relevant period, and by relating those to socio-economic developments in Queensland at that time.

These data (together with some attitudinal notes) are those presented in Appendices 1 to 5. They range roughly over the period 1838 to 1900 and can be divided into five sets according to time and geographical location: those in Appendix 1 come from the south-east corner of what is now Queensland but was at that time the convict settlement of Moreton Bay (see Map 1). Those in Appendix 2 come from the squatting area inland of where Brisbane now is but outside the area of the former

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<sup>2</sup> Baker 1970:311-20.

penal settlement of Moreton Bay. Those in Appendix 3 are later and come from scattered points about the state but generally north and north-west of those covered in Appendix 2. Appendices 4 and 5 give comparative data from New South Wales at the time.

These data are interesting in that they exhibit obvious features of pidginisation of English (e.g., use of such syntactico-lexical items as *been*, *fellow*, *-im* (on verbs), *me*, *plenty*, *belong*, *longa*, *byamby*, *close up*, *what for*) and confirm to some extent casual reports that some form of Pidgin English was used by, and between Aborigines and Europeans in early Queensland. However, the researcher's task is to attempt to go beyond casual observations and reports, and to provide as precise as possible answers to the sorts of questions that were referred to above. This is no easy task even in the best of circumstances but in the present case where the study is just beginning it is made more difficult by the kind and amount of data available.

Thus, for example, all the data used in this study are biased in one way or another since all have been obtained from written sources in which descriptions are made solely from a European point of view. There are no Aboriginal sources and the Aboriginal side of the contact picture is never given. Furthermore, in no cases are the data actually phonetically or otherwise accurately recorded words or stretches of speech at the time of utterance. Instead they are merely items attributed to speakers (by Europeans) at some other (usually considerably later) time and usually for some particular (but usually comic) reason. As a result there are serious gaps in the data and the precise socio-linguistic details about what was actually said and done are not provided and cannot be recovered from the available descriptions. Instead the intricacies of contact across the Aboriginal-English linguistic boundary are left to the imagination of the researcher and are usually passed off with such tantalising, all-embracing and quite meaningless phrases as 'successful intercourse was had with the natives'. Consequently in using the available data one has to not only recognise their limitations and nature but also try to make certain allowances for these features. In this study the latter has been attempted firstly by presenting as much of the data so far collected as possible, and secondly, by presenting them in the context in which they occurred. In this way biases are at least exposed and the validity of claims made laid open to inspection. On the other hand, however, one has to face the fact that these data, poor as they may be, are, for socio-historical reasons, the only ones available at the moment. They thus have to be taken as a guide to the sort of language that Aborigines were using and/or were exposed to at the time, but especially in the early stages of settlement when communication was still very much from European-to-Aborigine and vice versa, and when that language had not yet become the medium of communication amongst Aborigines themselves. When that happened this language, normally referred to as 'broken English' in the literature, could be expected to have undergone changes and become stabilised as many other similar languages have done in other areas and situations (e.g., on plantations). Yet all the data are obviously not of the same quality (e.g., some of them are almost straight English) and so for present purposes only differences between data and standard English are counted as manifestations of Aboriginal usage at the time; and conversely, wherever there are no differences the data are regarded as ambiguous and cannot be invoked to make claims about Aboriginal Pidgin English.

Finally, since the New South Wales scene prior to and/or contemporaneous with the Queensland one has not yet been studied there are other comparative details that cannot be included in this account. Thus, for example, although it is clear that a Pidgin English was spoken in New South Wales from earliest times,<sup>3</sup> its nature and use have not been described in any detail to date. Consequently it is not possible to say exactly what kind of Pidgin English served as the basis for developments in Queensland and so what differences, if any, developed there. In lieu of this it has been assumed, for present purposes only and until the question can be investigated further, that there was a reasonably uniform and standardised variety of Pidgin English in New South Wales and that this was spread from Sydney (Port Jackson) outwards in various directions with expanding settlement. Nor has it been possible to take into account the possible effects that Aboriginal languages from the relevant areas of New South Wales and Queensland may have had on the development and spread of Pidgin English in those areas, and so to refine the conclusions reached at this time. The situation is complex but the problem briefly stated is as follows: Aboriginal dialects and languages (in so far as these have been described) in the south-east corner of Queensland belonged to at least three different groups or families – Waka-Kabic, Durubulic, and Banjalangic<sup>4</sup> – which, although related to one another and to other groups or families further afield in Queensland and New South Wales at a high level, were not mutually intelligible. They were, however, generally similar in structure and contained some related basic vocabulary (e.g., words for some body parts, common objects, and verbs.<sup>5</sup> As a result it was presumably relatively easy for Aborigines from different areas to learn each other's language, especially where, as happened in Queensland at bunya nut feast times, many different tribes came together regularly for relatively long periods.<sup>6</sup> However, despite reports of widespread bi- or multi-lingualism amongst Aborigines no precise information about the extent of this amongst the relevant south-east Queensland and New South Wales tribes are available. Consequently, while these various factors undoubtedly had their effect on the nature and spread of Pidgin English in New South Wales and Queensland, it has not been possible to take them into account in the present study. For these and other reasons touched on above, therefore, the present account can only be regarded as a preliminary and exploratory one.

*SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN EARLY QUEENSLAND  
AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF PIDGIN ENGLISH*

Queensland developed socio-economically initially on two fronts: a south-east corner coastal front settled from Sydney via coastal sea routes, and an inland one settled by squatters and patrolled by police coming overland from inland New South Wales. Because the coastal contact occurred in a number of fairly discrete stages it is

<sup>3</sup> Baker 1970:311-20, supported by data in Appendices 4 and 5 herein.

<sup>4</sup> Wurm and Hattori 1981: map 21.

<sup>5</sup> Curr 1887, vol.IV.

<sup>6</sup> Tindale 1974:124-6.

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convenient to divide this further into at least three phases: an early one, a middle one and a late one. Linguistic data are available only from the last two.

### *Coastal settlement: early phase (1799-1823)*

The first known contact between Aborigines and Europeans in Queensland (excluding Captain Cook's contacts in northern Australia in 1770) occurred in 1799 when the explorer Matthew Flinders spent several weeks in Moreton Bay mapping the bay and exploring the country around the Glasshouse Mountains.<sup>7</sup> During this time Flinders and his crew had a number of peaceful contacts (apart from an early incident when Flinders fired on a man and his companions after they had thrown sticks and a spear at his party) with the natives of Bribie Island (see Map 1). During these contacts the Aborigines learned to call Flinders 'Mid-yer Pindah' and his brother Samuel 'Dam-wel' and Flinders in turn learned some of their names.<sup>8</sup> In these contacts Flinders was assisted by Bon-gree or Bongaree, an Aborigine from 'the north side of Broken Bay' (i.e., from around the mouth of the Hawkesbury River north of Sydney) whom he had brought with him as interpreter and envoy to any Aborigines he might meet on his journey.<sup>9</sup> Although Bongaree was apparently not able to communicate with the Bribie Islanders directly through his own and/or their language, even though Flinders observed that they had 'nearly the same words in calling our people that would have been made use of by a Port Jackson [Sydney] native',<sup>10</sup> he apparently did so quite effectively through sign language.<sup>11</sup> Because of his similar cultural

<sup>7</sup> Collins 1802.

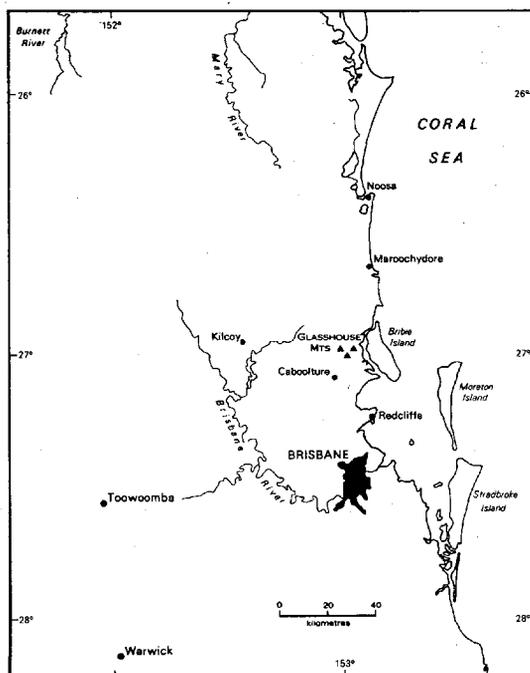
<sup>8</sup> Collins 1802:251-2.

<sup>9</sup> Bongaree (Bungaree or Boungaree) was one of a small band of celebrated Aborigines from around the Sydney area during the early years of settlement [Pike (ed.), 1966:177]. He spoke 'English' of a kind that is illustrated by the following surviving sentence recorded by D'Urville(?) in 1796: 'No, massa, no tomorra; derekle, brandy, derekle' [No Sir, not tomorrow; straight away, brandy, straight away] (Dutton 1974:30). He is not to be confused with another later Bongaree who was educated at Sydney College by a Mr Coxen 'who intended to send him to one of the English Universities and who later joined the Native Police in the early 1850s' (Skinner 1975:85-6, and n.4, p.407; Select Committee Report 1861:166). Nor is he to be confused with Binnelong or Binalong another famous Sydney Aborigine who went to England with Governor Phillip in 1792 (Bridges 1978:79, n.8 and 9).

<sup>10</sup> Collins 1802:231.

<sup>11</sup> It is also probably true as Laurie (1959:156) points out that it is 'not unreasonable to assume that the local [Bribie Island Aborigines] would view Bongaree with hostility as being a foreigner and a trespasser in their country and would have him dealt with according to the law of the tribe'. But one must remember that other factors probably came into play to soften these attitudes: e.g., it was the European who was the centre of attention - the way in which he suddenly appeared, his physical attributes, and his powerful firearms. In any case explorers generally found Aborigines of considerable value as envoys (and helpers in other ways) and 'Mitchell, Sturt, Eyre, Leichhardt, Warburton, Gregory, Landsborough and Kennedy have left honourable records of their aboriginal companions' (Meston 1895:80). Burke and Wills, who did not take any Aborigines with them, were seen to be very foolish (Bennett 1927:44) and probably owe their tragic end to this. In Leichhardt's case his two Aboriginal 'boys' (from Bathurst and the Hunter River [Leichhardt 1847:xiv, xv]) apparently easily made

(cont.)



Map 1: Sketch Map of the Moreton Bay Area, Queensland.

background, however, he was naturally of considerable assistance to Flinders in helping to understand and interpret the actions and intentions of these Aboriginal strangers.<sup>12</sup>

After Flinders left the area at the beginning of August no European (or English-speaking Aborigine) visited the area (as far as is known) until John Bingle, 'who had been sent from Sydney in command of the Colonial cutter *Sally* in 1822',<sup>13</sup> to search for what is now known as the Brisbane River. He did not find it but again established friendly contact with the Bribie Island inhabitants. Subsequently William L. Edwardson in the cutter *Snapper* visited the area to continue the search but left without result. He is also presumed to have had some contact with the same Aborigines as the anchorage used until later was that discovered and used by Flinders near Bribie Island.

