

Retribalization and Language Mixing : Aspects of Identity Strategies among the Broome Aborigines, Western Australia

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Retribalization and Language Mixing: Aspects of Identity Strategies among the Broome Aborigines, Western Australia

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The present paper aims at depicting the sociocultural and political status of the Yawuru Aborigines, an indigenous group of the Broome area in the west Kimberley region of Western Australia, through analysis of the modes of their everyday language use. It is also intended to account, with specific reference to the case of Yawuru-English language contact, for some of the general issues that underlie the current sociolinguistic scene in which traditional Aboriginal languages are being driven to the corner in their hard struggle for survival.¹⁾

The sociolinguistic vitality of the Yawuru language today falls into the category of what the Kimberley Language Support Programme researchers diagnosed as “sick languages” [HUDSON and McCONVELL 1984: 29]; speakers of Yawuru are becoming few, and none of the surviving speakers use it as their single everyday language [cf. HOSOKAWA 1991: 13f.].²⁾ The language itself

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1) The present paper is a revised version of the circulated draft [HOSOKAWA 1988c], which was originally prepared for a forthcoming anthology “*Can Aboriginal languages survive?: language shift and maintenance in Aboriginal Australia*”, edited by Patrick McConvell (to appear from the University of Queensland Press). That volume, however, will carry only an abbreviated version of the original draft and, for several reasons, its publication has been exceedingly behind schedule. Part of the contents of the paper was presented at a research seminar at the National Museum of Ethnology in May 1988 and also at the plenary session of the 100th memorial conference of the Linguistic Society of Japan, Tokyo, June 1990.

2) The name of the ethnic group and the language in question is phonemically /yawru/, the rhotic being a retroflexed approximant. Varied spellings such as the following are found in the literature: Yaoro, Yauor, Yaora, Jauor, Yowera, Yauera, Gawor, Djauor, Yawurru, Yawooroo, Jawuru, Yawuroo, Yaro, Yarroo, and possibly others. In terms of linguistic typology, Yawuru is an ergative, highly agglutinative, alternative-prefixing language [STOKES 1982: 248–265] and has no noun classes. In terms of genetic classification, it is a member of the Nyulnyulan family [WURM 1972; MCGREGOR 1988a; STOKES and MCGREGOR 1989]. There is a comprehensive descriptive monograph of Yawuru by the author [HOSOKAWA 1991], which will be referred to in the present paper simply as “Monograph”; for example, [MONOGRAPH: 30–40] stands for [HOSOKAWA 1991: 30–40].

has been subject to certain changes due to intense contact with English, although it has also rendered strong substratum effects on the variety of creoloid English spoken by some groups of Broome Aborigines today.

The points of the discussion in this paper are as follows:

- 1) The formation of Aboriginal English as a grammatically and lexically well-developed full language, either creolized or not, has much to do with the acceleration of language shift, or the loss of traditional Aboriginal languages.
- 2) Micro-regional varieties of Aboriginal English have come to replace (at least some of) the social functions that used to be served by multilingualism in traditional Aboriginal society.
- 3) The simplistic (though widespread) dichotomy of “blackfella” vs “whitefella” is insufficient and sometimes misleading in understanding the strategic aspect of “blackfella talk” in its interactional contexts. It would be necessary to set up a triadic frame of reference: (1) in-group Aborigines, (2) out-group Aborigines, and (3) non-Aborigines.

Here I use the term “Aboriginal English” to generally cover the wide range of linguistic variation, including pidginized and creolized varieties [HOSOKAWA 1992: 447]. Such a broad use of the term may be somewhat controversial, since it is certainly inappropriate to say that Kriol is “a kind of English” as far as linguistic criteria are concerned. From the viewpoint of sociolinguistics, however, it is essential to deal with the spectrum of non-traditional Aboriginal speech varieties under a unified frame of analysis. Perhaps terms such as “European-Aboriginal contact languages” or “new Aboriginal languages” would be better. In this paper, however, I have chosen to use the conventional term “Aboriginal English” rather broadly, after Kaldor and Malcolm [1982: 76–78, 112].