Finally Lieutenant John Oxley, who was convinced that there must be such a river, was sent to the area himself in November 1823, to look for a suitable site for a convict settlement for doubly convicted convicts from New South Wales. It was on this visit that he discovered and rescued two of three Europeans — Thomas Pamphlet, John

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contact with local Aborigines in inland south-west and western Queensland (although they were not at ease in the alien environment) and, indeed, eventually got Leichhardt into trouble by meddling with their women (Leichhardt 1847).

<sup>12</sup> I have not seen Flinders' journal but Collins' account is based on it and quotes from it.

<sup>13</sup> Holthouse 1982:8.

Finnegan and Richard Parsons<sup>14</sup> — who had been living with the Aborigines of the Moreton Bay area (including those of Bribie Island) for the previous eight months after they had come ashore on Moreton Island in April 1823. These castaways were ticket-of-leave men who, with another companion who died on the voyage, had left Sydney on 21 March 1823, to buy cedar on the Illawarra coast and had been blown off course during a storm. They survived by the kindness and generosity of the Aborigines with whom they communicated in sign language, although they apparently began to 'pick up' Aboriginal words<sup>15</sup> and undoubtedly taught the Aborigines some English.<sup>16</sup> During this visit Oxley used Finnegan's knowledge of the area to find the Brisbane River. Oxley then returned to Sydney and plans were drawn up to open a penal settlement in Moreton Bay.

At the end of this period then friendly relations had been established with Aborigines in Queensland and their help had been enlisted in exploring the Moreton Bay area and in saving the lives of stranded whites. In this situation Aborigines had been exposed to English and to the superiority of the foreigner's arms. But conditions were not favourable for the rapid formation and spread of any sort of Pidgin English. This was so for two reasons. On the one hand, because of their similar cultural backgrounds Aboriginal contact men or envoys could presumably make themselves understood without the aid of any specific common language. On the other hand, because the castaways were in the weakest position numerically they would most likely have made an effort to learn as much of the Aborigines' language as they could rather than the Aborigines trying to learn English. Whatever stimulus there was for the development of a Pidgin English would have probably resulted in a variation of the language used in New South Wales, in particular, a rudimentary jargon incorporating pieces of New South Wales Pidgin English and Moreton Bay languages (particularly the Bribie and Stradbroke Island ones) and accompanied by much hand waving and sign language. Unfortunately we have no data from this period (except for the two rather uninformative items already quoted) to justify or modify this conclusion. However, given the nature and infrequency of contact there seems little reason to doubt it. And this is how things may have continued for a long time were it not for the fact that conditions changed rather suddenly after 1823 when the Aborigines were to be drawn into closer contact with Europeans, and English, whether they liked it or not.

<sup>14</sup> Parsons was away at the time but was rescued later by Oxley.

<sup>15</sup> Pamphlet, for example, learned at least the name *dingwa* (taken to be a misreading of *bungwal* given later by Curr [1887:223] and Lang [1861:392] for 'fern root' and presumably other items of food given to him, if nothing else (Steele 1970:6).

<sup>16</sup> There is one tiny piece of evidence to support this: the comment in Cilento and Lack (1959b:76, n.3) that castaways Parsons, Pamphlet and Finnegan had some 'Five Islands' biscuits with them 'which they distributed to the aboriginals on Stradbroke Island' and that fifteen years later natives on the Darling Downs, seventy-odd miles away inland, were demanding biscuits from Europeans with the expression 'faiv-allan'. In other ways too this is an interesting piece of data as it implies that not only did Parsons and his companions teach the Aborigines the name of these biscuits but that this name was transmitted inland by 'bush telegraph' ahead of European settlement. Unfortunately Cilento and Lack do not give the sources of this information.

*Coastal settlement: middle phase (1824-42)*

In September 1824 Oxley returned to Moreton Bay to found the proposed convict settlement. He had with him on this occasion 'Lt Millar, his wife and family, his storekeeper, storekeeper's assistant, his detachment of fourteen men of the 40th and his twenty convicts'<sup>17</sup> and a settlement was founded at what is now Redcliffe on the northern side of the bay. However, this situation proved to be unhealthy and exposed to the weather so the settlement was shifted upstream to where Brisbane now stands. It remained there until the end of the convict era in 1842<sup>18</sup> and gradually developed into the capital of the new colony of Queensland.

During this time no free settlers were allowed within fifty miles of the convict settlement and for the first ten years or so Aborigines probably had little contact with Europeans<sup>19</sup> except for occasional visits to the settlement for European food and fishhooks, and apart from looking after numbers of convict absconders who had 'run' from the settlement and stayed with them for varying periods.<sup>20</sup> The most famous of these were John Baker, John Graham, Samuel Derrington, David Bracewell (or Bracefell or Bracefield), James Davis, and Bribie the basket-maker who took up residence in different parts of the south-east corner of Queensland and spent many years with their adopted tribes: Baker spent fourteen years in the Lockyer Valley and Darling Downs area (see Map 1); Graham was in the Noosa area for six and a half years (see Map 1); Derrington in the Burnett River area for nine years; Bracewell (whose Aboriginal name 'Wandi' is said to have meant 'great talker') in the Maroochy River headwaters for 'several years'; Davis (or 'Duramboi' meaning 'bandicoot' in his

<sup>17</sup> Cilento and Lack 1959:61.

<sup>18</sup> This was the official reason but it was also 'unhealthy' because of the proximity of Aborigines. Two convicts and one soldier had been speared by Aborigines and the area was regarded as unsafe (Cilento and Lack 1959a:61; Holthouse 1982).

<sup>19</sup> Just how much contact Aborigines had with Europeans around Brisbane is difficult to assess. Mr G. Langevad, who is currently working on the nature and size of the Moreton Bay settlement, has pointed out to me that amongst other things: (a) the size and nature of the Moreton Bay settlement is still not clear; (b) some convict gangs had been as far afield as the Tweed River in 1826 and out towards Kilcoy in the 1830s after cedar; (c) there were many more runaway convicts than is perhaps realised but often these were at large for short periods only; (d) the number of convicts varied between ten in the first batch to upwards of a thousand for a time (Lang 1861:58); (e) there was probably considerable contact between soldiers and Aboriginal women but because this was unofficial and clandestine it is difficult (impossible?) to document.

<sup>20</sup> Apparently there are many of these noted in the convict register (which I have not seen) some of whom subsequently returned to the settlement, some of whom were never heard of again, and a few to be noted shortly, who remained for up to fourteen years with the Aborigines. For example, Evans and Walker (1977:42-3) give a long list but as mentioned above Langevad says that the exact size and nature of the Moreton Bay settlement is not yet clear. Some of these runaways were later used as interpreters and/or informant-translators by the government (Skinner 1974:10) and the German missionaries (Gunson 1960-61:526). As already pointed out, at least two convicts were speared by Aborigines.

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area) in the Mary River valley for fourteen years, and Bribie on Bribie Island for many years.<sup>21</sup>

Unfortunately there is no evidence of the effect the convict settlement or the runaways had on the development of Pidgin English amongst the Aborigines. However, both presumably contributed to some acquaintance with rudimentary, if rather crude, English amongst them. Thus, for example, one source claims that in New South Wales convicts were generally of low class and had no scruples about taking Aboriginal women as prostitutes, of introducing alcohol, and of teaching Aborigines the worst phrases in English.<sup>22</sup> That similar things happened in Queensland would appear to be indicated by a number of references in the literature studied so far, among which are the following:

On 18th April we visited the camp of the Blacks . . . To our great sorrow we found several convicts (whites from the prison) among them; they go there to satisfy their depravity . . . they give them their wives and daughters in exchange for food and old rags and the most terrible diseases are spread through all the tribes.<sup>23</sup>

Most of the white people who are employed on the stations are convicts, mostly unmarried, and devoid of any morals and principles . . . mix freely with black women.<sup>24</sup>

Since Brisbane-town has been opened to the colonists to settle, the outlook appears very bad for our heathens. They only steal and ask for money to buy spiritous drinks and tobacco etc. in town. They do not even think of working any more; the whoring with soldiers and colonists is limitless.<sup>25</sup>

Subsequently sexual exploitation of Aboriginal women became an important part of frontier life in Queensland<sup>26</sup> and undoubtedly had its effect on the nature and transmission of Pidgin English; but a consideration of this is beyond the scope of the present investigation.

From 1837 onwards until the early 1840s, however, the Aborigines in the environs of what was later to become Brisbane were brought sharply up against English, when attempts were made to 'missionise' them by the Reverend J.C.S. Handt of Brisbane and a number of German missionaries of the Grossner Mission, at what is now the suburb of Nundah.

Handt arrived in Brisbane with his family on 17 May 1837, to replace the Reverend J. Vincent who had left Brisbane at the end of 1829. However, unlike Vincent who had been chaplain only to the settlement and had not attempted to 'missionise' the

<sup>21</sup> Holthouse 1982. There is some confusion in the literature over the local names given to these convicts and other details (Cilento and Lack 1959b; Lauer 1977:6, Evans and Walker 1977:42-3; 93, n.2) but these details are not relevant to the present discussion.

<sup>22</sup> Bridges 1978:356-80.

<sup>23</sup> Grossner Mission, June 1841.

<sup>24</sup> Leichhardt 1842-8:32, 27 August 1843.

<sup>25</sup> Grossner Mission 1844.

<sup>26</sup> Evans 1975:102ff.

Aborigines,<sup>27</sup> Handt had come to act as chaplain to the convict settlement and as missionary to the local Aborigines. He had come to Moreton Bay from Wellington in New South Wales where he and the Reverend Watson had been missionaries to the Aborigines with the Church Missionary Society for four years (1832 to 1836).<sup>28</sup> Handt estimated that there were between 200 and 300 Aborigines within a radius of ten miles of Brisbane in 1838. He attempted to communicate with these firstly in English and later in their own language, which he set about trying to learn as soon as he arrived after he found that Wiradjuri, the language he had studied at Wellington, was of no use to him. He found the task difficult, however, because the 'Aborigines' knowledge of English was much more limited than in more settled parts of the colony [of New South Wales] and in 1839 still extended very little beyond a capacity to ask for food'.<sup>29</sup> Nevertheless he persevered and was 'very soon reporting an ability to conduct some conversation with his native charges through the use of a mixture of his slight grasp of their language and their broken English'.<sup>30</sup> Yet Handt was soon disappointed in his mission to the Aborigines as he was unable to influence them because of what he alleged were their unsettled and unprincipled ways. He complained that they constantly demanded food and fishhooks and would do little in return, even stealing from him as soon as his back was turned. They were, moreover, he claimed, insolent and abusive to his family and even spat at his children and subjected them to physical hurt.<sup>31</sup> He noted, however, that they soon picked up English but only in relation to acquiring their wants.<sup>32</sup> Because of his habit of giving into their wishes just to have some of them around to attempt to preach to the mission was soon reduced to a laughable farce<sup>33</sup> and he was forced to give up in the end, although he claims he had succeeded in teaching some boys to read the alphabet, to write a little and to recite some prayers.<sup>34</sup>

Overall it can be said that Handt helped spread a knowledge of what he calls 'broken English' although according to Bridges, only at the expense of making Aborigines more insolent and disrespectful towards 'Whites'. The German missionaries who came soon after him fared a little better because they adopted a different policy. Thus whereas Handt would give food and other things to any Aborigine who happened to be around just to have him stay and be preached to, the Germans demanded more and would not give food or other items without some concentrated effort.