1. LANGUAGE AND SOCIAL GROUPING OF BROOME ABORIGINES

1.1. Recent History of Yawuru

The traditional territory of the Yawuru-speaking Aborigines is located in the south and east of the town of Broome. It is ecologically a subtropical semi-arid area, consisting of coastal savanna and inland Acacia woodland. A large portion of the Yawuru country is *bundu* or saline flood plains (often called “marsh” in Broome English), which is subject to annual “King Tide” inundation.³⁾ The country is rich in sea fish, shells, medium-sized marsupials, sand

3) A practical orthography is applied to the Yawuru words (given in *italics*) in this paper [HUDSON 1987; cf. MONOGRAPH: 83, 94]: *rl*, *rd* and *rn* are digraphs to indicate retroflex consonants; single *r* is also a retroflex (rhotic approximant), which should be distinguished from *rr* (apico-alveolar tap); *j* is an alveolo-palatal or lamino-palatal stop (= “*dy*” in Monograph); ↗

monitors, as well as some 90 edible and/or useful species of native plants [HOSOKAWA 1988b; LANDS 1987]. Although it is rather hard to present a reliable figure for the original population of the Yawuru group, a genealogical research conducted by the author suggests a figure somewhere between 150–200 (unlikely to have been over 300) before 1870.

Until around 40 years ago, the major language center was Thangoo station, 30 km southeast of (and 120 km of road distance from) Broome, where the Aborigines of Yawuru, Karajarri, Mangala and Nyikina descent used to engage in cattle droving and other station work. The station is located in the southwest part of the traditional Yawuru territory: specifically, *Julbayi* and *Garraljunu* countries, to apply the names of the local sub-groups. According to the former Thangoo Station Aborigines (both Yawuru and non-Yawuru), the lingua franca among them was Yawuru. Possibly, the Najanaja dialect of Karajarri may also have had a similar status. Many of the ex-Thangoo Aborigines speak or understand both Yawuru and Najanaja. Such bilingualism seems to have been the rule traditionally among the Aborigines of the area before station life.

There are several reasons to suspect that the Yawuru language in Thangoo underwent some sort of pidginization or simplification process as a lingua franca spoken by multiethnic Aborigines:

- 1) Yawuru preference (in contrast with the genetically related neighbor language Nyikina) for preverb constructions [HOSOKAWA 1988a] is likely to be a product of grammatical simplification or “optimalization”: e.g. preverb *mi-jala* ‘sitting, being seated’ (in combination with finite verb *ni*) is used rather than the corresponding fully conjugated finite verb *minyji* ‘sit down’. The effect is that one has only to master the conjugations of a limited number of finite verbs (such as *ni*) which are most commonly combined with a large number of uninflected preverbs (see MONOGRAPH: 217–234 for details).
- 2) The morpho-phonology of the Yawuru verbal inflection is relatively regular, in marked contrast to the complicated inflectional morphology of Nyikina [STOKES 1982].
- 3) In the Yawuru verbal system the irrealis mode is markedly reduced (again in contrast to Nyikina). In negative clauses, either future or non-future, the indicative (realis) conjugation has become the rule, in place of the irrealis conjugation, while in Nyikina use of the latter is obligatory in negative clauses.⁴⁾

↘ digraphs *ny* and *ly* are also for lamino-palatals (Note that *nj* and *lj* are not digraphs, but simply sequences of *n+j* and *l+j*, respectively); *ng* is a velar nasal (the sequence of *n+g* is spelled *nk* and that of *ng+g* is spelled *ngk*). Vowels are *a*, *i*, *u* and the corresponding long vowels *aa*, *ii*, *uu*. In a more technical phonological analysis [MONOGRAPH: 58–64, 76–81], it is possible and necessary to distinguish devoiced consonants from the voiced ones (e.g. *p/b*, *k/g*) in Yawuru, but these distinctions are not reflected in the practical orthography employed here.

4) As markers of conditional/irrealis mode, Yawuru has come to employ such innovated conjunctions as (i) *narli-yirr*, (ii) *narli-nyurdany*, (iii) *marlu-yirr*, and (iv) *marlu-nyurdany*, ↗

The influence of English also abounds in Yawuru as spoken today. Lexical borrowings are numerous, although most of them are phonologically, grammatically and semantically well adapted to the structure of Yawuru. Among them are the quite frequently used English-derived preverbs such as in the examples below (see Hosokawa [1988a] for detailed analysis of the Yawuru preverb system). These are the 2nd person future forms, which are marked by the prefix complex *wal-a*⁵⁾ and are functionally imperatives [MONOGRAPH: 142ff.]:⁶⁾