The German Mission was established by missionaries from Berlin.<sup>35</sup> There were 38 members altogether — several pastors and other support staff. They were encouraged

<sup>27</sup> Bridges 1978:804.

<sup>28</sup> Bridges 1978:434-54.

<sup>29</sup> Bridges 1978:811.

<sup>30</sup> Bridges 1978:811.

<sup>31</sup> Bridges 1978:830.

<sup>32</sup> Bridges 1978:827.

<sup>33</sup> Bridges 1978:830.

<sup>34</sup> Bridges 1978:827-8.

<sup>35</sup> Gunson 1960-61.

to come to Moreton Bay by the Reverend John Dunmore Lang whose father was lost at sea along the south coast of Queensland in 1831 and was presumed to have been killed by Aborigines. He was anxious to have the heathens introduced to Christianity. According to surviving sources the Germans conducted school for the Aborigines using 'English' as their main language as well as 'passages from the sacred scriptures . . . transplanted by Bracefield [the convict runaway mentioned above]'.<sup>36</sup> But their English was not very good (e.g., Hartenstein says that they had to take lessons: 'We all have to learn English well and therefore are practising considerably to be able to teach to the heathens')<sup>37</sup> and Petrie<sup>38</sup> says that the missionaries were mocked by the Aborigines because they were 'unable to speak English'. The missionaries themselves admitted that their 'talk' with the Aborigines was 'partly in English and partly in their language'<sup>39</sup> and that they were only able to communicate with them because they spoke 'broken English'.<sup>40</sup> In those cases in which they went into areas where 'English' was not known they used an interpreter (e.g., 'Our Black who accompanied him interpreted to the people [of Ningi] ').<sup>41</sup>

The Germans adopted the policy of instructing their charges:

twice a day, in the morning and afternoon, about five hours altogether, though there be but two or three present. There is likewise, as far as is practicable, a school kept in the bush . . . whose turn it is to travel among the natives. The method of instruction . . . is similar to that used in infant schools; besides that the children are taught the principles of religion, they are instructed in spelling, reading, ciphering and writing; in the schoolroom they write with chalk on a board, and in the bush with charcoal on a sheet of bark, or with a stick in the sand. The progress they have made bears, however, an inferior proportion to the time and strength which have been spent on them; not so much on account of their being in want of faculties, as by reason of their unsettled and fugitive habits.

The native children who attended the mission school were taught side by side with the few children of the whites, the missionaries thinking that in a mixed school the discipline of the white children would have a steadying effect on the black. The youngest children only of the natives, generally those of about six years of age, could be persuaded to submit to school discipline. They learnt rapidly

<sup>36</sup> Gunson 1960-61:526.

<sup>37</sup> Grossner Mission, 2 February 1839.

<sup>38</sup> Select Commission 1861:112.

<sup>39</sup> Grossner Mission, April 1839.

<sup>40</sup> Grossner Mission 1840. This presumably means that this 'broken English' was of their own making for they had not been in Sydney en route to Moreton Bay for very long and they hardly saw any other Europeans who might teach them.

<sup>41</sup> Grossner Mission, August 1842. The Germans also had curious, but perhaps not uncommon, attitudes to Aboriginal languages for the times. Thus for example, they had great difficulty in learning the Aboriginal language spoken around them yet they could not see the discrepancy between this and their view of the language as extremely simple, as indicated by Hartenstein as follows: 'They have only nouns in their language like children when they learn to speak. The other words must be borrowed from other languages or fabricated and taught to them.' (Grossner Mission, 2 February 1839.)

enough, but the constant habit of going into the bush with the tribe prevented any sustained training. The women would learn the Lord's Prayer, and then when the tribe visited the township, repeat it to the whites in the Settlement in return for a coin, a penny or a sixpence.

Education was, in fact, merely a matter of merchandise to the native youngsters; attendance at school was regarded as a service rendered to the whites, to be paid for in food.<sup>42</sup>

The school was not regularly attended, however, and some of the Aborigines 'stayed . . . from five to six months; others a few weeks, and the generality a few days'.<sup>43</sup> The mission gradually folded between 1841 and 1850 for want of government support. Subsequently the pastors moved to different fields elsewhere in Australia while the support staff became the first free settlers in the Brisbane area.

At about this time also the convict settlement was closed down and the Brisbane area was thrown open to selection and free settlement. Land was progressively taken up in the area until by the time of separation from New South Wales in 1859, most of the land had been alienated. We return to this in the next section.

It is during this middle period that we begin to get some better indication of what was happening linguistically on the coast. We have already noted Handt's comments about the Aborigines' use of 'broken English' when he arrived and how they soon learned more English to ask for what they wanted. In addition one of a number of squatters who were moving into the area west of Moreton Bay at this time (as we shall see in the next section) made the valuable observation that on one of his excursions looking for better country he was accompanied by 'a native named Jimmy Beerwah, who could speak a little "dog English" or blackfellow slang, having been occasionally at the German Mission near Brisbane'.<sup>44</sup> But this 'blackfellow slang' was apparently not of a kind that he was used to for he later notes that 'Jimmy Beerwah no doubt tried to explain this [how he got his name] to us, but our ignorance of the Moreton Bay black's slang prevented us from understanding him'.<sup>45</sup>

Thus, although these comments do not enable us to point to a pidginised form of English, they do suggest that whatever it was that was developing was based on English but was sufficiently different from Pidgin English used in New South Wales that it was difficult for a New South Wales Pidgin English speaker to understand. However, when these comments are taken into account with the data we have available from this period (see Appendix 1) it is clear that the 'blackfellow slang' which was developing was:

(a) more than a 'dog English' or 'broken English' (a phrase also used later by another source of the time)<sup>46</sup> but was rather already a restricted Pidgin English which contained such typical Pidgin English features as *fellow* as an adjectival and pronominal marker; *been* as a past tense marker; some form of *-im* as a transitive verb marker; and

<sup>42</sup> Sparks 1938:30.

<sup>43</sup> Sparks 1938:29.

<sup>44</sup> Archer 1897:56.

<sup>45</sup> Archer 1897:57.

<sup>46</sup> Petrie 1904:9, 185, 252.

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as well such common Pidgin English vocabulary items as *all*, *byamby*, *gammon*, *Mary*, *how many*, *long*, *picaninny*, *plenty*, *this fellow*, *too much*, and *stop* (as 'live' or 'be in a place');

(b) probably based on New South Wales Pidgin English and was not a separate development because at least several items of vocabulary (*budgery* 'good', *bael/bel* (and other forms) 'no, not', *gin* 'Aboriginal woman') are of New South Wales origin;<sup>47</sup> and,

(c) different from New South Wales Pidgin English (and therefore difficult to understand) because of the distinctive Aboriginal vocabulary that it contained. Thus, for example, it contained such words as: *jackeroo* 'stranger, missionary',<sup>48</sup> *darkery* 'strange', *humpy* 'shelter, house', *dickey* 'wonderful', *dalto* 'eat', *bibler/baibala* 'bread', *yacca* 'work',<sup>49</sup> *mudle/mudlo* 'stone', *tar* 'ground', *yinnell* 'creek', *kippa* 'boy, young man', at least several items of which (notably *humpy*, *jackeroo* and *yacca/yacker*) have since passed into Queensland if not into standard Australian English.

### *Coastal settlement: late phase (1843 onwards)*

Although I have not had opportunity to pursue the exact sequence of events in this period my understanding of what happened is as follows. After the cessation of the convict era the Moreton Bay area was thrown open to selection and free settlement and available land in the area was rapidly taken up. Thence followed a demand for labour to help build an economic base for the budding new state. In consequence, immigration became an important concern with progressively more and more Europeans (and Chinese, who came to Australia as a result of the gold rushes or were brought to work as labourers in the expanding pastoral industry) coming to the new state when it was declared. Without more exact details, however, it is impossible to assess the effect of the changing social scene in Queensland on the nature and spread of the coastal Pidgin English that was developing. My guess is, however, that because there was a certain amount of exploration along the coastal zone preceding settlement in which Aborigines from around Moreton Bay were used as guides and

<sup>47</sup> Baker, 1970. There may be other such words but these have not been investigated to date.

<sup>48</sup> Meston (1895:32) has an interesting note on this: 'Another word used throughout Australia is "jackeroo" the term for a "newchum", or recent arrival, who is acquiring his first colonial experience on a sheep or cattle station. It has a good-natured, somewhat sarcastic meaning, free from all offensive significance. It is generally used for young fellows during their first year or two of station life. The origin of the word is now given for the first time. It dates back to 1838, the year the German missionaries arrived on the Brisbane River, and was the name bestowed upon them by the aboriginals. The Brisbane blacks spoke a dialect called "Churrabool", in which the word "jackeroo" or "tchaceroo" was the name of the pied crow shrike, *Stripera graculina*, one of the noisiest and most garrulous birds in Australia. The blacks said the white men (the missionaries) were always talking, a gabbling race, and so they called them "jackeroo", equivalent to our word "gabblers".' As pointed out by Meston the first reference to this term is in the German Mission records (see Appendix 1) but there it is spelled *jackaioo* which is presumed to be a scribal or reading error.

<sup>49</sup> Baker (1970:325) records that *yakka* (and variants) 'work' was first recorded in the Brisbane area in 1838 but gives no reference, but this is presumably again the Grossner Mission.

contact men<sup>50</sup> that the form of Pidgin English spoken around Moreton Bay was spread along the coast. At the same time, because of the increased contact with Europeans around the Brisbane area (as evidenced by the fact that alcohol was becoming a problem with the Aborigines,<sup>51</sup> it is likely that the Aboriginal content of the early and middle phases was gradually watered down, or rather, the English content was expanded at the expense of the Aboriginal content. Given the more settled conditions, too, it is further likely that there was increased contact between Aborigines from different language areas which would probably have had a levelling or stabilising effect on the Pidgin English that was developing.

Unfortunately again because of lack of data it is not possible to verify these guesses. Only one of them appears to be borne out by the available data — to wit, the diluting of the Aboriginal content. Thus of those Aboriginal words that occur in the early coastal period (Appendix 1) only some recur in the later period (see Appendix 3) e.g., *budgery* 'good', *bung* 'dead', *cabon* 'very'. Others such as *dalto* 'eat', *likin* 'in, along', *tar* 'ground' do not, English derived words having been substituted for them. At the same time there is a veritable wealth (comparatively speaking) of evidence that a fairly normal Pidgin English was developing, if it had not already done so, in the area,<sup>52</sup> which was characterised by the following features:<sup>53</sup>

- (1) use of such English-derived syntactico-lexical items as *all same as*, *been*, *belong*, *brother*, *byamby*, *come*, *fellow*, *gammon*, *he*, *how many*, *longa*, *marsa/master*, *missus*, *my word*, *no*, *picaninny*, *plenty*, *runaway*, *salt water*, *sit down*, *stop*, *too much*, *what for*, *where*, *you*;
- (2) no subject-verb agreement:  
*Where that fellow stop?* (143)<sup>54</sup>
- (3) no copula:  
*He no good* (209)  
*bael; that fellow too much saucy* (158)  
*Hello, Jemmy, you good fellow now, no more steal* (168)
- (4) use of *no* to negate sentences:  
*bael* [= not] *me know; me shot self, no go see many ducks* (158)  
*My word, no gammon Governor* (205-6)

<sup>50</sup> Petrie (1904:258) notes, for example, that when Andrew Petrie, his father, discovered the Mary River in 1843 he was accompanied by, amongst others, 'five prisoners of the Crown [who] formed the boat's crew, and two aborigines belonging to Brisbane'.

<sup>51</sup> Petrie 1904:185.

<sup>52</sup> One difficulty with Petrie (1904) is that even though the central character, Tom, spoke the Aboriginal language around Brisbane (see for example, p.145), his daughter who recorded his reminiscences did not (as far as is known) and so may have left out those words with which she was not familiar. On the other hand because Tom was only a youngster when he came to Brisbane he must have learned his Pidgin English there and so his examples should be authentic. However, distinguishing between them and his daughter's renditions of them is still a problem that cannot be solved until more is known about how the book was written.

<sup>53</sup> I ignore here the observable variation that occurs in the data between such things as the use of *I* and *me*, *my*, *your* and *belong* + Noun, *no* and *not*, *duck* and *ducks* for example. For the time being I have regarded this variation as part of the idiosyncracies of the authors although it may well have been characteristic of the Pidgin English of the time. This question cannot be answered until additional data are found.

<sup>54</sup> Numbers in brackets refer to page numbers in Petrie (1904) given in Appendix 1.

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- (5) no auxiliary verb 'do' where in English this is mandatory:  
*When he come back?* (143)  
*bael [= not] gettem duck* (158)  
*no go see how many ducks* (158)
- (6) past tense indicated by *been*:  
*Oh I been feeling about for 'taggan'* (186)  
*I been telling other blackfellows to mind you till I come back* (186)  
*My word! me bin find big fellow ston, longa yinnell* (204)
- (7) no inflected auxiliary verb 'to be' plus *-ing* used to indicate present continuous tense where in English this is obligatory:  
*Bring gun, plenty duck sit down longa here* (9)  
*Where that fellow stop?* (143)  
*When he come back?* (143)
- (8) future tense marked by *byamby*:  
*byamby me makeim come* (186)  
*byamby me hanker* (209)
- (9) transitive verbs marked by *-im*:  
*cuttem* (186)  
*gettem* (158)  
*makeim* (186)  
*takem* (158)
- (10) pronoun *me* for subject pronoun *I*:  
*Bael me takem gun* (158)  
*byamby me go down* (186)  
*me not be away long* (186)  
*me bin find bigfellow stone* (204)
- (11) no definite article:  
*longa yinnell* (204)  
*bring gun* (9)  
*bael gettem duck* (158)  
*shoot bird* (248)
- (12) no plural markers on nouns:  
*plenty duck* (9)  
*trouser* (205)
- (13) adjectives and pronouns marked by *fellow*:  
*good fellow*  
*that fellow*  
*this fellow*  
*black fellow*
- (14) *plenty* as universal descriptive for 'many, a lot' and never occurs with 'of' as in English e.g.,  
*plenty duck* (9, 157)
- (15) *longa* used as a preposition for 'in' (204), 'on' (186) and also where in English no preposition is used, as in *longa here* (9)
- (16) use of *what for* for 'why':  
*What for the diamonds (soldiers) shoot us?* (145)  
*What for you put so much powder and shot in gun* (158).

This Pidgin English carried on certain features observed in the earlier phase (viz, use of the grammatical features *fellow*, *been*, *how many*, *-im*). As well it shows traces of the historical contact between Sydney and Moreton Bay in the use of certain distinctive vocabulary items like *bael/baal* 'no, not' (which varies in this data with

no), *budgery* 'good', *dilly/dilli* 'carrying bag', *gin* 'Aboriginal woman'<sup>55</sup> which were in use in New South Wales before the establishment of the Moreton Bay settlement.

On the other hand it contains a number of distinctive vocabulary items that were and/or must have been in use in New South Wales at the time but which do not seem to have survived into other pidgins of the area: *cranky* 'angry' (208), *diamonds* 'soldiers' (145, 168), *hanker* 'handcuffs' (203, 209), *know* 'know, recognise' (158), *lock up* 'imprison' (209), *mind* 'look after' (186), *remember/know* (184), *saucy* 'irascible, belligerent' (7, 158, 209, 275).<sup>56</sup>

### *Inland Settlement*

While Moreton Bay was still a convict settlement a great squatting push was under way from New South Wales into the southern and western parts of Queensland, following routes previously discovered by Allan Cunningham in the late 1820s.<sup>57</sup> From the early 1840s on, squatters and/or their agents and their recruited Aboriginal servants drove flocks of sheep (and to a lesser extent cattle) overland from southern and western New South Wales into this area and took up land around the west of the fifty mile convict settlement zone. The first to arrive were the Leslie brothers who took up land on the Darling Downs in March 1840. These were soon followed by others, however, who spread further over the downs and then spilled over the range into the Lockyer and Brisbane River valleys.<sup>58</sup> Others quickly followed and by the early 1850s most of the available land in the Brisbane, Burnett, and Mary River valleys had been taken up.<sup>59</sup> The occupation of land traditionally 'owned' by the many different Aboriginal groups in the area immediately brought forth a marked change in the relationship between Aborigine and intruder. Whereas previously the Aborigine had generally extended the hand of friendship to the European, who had not yet posed any real threat to his land and livelihood, he was now forced on to the offensive as he realised his lands and livelihood were in danger of being forcibly taken away from him. The squatters for their part adopted differing attitudes towards the dispossessed. Some, like the Archers, Tom Petrie (later) and Christison (later again), realised that they were taking the Aborigine's land and livelihood away from him. They therefore attempted to integrate the Aborigine into the squatting system by coexisting with him and allowing those groups who belonged to an area now claimed as squatters 'runs' to continue to live there while at the same time employing them

<sup>55</sup> Baker 1970. Note that Welsby (1917:76) records *gin* as part of the Aboriginal vocabulary of Stradbroke Island in the early 1900s. Presumably this means that Pidgin English was such a part of their life by then that *gin* had replaced their own word *jundah* (or *thundal*) for 'woman' (Curr 1887:226).

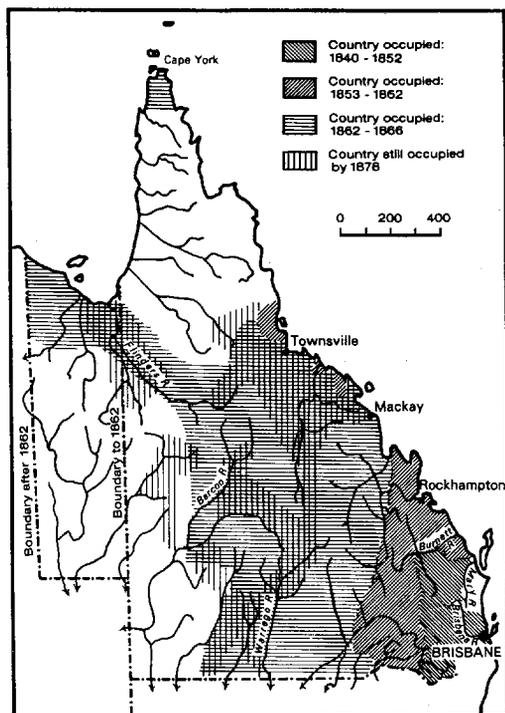
<sup>56</sup> Many of these can undoubtedly be traced to English usage or English dialects represented in Sydney at the time but I have not had time to research this aspect yet.

<sup>57</sup> Cilento and Lack, 1959a; see also Map 2.

<sup>58</sup> Meston 1895:32-3.

<sup>59</sup> Reynolds (1978b) gives peaks in this expansion as follows: early 1840s, Darling Downs and Brisbane River valley; late 1840s and early 1850s, Wide Bay/Burnett River and Maranoa; late 1850s and early 1860s, Fitzroy River basin. Then followed the new frontiers of gold mining in the 1870s and beche-de-mer/pearling in the 1880s.

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Map 2: The Squatting Occupation of Queensland.

(After Roberts, 1924: 140a)

as labourers.<sup>60</sup> Others adopted a less conciliatory and understanding attitude and attempted to drive the Aborigine off his land. And while the peaceful coexistence philosophy generally worked well for those who adopted it the overall result of the confrontation between white and Aborigine was more or less undeclared war with the Aborigines attempting to drive the pastoralists and their flocks from the land and the squatters in turn shooting and/or poisoning the Aborigine at every opportunity.<sup>61</sup>

<sup>60</sup> For expressions of these attitudes, see Archer Brothers (1833-55: letter by John Archer, c.8 November 1841, and letter by Thomas Archer, Durundur, 10 September 1843) and Archer (1897:49). Tom Petrie's attitude is expressed in various parts of Petrie (1904). Christison's (who established Lammermoor station near Hughenden in the 1860s) view is expressed by Bennett (1927:56) as follows: 'Christison, looking ahead, thought out the question, what to do about the blacks, and boldly made up his mind to let them come in at all hazards - in his view the only workable policy - for the homestead waterhole was a meeting hole of the tribes, whose hunting grounds ranged back from the creek as far as a man could travel without water. To be kind, firm and aloof, and keep his word, was, he believed, all that was necessary to establish a good understanding with them, but it was important to get into good communication with them at once.' These positive attitudes were, however, as Reynolds (1979a:13) points out, the exception rather than the rule.

<sup>61</sup> Evans and Walker 1977:47ff.; Laurie 1959; Loos 1982; Reynolds 1978a, b. Reynolds (1978a:n.32; 1978b:24) estimates that 800-850 Europeans and their 'allies' (i.e., Chinese, Melanesians, and so-called 'civilised blacks') were killed between 1840 and 1897 in Queensland, 400 of those in southern and central Queensland between 1841 and 1871 when the expansion (cont.)

This 'war' and the introduction of European diseases not only promoted the intruders at the expense of the Aborigines whose numbers declined rapidly, but also brought forth a special mounted police force — a native police force — to help control the situation (basically to help the pastoralists survive in the increasingly hostile environment).<sup>62</sup> This force was established in 1848 and consisted of a number of sections located at different stations throughout the squatting zone. The sections consisted of a handful of Aboriginal troopers drawn from different areas of western and northwestern New South Wales previously 'pacified' by the colonists. They were commanded by European officers.<sup>63</sup> The following table shows the origin and numbers of recruits for the first few years of the force:

Date	Number of Recruits	Recruited from	Source
1848	14	'four different tribes each speaking a different language, in the Murrumbidgee, Murray, and Edward Rivers' (of southern New South Wales and northern Victoria)	Skinner (1975:28-9)
1850	15	Murrumbidgee and Lachlan Rivers of New South Wales	ibid.:35
	17	Denniliquin, New South Wales	ibid.:35
1852	48	Barwon, Balonne, Namoi, Condamine and MacIntyre Rivers, New South Wales and far south-west of Queensland	ibid.:85
1854	'two new sections'	Clarence District, New South Wales	ibid.:147

Linguistically there are several important consequences of the arrival of squatters and the police who followed them into Queensland. One is that because they came into Queensland via an inland route direct from New South Wales they had no contact with the coastal region. Another is that because they came, as far as the evidence indicates, speaking New South Wales Pidgin English and brought Aboriginal 'servants' with them from western and northwestern New South Wales who also spoke it,<sup>64</sup> it

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was just beginning and somewhere between 420 and 440 in North Queensland between the first settlement at Bowen in 1861 and the passage of the Aborigines Protection Act of 1897. Of these approximately half (i.e., 400) were in the pastoral industry (although precision is impossible).