<i>ginim</i>	<i>wala-ma</i>	‘skin it’ (i.e. wound)
<i>darayim</i>	<i>wala-ga</i>	‘try it on’
<i>jiigan</i>	<i>wala-ma</i>	‘shake hands’
<i>ridi</i>	<i>wala-nya</i>	‘prepare’

As these closely resemble the verb forms used in Kriol [SANDEFUR 1979], one may suspect that these are borrowings from Kriol rather than directly from English. It is unlikely, however, that the speakers of Yawuru in Thangoo had heard Kriol spoken before they left the station, since the spread of Kriol into the west Kimberley area is considered to be a relatively recent phenomenon [HUDSON 1983; SANDEFUR and SANDEFUR 1980; SANDEFUR 1983, 1986]. These English-derived preverbs are considered to be borrowings from a pidginized English spoken in Thangoo, which had developed independently of east and south Kimberley Kriol.⁷⁾

Along with the Yawuru language, it seems that some kind of Pidgin English was also in use among the Thangoo Aborigines from the early days of the station camp, at least before 1925. The ex-Thangoo elders, born around 1920–35, explain that their fathers spoke both Yawuru and English. In the 1920s, when the Broome pearlshell fishing industry was at the peak of its prosperity, the pearling luggers often anchored off the coast of the Yawuru country to obtain supplies of freshwater, and the crews (usually Malays, Japanese, Filipinos and “Koepangers”) were then able to communicate with the local Aborigines in a “broken English” [HOSOKAWA 1987].

\ respectively indicating (i) non-past affirmative condition, (ii) past affirmative irrealis, (iii) non-past negative condition, and (iv) past negative irrealis condition [MONOGRAPH: 473–475]. These mode-marking words are composed of the original Yawuru lexical elements: adjective *naarli* ‘true’, the general negative marker *marlu* ‘not’, enclitic *-yirr* ‘and’ and the causal case marker *-nyurdany* ‘from, because of’.

5) To be morphologically precise, this is a prefix complex composed of the 2nd-person marker *wal-* and the transitive conjugation marker *a-* [MONOGRAPH: 132].

6) English-derived preverbs are in boldface. The combined monosyllabic finite verbs are *ma* ‘put’, *nya* ‘catch, seize’ and *ga* ‘carry’.

7) The attachment of the transitive marker *-im*, derived from “him” or “them (～em)”, is a fairly wide spread development, and is observable not only in Kriol but also in the Aboriginal English varieties which have no contact with Kriol.

There is no reliable record to show specifically what kind of Pidgin English was spoken there. From observation of the style of English spoken by ex-Thangoo elders today, it would be plausible to suppose that it was quite different from Kriol (a creolized variety which is now spoken in the wide area of Kimberley and Northern Territory [SANDEFUR 1986]), and probably has something to do with the sort of "Adult Pidgin" reported from the Fitzroy Valley area [HUDSON 1983: 8–13]. The Pidgin English in Thangoo was used not only when the Aboriginal workers talked to European masters, but also amongst the Aborigines themselves. It is very likely that this Pidgin English of Thangoo provided the basis for one of the Broome Aboriginal English varieties spoken today (i.e. the Southerner-lect to be explained later in 1.4). It is not clear at all, however, if there was any functional "division of labor" between Yawuru and Pidgin English in Thangoo at that time (i.e. if there was any complementary distribution of the domains in which each of the two lingua francas was selectively used).

Although the station labor was hard and not properly rewarded at all, the people were able to enjoy the afterhours, jointly practising traditional ceremonies, both secret and open, accompanied by vivid dances and songs. During the off season, camping out for fishing and hunting, a limited degree of nomadic life style, was extensively practised (until as late as the early 1950s). In such circumstances, the station Aborigines not merely kept their own tribal languages, but at the same time expanded the domains and the functional load of Pidgin English, especially by adjusting the semantic contents of English words to the mould of their cultural patterns.

Today, all the Aborigines have shifted away from the Thangoo station and come to live either in towns or in large settlements: mostly in Broome, but also in Derby, Beagle Bay and Bidyadanga (La Grange) [HORTON 1994: 112f., 121f., 155f., 270f.]. There are several reasons why they left the station. Many of the ex-Thangoo Aborigines claim that the chief reason was that the work was too hard, and there was no proper payment. Since the then station owner was unwilling to improve the working conditions, a situation of growing conflict was formed between the white "boss" and the black workers. The best way for the workers to discharge the tension, following the traditional behavior pattern of the Australian Aborigines, was to leave the place, or *go: jalp* ("go self", i.e. pull out), as they call it in Aboriginal English.