<sup>62</sup> Skinner 1975, 1978.

<sup>63</sup> Skinner 1975.

<sup>64</sup> The Archers brought Mickey and Jimmy from west of Sydney and en route picked up another called 'Billy Grey, of the Camilroy tribe on the Namoy River' (Archer 1897:39, 44). Christison picked up 'an intelligent blackboy from Wellington on the Murray', and 'steered north for the unknown country between the Warrego River' into Queensland (Bennett 1927:44). However, there were other 'boys' in Queensland whose manner of getting there is not known. Thus, for example, Ridley met 'an aboriginal native of the Hunter River district who had been to Scotland' and whom he said spoke 'both English and Gaelic with great accuracy and fluency', and could 'read and write the former; but . . . had forgotten his mother tongue' (Ridley 1875:435-6).

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must be expected that New South Wales Pidgin English, or some variant of it would come to be the lingua franca of the squatting zone.<sup>65</sup> Finally, because the squatting move was so quick, the acquisition of Pidgin English by Queensland Aborigines inland of Moreton Bay would have been much faster than in the coastal area. Thus, while there was still probably a jargon period in which Aborigines were learning Pidgin English, this would have been much shorter than on the coast and probably did not involve incorporating so many Queensland Aboriginal vocabulary items into it. Not surprisingly this inland variety turns out to be very similar in most structural respects to that of the coastal Pidgin English of the late period, having the following features in common with it: *bel/bale/bael* 'no, not', *V-im, me* for *I, fellow, been, budgery, merri/Mary, know, devil-devil, sit down* (= be, exist). Only in one or two cases does it appear to differ from the coastal variety (excluding those cases like *suppose, altogether, maki-haste, direc'ty, good way, see, believe*, which do not occur fortuitously in coastal Pidgin English), notably in using *-im* as a transitive marker on all verbs instead of *-it* as in the coastal variety, and similarly in using *eatim* instead of *dalto* for 'eat', *wantem* instead of *like it* for 'want to', *cole* instead of *cranky* for 'angry', and *yarman* instead of *tar* for 'ground'. It is also probable that this variety never had the words *diamonds* and *croppies* for 'soldiers' and 'convicts' respectively, as these were not part of the social scene in the inland areas.

### SUBSEQUENT DEVELOPMENTS: 1859 AND BEYOND

Following the establishment of Queensland as a separate colony, increasing numbers of immigrants poured in to work for landholders or as artisans in the closer settled areas and/or to take up smaller holdings (or selections) themselves around them. New settlements also opened up as the timber industry expanded and a plantation system developed, firstly built around cotton (1863)<sup>66</sup> and subsequently around sugarcane. At the same time squatters pushed ever farther northwards until by the end of the 1870s most areas of the state had been occupied (see Map 2) and the original owners dispossessed of their ancestral lands.<sup>67</sup> In the ensuing 'development', Aborigines largely lost out, except where they found niches in the sheep and cattle industries as station hands and stockmen. Elsewhere the remnants of former larger groups drifted to the edge of towns and eventually, for many of them, ended up on reserves or settlements.<sup>68</sup> Bribie Island was amongst the first of these although it only lasted from 1877 to 1879.<sup>69</sup>

Because they were regarded by most Europeans as unreliable and lazy, Aborigines were not involved to any great extent in the plantation industries. After other sources of labour were tried and found wanting, large numbers of South Sea Islanders were

<sup>65</sup> I assume this to be generally true despite some suggestion that some of the introduced Aboriginal 'servants' regarded Queensland Aborigines contemptuously (Archer 1897:69), and, by implication, would have little to do with them.

<sup>66</sup> Farnfield 1971.

<sup>67</sup> Loos 1982.

<sup>68</sup> Evans 1971.

<sup>69</sup> Petrie 1904:214-6.



CONCLUSION

In summary then, the most that can be said about early Queensland Pidgin English at this stage (and until the many questions raised in this account have been tidied up) is that there was such a thing; that it was a direct descendant of New South Wales Pidgin English and not a separate development; and that it took on its own characteristics in different parts of the state in response to different social conditions. In particular it developed at least two strands initially: a coastal one which was slow to emerge and which was different from New South Wales Pidgin English in its lexical content, and an inland one which was basically transplanted New South Wales Pidgin English with possibly new Aboriginal lexical items taken in. The inland strand spread widely throughout the state and probably eventually stabilized and swamped the coastal strand. This variety is the most probable forerunner of such modern varieties of Aboriginal English as Cape York Creole, Palm Island Aboriginal English, Northern Territory Kriol and Fitzroy Valley Kriol.<sup>71</sup>

APPENDIX 1: COASTAL PIDGIN ENGLISH FROM 1824 ONWARDS

The following data are arranged in rough chronological order relating to the time at which the items were recorded or presumably heard and/or learnt. They represent mixed primary and secondary sources.

*Grossner Missionaries 1839-51*

23 Feb. 1840: 'The heathens are already well acquainted with us. Their greatest torment is hunger. Whenever they come, their first word is *copron waro* – great hunger! . . . whenever they come here their sack [dilly bag] is empty and then they say, *dilly waro* – the sack is hungry' 'they said I was *cabon butockery* – very good . . . We can communicate with them because they speak broken English.'

Besides these the missionaries record a number of other isolated Aboriginal and English words, which the Aborigines use, as follows:

28 Apr. 1839: 'All the women are called Mary, because they know a little English.'

Feb. 1839: *baibala* (bread), *krünkün* (clothes)

2 Feb. 1839: 'they are told to go away, or *gacke gacke* – work.'

Nov. 1839: 'The blacks ran to our houses in great fear [of the storm] crying *mudle, mudle* (stones, stones).'

*Karaberry* (song and dance)

'at the same time they . . . hit the head with a *waddy*.'

*ballan-ballan* 'any fight, war.'

*Gunson 1960-61*

These data likewise refer to the German mission settlement in Moreton Bay 1838-50:

p.525: 'They [the Aborigines] called the [German] mission settlement "Darkery Humpy" or "Strange House" and sometimes while services were being held they would gather up and make raids upon the crops and cattle.'

p.525: 'They would listen on some occasions to the preacher's earnest words about God . . . and clap their hands and exclaim "Dickey! Dickey! Budgery!" – "Wonderful! Wonderful! Very good!" but nothing could restrain their cupidity when the crops were ripe.'

p.528: 'And he [an Aboriginal "chief" to whom trousers had been given], looking at the baggy places in the trousers and vest not quite filled, exclaimed, "How many sheep and bullocks that fellow been eat'em every day"'. [Quoted from Gerler, c.1844]

<sup>71</sup> See, respectively, Cowley and Rigsby 1979; Dutton 1968; Sandefur 1979 and Hudson 1983.

- p.528: 'In one account of the story [of Hausmann being attacked at Burpengary] it is recorded that the aborigines were heard to say "Hausmann budgery ding all, budgery dalto" meaning that he was "nice and fat" and "nice to eat".'
- p.529: 'One of the missionary daughters found a novel way of dispersing a crowd of aborigines who were demanding "bibler" or bread outside the window.  
She told them to go, but they still persisted . . . [so she took out her false teeth]. They stared at her for a moment dumbfounded, and when she was about to repeat the performance they cried out "That fellow Mary devil-devil" and wildly ran away.'

*Sparks 1938*

- p.25: [quoting from a letter by the Commandant, Moreton Bay, to the Colonial Secretary in Sydney, 30 Mar. 1840]: 'he [the Aborigine belonging to the Duke of York's tribe who had been shot by a German missionary] said the jackiroos (meaning the missionaries) fired upon him.'
- p.42: [quoting from a letter by Dr L. Leichhardt to his friend R. Lynd in Sydney, in 1843]: 'the blackfellows knew well that it was only gammon.'

*Lang 1861*

- p.72: [re turtle hunting at the southern end of Moreton Bay]: 'An intelligent black native whom I met with on the Brisbane River, about the middle of December [1845], when asked when the turtle would come to the bay, held up five fingers in reply, saying "that moon", signifying that they would come about the middle of May.'
- p.76: [re excursion up the Brisbane River in December, 1845 in a boat with Mr Wade and rowed by four Aborigines. One of these asked Mr Wade, having observed Lang writing all the time in a notebook]: ' "What for Commandant yacca paper?" What is the gentleman working at the paper for? As a matter of courtesy they call every respectable European stranger *Commandant*: that having been the designation of the principal officer of the settlement for twice transported felons.' [On page 371 Lang explains the word *yacca* as follows]: 'The word *yacca*, in the Moreton Bay dialect of the aboriginal language . . . signifies everything in the shape of service or performance, from the first incipient attempts at motion to the most violent exertion . . . [for example] *mooyoon-yacca* to read, to write or to cast account.'
- p.78: [with respect to a half-dead carpet snake that one of the Aboriginal "boys" accompanying Lang and Wade up river had thrown into the bottom of the boat]: ' "that fellow no bite" — meaning that his bite was not dangerous.'

*Petrie 1904*

These data come mainly from the reminiscences of Petrie (1904 — although page numbers refer to a 1975 edition), written by his daughter. They refer, however, to the period following the arrival of the Petrie family in Brisbane in 1837. Tom was only seven years old then. He was the son of the first Government engineer in Brisbane. Griffin was the owner of Whitesides station near Brisbane.

- p.7: 'In three days they [the Aborigines] were back, and reported they had got a number of cattle from the scrub, and that the man — "John Master" they called him — had killed a bull for them to eat, and was all right now, not "saucy" any more.'
- p.9: 'Billy [a Bribie Is Aborigine ?], in broken English, called to one of the men, Bob Hunter by name: "Bob, Bob, come quick, bring gun, plenty duck sit down longa here".' [This was before 1849]
- p.143: 'Next day some of the young blackfellows turned up at the Petrie's home, and they said to Father they knew who had told that man all this rubbish and picking up a piece of paper started mimicking Mr Ridley. They they asked, "Where that fellow stop?" "Oh, he has gone away in a big ship to Sydney." "When he come back?" and so on.'
- p.145: 'They all said to Father, "What for the diamonds (soldiers) shoot us? We did nothing." Their friend explained how it had all happened . . .'

## PIDGIN ENGLISH IN QUEENSLAND

- p.148: 'When cooked they commenced to eat [the poisoned flour] but found it "barn" (bitter); then some got sick, and three of the number "very much jump about", and died. The rest of the damper was thrown away . . .'
- p.157: 'This "Bumble Dick" went once to some sawyers working at Petrie's Bight, and told them that if they would lend him a gun, he would get them "plenty ducks".'
- p.158: 'Next day Dick's wife returned the gun to the owners, and told them of what had happened to poor Dick ["Bumble Dick"], saying "Bael gettem duck".'
- p.158: [Petrie then went to see poor Dick] 'I said to him, "What for you put so much powder and shot in gun?" He replied that the more he put in the more ducks he expected to kill, and he did not think the gun would break. "How many ducks did you shoot?" "Bael me know; me shot self, no go see how many ducks. Bael more me takem gun, that fellow very saucy".'
- p.158: '[Bumble] Dick was a long time recovering, but eventually he got all right again. If you said to him, "Dick you takem gun, and shoot me some ducks," he would reply, "Bael; that fellow too much saucy." You could not get poor Dick to take hold of a gun ever again.'
- p.168: 'The soldiers or "diamonds" chaffed him [Millbong Jemmy] saying, "Hello, Jemmy, you good fellow now, no more steal?" And Jemmy was emphatic in his agreement. [Then immediately stole some of their tobacco when the opportunity arose and went to Petrie's garden on the bank of the river.] There he came across the old gardener, Ned, and gave him the tobacco in exchange for a dilly of sweet potatoes.'
- p.179: 'Later when Father had been married some months, and had decided, upon the advice of Mr Tiffin, the Government Architect, to take up land for cattle, he sought out "Dalaipi," and asked him if he knew of any country suitable for what he wanted. This old blackfellow was the head man of the North Pine tribe [just north of Brisbane about 15 miles] and often came into Brisbane. He replied that there was plenty good "tar" (ground) at "Mandin" (fishing net) – the North Pine River railway bridge crossing . . . [So Petrie went with Dalaipi's son to the area] . . . "Dal-ngang [the son]," said to him, "You take this fellow ground, belong to my father?" and he was not at all reconciled to the fact that it already belonged to Mrs Griffin [Captain Griffin's widow].' [So Petrie eventually got ten sections of Whitesides run from Mrs Griffin].
- p.182: 'the gin would quicken her pace and say, "Come back now, missus," in a beseeching sort of voice.'
- p.184: 'You mind "Dalantchin", who was lame in the leg?' [Note *mind* "remember, know".]
- p.184: 'I [the Aborigine] don't see that. The white fellow stole the ground.'
- p.185: 'In those early days we were not allowed to go near the "croppies" (the native name for prisoners) but could always see you [Petrie].'
- p.186: 'my father said to him [Dalaipi], "You make the rain come and fill the holes again, 'Dalaipi'." He answered, "Byamby me makeim come." About two days after this it got very cloudy, and "Dalaipi" turned up and said, "Me go now and makeim rain come up." . . . [So he went and made magic] . . . On his way back to the house his master met him, and asked how he had come by the cut [on his head]. "Oh, I been feeling about for 'taggan', [rainbow spirit] and hit my head longa 'mudlo' (stone)."
- That day a shower fell, which soon cleared off, however, so my father asked, "How is it you didn't make more rain, 'Dalaipi'? that's not enough." The old fellow replied, "Oh, I only cuttem 'taggan' half through; byamby me go down and make plenty more come".'
- p.186: [One day Dalaipi came to Petrie] 'and said, "You let me go, me not be long away; I been telling the other blackfellows to mind you till I come back".'
- p.203: 'One day "Tom" got hold of a Jack-in-the-box, and taking it to Banjo [who had been christened Governor Banjur of Nindery] said, "Here, Governor, you open this fellow." . . . [The box gave him such a fright he did not come back] till next day when he came up to Father shaking his fist at him, and then putting his hands together, said, "My word, Jack Nittery – hanker – policemen" – meaning that my father's brother, John, would get a policeman to handcuff "Tom" for frightening him. [On another occasion] they got him to come back again, however, afterwards. "My word!" was a great expression with Banjo, and "hanker" he always used for handcuffs. The latter had gained a firm hold on his mind, because one day the soldiers had pounced upon him in mistake for another blackfellow, and handcuffing him, led him off to the lock-up. Passing the Petrie's house on the Bight, the poor

- old man cried out for help – “Jack Nittery, come on – poor fellow Governor Banjo!” “Jack Nittery” (Petrie) did come on, and got him off, explaining he was just a harmless old creature.’
- p.204: ‘One day old Governor, who had been away at the Blackall, came in great excitement, and said, “My word! me bin find big fellow stone, longa yinnell (creek or gully) – plenty sit down.” So father said not to tell anyone [about the gold].’
- p.205: [Governor horsingriding] ‘. . . he would jerk out to me “My word – Brisbane – policeman – hanker – Mese Nittery.” Meaning that when he got back to Brisbane, he would tell Mr Petrie to get a policeman to put handcuffs on me for laughing at him . . . [After returning Governor shows other Aborigines how he rode the horse and adds] “My word, Governor no gamin”.’
- pp.205-6: ‘The natives used to get Banjo to do all sorts of queer things to amuse them, and they used to enjoy seeing him try and read a book or newspaper. More often than not he held whatever it was upside down, and then would quote with quite a grave face, “Itishin, Governor, plour, ’bacco, tea, sugar, planket, shirt, waiscoin, trouser, pipperroun (half-a-crown). Chook her (look here). My word, no gammon Governor”.’
- p.208: ‘When Banjo could collect his wits sufficiently to get away he ran to Rev James Love’s house near by, calling loudly, “Marsa, Marsa, come on – Missus cranky!” And then he bethought him of the handcuffs and “Jack Nittery”. Going to the latter he gasped out, “My word, Bom’s (Bob’s) missus cranky”.’
- p.209: [re nearly being poisoned at Nindery station on the Maroochy] ‘Banjo recalls, “My word!” said Banjo, “that fellow saucy, he no good – byamby me hanker – policeman – lock up”.’
- p.248: ‘Taljingallini, the Aborigine] called, “Look here! Mr Petrie been stand and shoot bird!” and proceeded to show the way that gentleman had fired off the gun.’
- p.252: ‘ “Jimmy Beerwah” who could speak a little “dog English” or black-fellow slang, having been occasionally at the German Mission, near Brisbane.’ [Petrie is here quoting from Archer (1897)’s account of climbing the Glasshouse mountains.]
- p.254: ‘This “Jimmy Beerwah” was, my father says, a regular messenger among the blacks. He carried messages from tribe to tribe by means of the usual notched stick. A messenger could travel anywhere with safety.”
- p.254: ‘Long afterwards, when my father went to live at the Pine [River], the aborigines showed him just where his father had camped – they said he had with him a bullock on which chains were put, “all same as ‘croppies’ (prisoners), so that fellow not run away”.’
- p.275: [re rescue of “Tom” from jellyfish] ‘he turned and said to Mr Glover, “My word! Mr Blubber, your brother very saucy fellow”.’ [There was a pun implied here also because the common name for jellyfish was “blubber”.]
- p.276: ‘The squatters all stood round, and Billy, who could not say “health” took the glass, and this was his toast, “Gentleman, here you go hell”.’
- p.290-92: [Some expressions said to have been used by Petrie’s cockatoo]: “Baal budgery! Hip, hip, hurray” (p.290) “Baal yu yacca, baal you tobacco!” (p.290) “Baal budgery – Jack’s pretty Cocky! – kill poor ‘Cocky’.” (p.292)

*Griffin 1847-49*

10 Sept. 1847: ‘Griffin refers to the “salt water blacks” attacking and killing one of his sawyers on Whiteside station.’

*Select Committee on the Native Police Force 1861*

In Appendix B there is a letter by J. and A. Mortimer to the Select Committee from Manumbar [Nanango], 3 Apr. 1861 about the shooting of Aborigines by Police in which the following sentences occur.

- p.107: “policeman been shootim blackfellows.”  
 “that one fellow was ‘Bong likin waterhole’.” [dead in the waterhole]  
 “Baal you shoot me belonging to Mr. Mortimer.”
- p.112: [Petrie re Aboriginal religion] ‘they used to believe that when they died they would “jump up whitefellows” [become a whiteman] but they don’t believe that generally now.’

## PIDGIN ENGLISH IN QUEENSLAND

### *Kennedy 1902*

- p.17: [At Sandgate he visited a native camp in 1864]: ‘“That fellow priest?” [they asked]. I agreed; upon which, sinking his voice to a mysterious and hoarse whisper, he proceeded – “Budgery. That fellow like it put on shirt over trausel, get a top o’waddy, and yabber ‘bout debil, debil,” which rendered in plain English reads – “Good. That man puts his shirt on over his trousers, gets top of wood, or pulpit, and talks about devil, devil”.’
- p.17: ‘“You give mine tixpence mine say lorsprer tin commands budgery quick all same white fellow”, which meant, “Give me sixpence I’ll say the Lord’s prayer and ten commandments splendidly quick as a white man does in church”.’
- p.18: ‘“This fellow [Aborigine] cabon quick one shillin” [This man very quick, one shilling].’

### *Welsby 1917*

Comments on Stradbroke Islanders about 1900.

- p.115: ‘After the usual budgery remarks, Toompani took a small hat from one of the gins, and with humble countenance and gentle face pleaded, “You gubit tickpence for cabon budgery corroboree. Gibit tchillin”.’
- p.116: ‘an old gin – Coolum – cried aloud, “Me been tinkit Billy Cassim been askit gentlemen already”.’
- p.116: ‘Billy Cassim, who sang a fairly decent song, English and black words intermingled, as he deemed it necessary, was also the author of many Amity Point corroborees.’
- p.117: [re wrestling with “Moreton Bay Johnny”]: ‘I can picture him now as I saw him flung by a cross buttock on to the sand, and whilst lying there to recover, calling out, “All right, Tom Welsby, that throw goes to beef, but by – the next will be mine – a damper” – and so it turned out to be.’
- p.119: ‘“Weel we like Tom Petrie best, Mr Ryder, Home Secretary, we like him also; but (and without hesitation) Mr (–) no good – he talk too much. He think he know everything,” this broke in Sydney, and I believe she was right.’
- p.122: ‘They [Amity Point Aborigines] asserted that “big fellow long ago – my word! – big fellow ship, he go ashore outside Gheebellum (sandhill on Moreton Island) that fellow outside alonga breakers”.’
- p.123: [On seeing a horse for the first time]: ‘“big fellow dogs”.’
- p.124: ‘“My word. Mr Welsby, you got plenty sharp mil (mil meaning eyes). Kitty and Juno not very often show that fellow little finger”.’
- p.125: ‘but it was only after repeated sayings of “You married man, Mr Welsby, or we will not tell you these things”, that the information came to light.’
- p.127-29: ‘Author gives a wordlist and a few sentences in which *gin* “woman or girl” and *kippa* “young man” occurs.’

## APPENDIX 2: INLAND PIDGIN ENGLISH: EARLY PERIOD

Most of these data come from reminiscences and letters of the Archer family who took up runs in the Brisbane Valley and elsewhere in the early 1840s.

### *Archer 1897*

- p.72: [Refers to “gins” and “piccaninnies”]
- p.73: [Refers to “dillies”]
- p.73: ‘Jimmy exclaimed, “Come on, merri maki-haste, direc’ly blackfellow killin’ you and me”, and set off.’
- p.78: ‘Kippar Charlie [another Durandur area Aborigine from the Brisbane valley] jumped and shouting, “Come on, now that fellow catch’im”, rushed forward.’
- p.94: [re an Aborigine at Durandur bitten by a snake]: ‘“Snake been bite’im that fellow”.’
- p.120-21: [re exploration of the Darling Downs]: ‘Getting hold of a half-savage black-boy belonging to that country . . . we set off . . . While thus engaged I tried to get some information about the country from my companion, and, pointing down the plain, asked, “Water sit

down?" – a shake of the head and a decided "Bel" (no) was all the answer I could get, greatly to my disgust, as, I could see the plain opening out westward . . . [Later out near Yondarian station came upon a camp of blacks]. Riding up to the camp, I asked, "Where water sit down?" "There along o'that fellow tree", was the answer . . . [Later] I was much disappointed, especially as I was assured that "Bel water sit down good way" with a swing of the arm all around the horizon.'

- p.141: 'We asked her "Where big fellow water sit down?"' (meaning the Condamine), when, turning south-eastward, she flung out her skinny arms and explained, "Good way" (far). I was sorry . . .'  
 p.148: ' "I believe [= reckon it's a] possum", remarked Darby.'  
 p.210: [On a prospecting trip to California, USA, with one of his black-boys] 'stooping and pointing to the ground with astonishment, he exclaimed, "You see that fellow track? Bel me know that fellow".'  
 p.219: 'On my asking "What's the matter?" they exclaimed "Eh! Me been seen him Devil-Devil" [referring to a bear in California].'

*Archer 1858-9*

31 Mar. 1859: [re a German having shot old Kitchen Billy]: 'I.L. Hay and JC Murray held a magisterial enquiry into the affair of yesterday, and after examining witnesses came to the conclusion that it was quite accidental, but have forwarded the evidence to the Attorney General and have bound the perpetrator over (in what?) to appear if called upon. I should like to see the vagabond [German] get a good thrashing or some severe punishment that would make him more cautious in future with firearms. The effect upon the Blacks will I fear not be a favourable one to the Whites. They may say and with some reason, "Those white fellows pretend to be our friends and keep telling us we are budgery fellows and make us carry wood and water for them. But when they are colê with us all they have got to do is to pick up a gun and shoot us, and afterwards swear they did not mean it, and that it was all done in fun, and the Commissioner believes them and lets them go. Bel that balki." However, accidents may happen to the most careful of us.'

*Lang 1861*

p.327: 'Reports Dr L. Leichhardt as saying in a letter to Mr Lynd in Sydney that Aborigines collecting wild honey out beyond the Darling Downs said "*Me millmill bull* (I see a bee's nest)".' [That was in the early 1840s]

*Evans 1975*

- p.38: [Quoted from Campbell (1875:5)]: "pho-pho (shoot) musket."  
 p.49: [Quotation by Evans from A.J. McConnel MS in Hayes Collection, Fryer Library about the 1842 Kilcoy poisonings]: "That blackfellow been eatim damper. Then plenty that been jump about all the same fish, when you catch im, big mob been die – him dead all about."  
 p.89: [Quoted by Evans from McConnell MS again]: "All this 'yarman' (land) belonging to me."

*Evans and Walker 1977*

p.51: 'In October, 1850, according to local squatter, Alfred H. Brown: "An Aboriginal known as 'Billy' came to me and said, 'Do you know . . . white fellows he belongs to a dray (pointing at the same time to the hut in which William Roberts lived) tell him that I will kill him; he will come this way soon . . .'" (Later) the body of William Roberts was found a very short distance from Maryborough . . . bearing evident traces of his having received his death from the natives.'

*Skinner 1975*

p.30: 'one [Aborigine] said, "Bale break'em, we want'em all, and suppose you bale give it me take'em altogether, dray and bullocks".'

## PIDGIN ENGLISH IN QUEENSLAND

### APPENDIX 3: QUEENSLAND PIDGIN ENGLISH OF THE 1860S AND BEYOND

These data come mainly from the inquests into the deaths of Aborigines and others in Queensland between 1860 and 1870. They are from various parts of the state, and are arranged in approximate chronological sequence.

#### *JUS/N2:60/61 (Rockhampton district)*

- (1) 'one of the gins was proceedings with the sentence "Coubon (?) me been cry when White Mary" when she was stopped by another gin . . .'
- (2) 'they [the gins] were talking "bale buggeree [sic]" that yabber buggeree, ie., that they would not yabber straight.'

#### *JUS/N2:60/71 (Mt Flinders district)*

"the Black Police told her Blackfellow kill him Bullock a long time ago."

#### *JUS/N3:61/1 (Head station, Fassifern district [?])*

- (1) 'One of the blacks said to me "Black Police like him come and shoot old man like him camp".'
- (2) 'the gins told me that there were "old-fellow black-fellows" lying at the camp.'
- (3) [Also claimed in this case that Aboriginal women could communicate fairly well with European shepherds and station hands although no evidence of exactly how]

#### *JUS/N12:66/87 (Wandoo station, ? district)*

[No Aboriginal Pidgin English given but in evidence John Gorm, superintendant of Wandoo station indicates he communicated successfully with Aboriginal women]

#### *JUS/N24:70/23 (Gympie district)*

'Sammy [an Aborigine] said, "Baal me been there at all, other blackfellow." We fixed a windlass and lowered a candle.'

#### *JUS/N27:70/211 (Rockhampton district)*

- (1) 'Peter slipped up and gave insolence, he told me to go to buggery, he had liquor in him . . . and Peter said to Fenwick, "You white bugger shoot me".'
- (2) 'Fenwick told Peter to "you" just before the gun went off Peter said he would not – by you meant to go away.'
- (3) 'The blackfellows said, "Shoot em blackfellows altogether now" he kept telling them to go away.'

#### *Bennett 1927*

In these reference is made to Barney, an Aborigine "adopted" by Christison of Lamermoor station and taught Pidgin English.

p.66: [re threatened attack on Christison's house by some young Aborigines, Barney says,]:  
' "Master! . . ." Barney went on earnestly, "Master, more better no camp alonga house to-night. Blackfellow come up." "Blackfellow find'em sheep?" Christison demanded. "Noa, no find'em sheep. Come up along house, take blanket, tommy'awk. Me tell'em no do that. Ko-bee-berry [a 'chief'] tell'em no do that. That fellow wy-ko (very bad)", he concluded, in horror and depression.'

p.68: 'Barney alone was made free of the homestead. "I think I stop with Munggra?" he ventured, and Munggra clinched it heartily. "Very good, Barney", he declared.'

p.71: [Barney says pointing a stretch of open country]: ' "Altogether koonery (downs", he declared, "bail 'nother side (no other side)".'

p.72: [Central western Queensland mid 1860s]: ' "No master", they [the Aborigines] replied, "you and me go there, you and me die" . . . At once they acquiesced. "All right, master. You go first, we come up behind".'

- p.74: [Barney, exclaiming when he had quenched his thirst]: "Master, water very good, all the same soup."
- p.75: [Barney commenting on torrential rain]: "all the same bucket."
- p.80: Robert watched the lotus; then he sought Barney. "Warmboomooloo plenty swim?" he queried. "Make fast wondoobra (lotus flower) alonga yally (head), swim under water, catch ram?" Barney was greatly excited. "Yoo-wye (yes), master", he cried eagerly, "but Warmboomooloo no catch ram. He send wife catch ram. Warmboomooloo got kooberry pairrkunya (three wives)", he added, holding up two fingers and a thumb – "and plenty hammer'em, my word!"
- p.80: [re Christison's teaching Warmboomooloo a lesson]: "Give 'im more, master; give 'im more", she cried insatiably; and kept up a running commentary in quaint pidgin-English and Dalleburra . . ."
- p.81: "Bail yoondo pater goalberry tando (don't you eat emu eggs)", he [Warmboomooloo] would warn, licking his lips. "Suppose yoondo parter – *woollammy!* (you will die!)"
- p.101: "That fellow strong, no fall about", cried the blackboys in delight . . . When they struck Amelia Creek they cried out, trembling with excitement, "Close up now!" and dashed off at a gallop . . ."
- p.103: "Bail me stupid fellow", he [an Aborigine] replied, "too much blood run away".
- p.108: "blackfellow come up."
- p.109: 'One old gin wanted to claim Munggra as a defunct brother who had "jumped up white fellow" . . . "Me close up bung (dead), perlenty me sick. Munggra give me good fellow medicine" – with a sudden change to brisk staccato – "one minute all right".'
- p.109: "This boy father belonging to me. You give it name" . . . "Me been lose'em name", he confessed.'
- p.110: "Ah! Billycan! Never no more me lose'em now." The boy was called Billycan.'
- p.110: 'In Dalleburra, helped out by scraps of English to express what they had no words for, the wife [of an old Aborigine] told how many moons ago the native police had come with thunder and had struck Woonggo.'
- p.123: "I think, master, cattle go away about seven days ago . . . Master, tomorrow when the sun is so high, I catch'em cattle."
- p.130: 'The blacks were aghast that a lordly white man had destroyed himself, and sorrowed for the stranger and his unknown grief. They asked, "What for cooee-booroo [the man who cooees = white man] kill himself? Blackfellow no kill himself. 'Posing 'nother blackfellow come alonga my country, kill kangaroo, 'possum, emu; by-and-by me see'im; me fight. Some time 'nother fellow kill me: some time me kill 'nother fellow. All right! But no good kill himself!'
- p.136: "'Tankoo, Missis! Good fellow Missis!" they repeated . . .'
- p.152: [re Barney reading smoke signals]: 'A few minutes after the signal smoke curled up Barney was reading it at Lammermoor, and a dozen blacks asked, "What name?" "Munggra come up to-morrow, might be three o'clock", Barney announced joyfully.'
- p.166: "'Bung!" (dead!) came the grotesque reply with a sob [from the assembled Aborigines].'
- p.167: 'Wyma agreed with joy to "look out pamboona".'
- p.183: "'Ha! By and by!" [they would find water] the faithful fellow [Barney] would affirm . . .'
- p.187: "'Bail this fellow rain", declared Barney, "All the same bucket!"'
- p.187: 'Barney, who recognized the manager [from a nearby station], exclaimed, – "Mister Grame, bail you swim horse. You hang up saddle alonga tree, take off clothes. I come up, take you 'nother side".'
- p.206: 'Then the blacks would rush in a body from their camp and carry off the deerhounds, as big as themselves, smiting them on the nose, not ungently, for being "cheeky fellow".'
- p.228: 'Wyma shook her head sadly; "Kurry [an Aboriginal assistant] very flash", she said.'
- p.237: 'Johannis came to say, "Time – go, Master. Can't see country how look by moonlight." Then he recognized Christison's abstracted expression and corrected abruptly – "No matter!" adding, as if he were humouring a child, "You write to Missis, tell her I thank her very much for sending me nice presents".'
- p.251: [re Dolly's native name]: "'Kahnkoollinya", which signified "young moon, all the same boomerang".'

## PIDGIN ENGLISH IN QUEENSLAND

- p.254: 'Jo[hannis] prevailed, "More better sleep!"'
- p.255: [re Johannis not saving his wages]: "More better spend money, get good name" . . . "I go England with you", he announced.'
- p.258: [Wyma's explanation of why the family was not getting many eggs]: "only one hen lay egg, and that fellow duck!"
- p.261: [re naming plants]: "What name?" she [an Aborigine] asked, . . . "Booloo-pandy", came the answer promptly, "white fellow call 'em rosewood".'
- p.262: 'Wyma became self-conscious and commonsensical. "I not seen Koonkoolmujja", she declared candidly, and added with charming *hauteur*, "and suppose I see him, I not silly".'
- p.267: 'The old fellow caught at the name and sprang up in the greatest excitement. "Munggra come up", he cried. "Good fellow Munggra come up." She explained, and he sank back, saying so sadly, "No come up".'

Evans 1975

*passim* (e.g., pp.56, 67, 78, 102): References to Aborigines being called "nigger's" by some Europeans and native police in Queensland at different times and in different places.

### APPENDIX 4: PIDGIN ENGLISH USED BY NEW SOUTH WALES NATIVE MOUNTED POLICE (OR BLACK POLICE) IN QUEENSLAND FROM 1848 ONWARDS

These data come from inquests into the deaths of Aborigines and others in Queensland between 1860 and 1870 (held at the Queensland State Archives) and from books on Queensland's Native Police Force. They are from various parts of the state outside of the Brisbane area and arranged in rough chronological sequence.

JUS/N2:60/61 (Rockhampton district)

- (1) 'I asked him why they did not let her go he said "that policeman coubon (?) frightened that White Mary directly yabber" [coubon = really?].'
- (2) 'I spoke to Trooper "Toby" in the cell he said "Gulliver" "bloody rogue" that it was Gulliver and Alma that pulled her off the horse.'
- (3) 'he saw him plant [= hide] something in the saddle room.'
- (4) 'Alma told him [another trooper] to "bale yabber that policeman been manam [= sexually abuse] white Mary along scrub".'
- (5) "I asked Trooper Gulliver whether that been find him and he said 'Oui(?) I think it'."
- (6) [Reference to "miall" or "mials" as tribal Aborigines]
- (7) 'I asked him where the tracks where [sic] he said "bale tracks" blackfellow tell him that Mr Archer's blackfellows cut tree and he did not pursue the tracks any further.'
- (8) "Trooper Alma came out of the scrub and saw White Mary on horse close up along scrub."
- (9) "he hit her with the big end of the nullah nullah."
- (10) "I asked the trooper did not he think 'White Mary' close up, he said he did not know."
- (11) 'they gammoned her with some story that they would show her the short way to Mr Archers.'
- (12) [Reference to "gins"]

JUS/N25:70/64 (Francistown, Gilbert District)

'Trooper George came up to the Camp and reported that he had been bitten by a snake he said "Mamme black snake been biting me" [mamme = boss?].'

JUS/N25:70/205 (Gilberton district)

- (1) 'I asked him [an Aboriginal trooper] where "Paddy" was. He replied, "That fellow die mammy, that fellow drop off horse, cabou [really?] me did cry after him, me been bury him along o'creek".'

- (2) 'Constable M. Fitzgerald in giving evidence about Paddy's death says, "Sub Inspector Clohesy asked Charley, 'Wher is Paddy' and he answered, 'Mammy that been die, he been fall off horse me been cabou [really ?] cry.' Mr Clohesy asked Charley what he had done with the Boy and he answered, "Me been bury him along of creek".'

*Kennedy 1902*

Examples of Pidgin English spoken by and/or to 'boys' of the Native Mounted Police 1870-1890?

- p.103: [he said]: 'he had killed a wild "yaraman" [horse]. "Gammon", we said. "Bel gammon" he replied.'
- p.113: "White fellow sit down, marmy ("White men are there, master")."
- p.116: "That fellow yan [went] that fellow way."
- p.124: "Mine take it this curly hair fellow."
- p.125: 'I saw them [the Aboriginal women who had been taken as wives by the "boys" on an earlier expedition] when I next visited the district. The girls had grown stouter, and were cheery and chatty, having learnt dialects, as well as "Pidgin English". Upon putting the question to them, "Would you like to go back to your old life?" they answered with a series of groans – "Bel! here budgery there cabon dig, cabon waddy", which meant that here in barracks all was good, but there in the wild bush was hard work and many blows.'
- p.139: ' "Plenty blackfellow yan like it this", he gruffly remarked, as he pointed to a neighbouring range of hills.'
- p.150: ' "that fellow look out sugar bag", and listening, the faint tap, tap of a tomahawk could be heard, as it ate its way into the spout of a gum tree, which contained the wild bees' nest.'
- p.175: ' . . . one day a "boy" came up and saluted with a diabolical grin upon his face. Upon being asked somewhat sternly "What name?" meaning, "What do you want?" he said that a "white Mary", i.e., white woman, was hunting the camp for me, that she appeared "cabon saucy", and that she carried a "pretty feller piccaninny" in her arms.'
- p.207: 'I will discard the "pidgin" English which was our usual mode of communication [in the Native Mounted Police].'
- p.260: "That fellow sit down there, that fellow bong."
- p.261: 'I told them that the man who was pronounced "Bong", or dead, was "Budgery", or all right, and then I smartly rated the "boy" who had brought back this false news.'
- passim*: Kennedy uses 'boy' throughout to refer to any Aboriginal servant or labourer. The rest are regarded as myalls (wild).

*Skinner 1975*

p.53-4: [Walker's address to his troopers of 4 August 1851 throws considerable light on the kind of English used in the Police Force]: 'As the police will shortly again go into the bush I have some things to say to you all.

- (1) No policeman is to take grog or wine from anybody but his officer. Any serjeant or corporal who does so will be broke and have the red cloth taken off his jacket and cap for three months. Any troopers will be soundly flogged. Although I tell you this, I am not afraid of any of you disobeying by taking grog because you have before behaved so well, and I know you will do so again. Never mind what any person says to you. When any person tells you I said he might give you grog, he tells you lies, for neither I nor Mr. Marshall nor Mr. Fulford ever will tell anybody to give you grog when we are not there.
- (2) I say nothing to you about fighting because anybody can fight – but I want you to shew everybody that I *command* a body of *clean, sharp* and *good* policemen not a lot of *dirty, lazy* charcoles or stupid constables.
- (3) No policeman is to walk about without his carbine – if he does so he will be punished every time.
- (4) Every policeman must take care of his arms, his horse, his saddle and bridle, and his clothes. They belong to the *Queen, not to you*.
- (5) The Governor has been *very good* to you and *he* will expect *you* to do your duty.

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- (6) When a policeman washes his shirt, he must not put it on again until it is *quite dry*. He is not to take off his cloak unless his officer tells him to do so – and when it is warm, he will strap his jacket *on the top* of his cloak.
- (7) Keep away from Gins<sup>57</sup> when you are at a *gunya*.<sup>58</sup> Do what you like when you are *in the bush*. I will not be angry with you then.
- (8) When you are sick, tell your officer *directly*.
- (9) Serjeants Dolan and Skelton are to you the *same as officers*.
- (10) *Logan's policemen* are now going to the Balonne and you will have something to do because the Balonne blacks are *not* old women. Old Simon can shew you how to fight; he likes always close up directly – mind I must not have any charcoles beat my police. Do not make my friend Logan ashamed of you.
- (11) What the Governor wants from you is to make charcoles quiet, he does not want them killed, and he *won't let* white fellows do so. If they won't be quiet, you must make them – that's all. But you will not shoot unless your Officer tells you. Mind if the charcoles begin to throw spears or nulla nullas *then* don't you wait but close up knock them down.
- (12) I shall be quick after you, and when the charcoles in the Balonne think that will do, I shall leave my rogues with Mr. Fulford at Wondai Gumbal and take Logan and Willy's two sections to help Mr. Marshall and Cobby's men *to cramer* [capture] *the Island* [Fraser's Island]. Logan's men will then come back here to the Sgt. Major and the Sections 1 and 3, if the Governor says Yes, will go with me to Moreton Bay.
- Now boys this is all I have to say to you except take care of yourselves. Don't get sick any more for it breaks my heart. When you boggy [bathe, swim] don't stop long in the water. Mind this is not your country.'

### APPENDIX 5: OTHER EXAMPLES OF PIDGIN ENGLISH FROM NEW SOUTH WALES

Dutton, G. 1974

p.30: [Example of Bungaree's Pidgin English from late 1790s]: "No, massa, no tamarra; derekle, brandy, derekle."

Bennett 1927

Refers to the founding of Lammermoor station by Christison in 1866 in central western Queensland. Christison had come to Queensland from Victoria.

p.60: [Christison giving Barney a message for his tribe]: "The Dalleburra might camp on the far side of the waterhole, sun-up side, and kill kangaroos, emus, altogether like before; but no kill horse, no kill sheep."

p.66: "Blackfellow find'em sheep?" Christison demanded.'

p.67: [After thwarting the raid on his house with shotgun and saltpeter Christison goes to the Aboriginal camp next morning]: '. . . he addressed them, jeering. "They were pretty fellows, but without brains! Heads hard as a log and hollow – no wild honey inside, only white ants!" He forbade any to move, and laid down the law with passion in as much blacks' language as he called to mind, and pidgin-English when that failed. "What name I tell you?" He included all in a lion-like glance. "You sit down quiet, fish, hunt: tarrall (very good). But suppose fight, steal, tell lie: wy-ko (very bad). Plenty me koola (angry)." He stormed at them . . . Of course they had nothing to eat: they had not been hunting. He knew it. "Clear out", he exclaimed vigorously. "Yan (go), catch'em kangaroo".'

p.68: "Very good, Barney", he [Christison] declared. "You and me sit down two fellow messmate. Country belonging to you; sheep belonging to me".'

p.80: "Ram tarralee parter" (ram is fine feed), Christison acclaimed.'

p.109: "This boy 'Billy' ", he [Christison] said . . . "You lose'em name all the time!" Christison accused, then – "this boy 'Billy' – all the same billycan!"'

p.110: 'Yes, Christison would cure him – "but where you catch that fellow?"'

- p.152: 'The evening before getting home Christison sent up a signal smoke: "You think Dolly see it first - or might be Boota?" he joked the blackboys, Dollying being Duncan's gin, and Boota Captain's.'
- p.183: ' "By and by we'll get water, Barney! We must go on working and have patience." [said Christison].'
- p.246: "My word! You ought to have heard old Barney tell how . . ."

*Ridley 1875*

- p.169: [re a stockman on the Namoi who ill-treated an Aborigine and how the Aborigines turned the tables on him]: 'While he was in this plight [leading his exhausted horse through the bush] a number of blackfellows suddenly sprang out of the bushes and surrounded him. At their head was Charley [the previously offended one]. The stockman thought he was now to die; but instead of spearing him, Charley addressed him in this manner, "You 'member blackfellow, you chase'm with pistol, you try shoot him. I that blackfellow, Charley! Now me say I kill you; then me say bel (not) I kill you; bel blackfellow any more coola (anger) 'gainst whitefellow; bel whitefellow any more coola 'gainst blackfellow! You give me 'bacca." So he made friends with the white men . . .'

*Archer 1897*

- p.39: [While still a new chum in New South Wales before going to Queensland in the 1840s, T. Archer refers to himself as a "white fellow master"]
- p.58: [Near the Maroochy River north of Brisbane]: 'At one of these camps, Jimmy [an Aborigine from western New South Wales] gave me a quiet shake and whispered, "Black fellow come. Me hear him".'
- p.59: 'when his pint of gruel was handed to him he [Jimmy] burst into tears, exclaiming, "Bel more me patta killigilli" (I won't eat any more gruel).'

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