Apart from the conflict with the station master, their exodus from Thangoo may also have been related to the urbanization of Broome and the war-time relocation. It is known that a successive shift of ceremonial sites (from southwest to northeast) took place in the Thangoo Yawuru country. In order to successfully perform ceremonies such as *yurna*, *guramirdi*, *jamunungurru*, *bungana* (all related to circumcision and other stages of male initiation) and *julurru* "Fire Dance", the host lawmen needed to invite people from the

neighboring and even far distant local groups. As the Aboriginal population of the west Kimberley generally tended to gather in the area around Broome, the ceremonial sites shifted several times, gradually getting closer to the township of Broome. In the 1930s, the main initiation ground was in *Yarlanbarnan* (south of Mararr Hill), approximately 8 miles west of the present Thangoo homestead [HOSOKAWA 1986b; VINNICOMBE 1987]. By 1950, it had shifted to *Mirda Yirdi* just east of the homestead. The most recent ceremonial site was located in the Fisherman's Bend area (traditionally called *Walman Buru*), east of Broome, just on the other side of the Dampier Creek (the traditional name is *Garlgarlgun*) [HOSOKAWA 1986b; cf. BINDON and McCASKILL n.d.].

During World War II many of the Aborigines of the area around Broome were sent to Beagle Bay mission, 115 km north of Broome, for war time relocation.⁸⁾ Some of the Thangoo Aborigines found spouses there. After the war, some settled down in Beagle Bay and later in Broome. Prior to the world wars, large numbers of Aboriginal children were forcibly taken to Beagle Bay. Such child hunting by the missionaries was a general practice in the Kimberley region; Thangoo country was no exception. It seems to be widely believed that the activity was intended to "rescue half-white children". Actually, however, it was not always the mix-blooded children who were picked up or kidnapped by the missionary agents.⁹⁾ From the Thangoo country, many Yawuru and Nanjanaja (coastal Karajarri) children, both full-blooded and part-Aboriginal, and particularly those below the age of full acquisition of their mother tongue, were taken by boat to Beagle Bay and put under harsh assimilationistic "education". The captured thus missed the opportunities of learning traditional Aboriginal languages and acquiring cultural knowledge. Even so, however, their kinship ties with the Thangoo people were somehow maintained, and that was one of the reasons why, during the later wartime relocation days, the Thangoo people managed to settle down without major trouble in the territory of other tribes: they already had "brothers" there! It is surprising and somewhat mysterious how those taken to the mission managed to keep links with their fellow countrymen left at Thangoo. From the accounts of life histories that I collected during my fieldwork in Broome, it seems that one of the lawmen played an important role in linking up the separated countrymen. He himself was a "half-caste" (from a Yawuru mother and a white father). When very young, he and his two brothers (blood brothers) were captured by the missionary agents, but he escaped the hand of those "pikinini hunters" by

8) Beagle Bay is now an Aboriginal community independent of the church [HORTON 1994: 113].

9) The word "kidnapping" may sound harsh, but this is how it was taken by the Aboriginal people. Another term commonly used by the people to refer to the picking-up of the children is "hunting".

jumping off the boat and swimming back. In the 1940s–50s, he became a holder (*wararra*) of several traditional rituals, and also a secure leader of the Thangoo Aborigines.

The move out of the station started in the 1940s, with one family following another. By early 1950s, most of the Thangoo Aborigines had left the station. Today most of the people of Yawuru descent live in the town of Broome.

Stokes [1984] estimated the number of Yawuru speakers at “less than 10” in 1978–79. So far, however, I have found that there are still at least 24 native speakers of Yawuru (19 in Broome, 1 in Beagle Bay, 1 in Derby, 1 in La Grange and 2 in Canarvon, as of late 1986). Most of them speak the Julbayi (Dyulbayi) dialect, originally spoken in the coastal savanna area between the *Mararr* sandhill west of the present Thangoo homestead and *Jibari* sandhill (so-called “Yardoogarra Point”) near *Giblara* or Cape Villaret (S18°10′–20′, E122°04′–20′). Beside these native speakers, there are about 20 people of Yawuru descent (over 40 years old) who can “hear” the language, though they cannot (or perhaps are not willing to) speak it spontaneously. Some 30 non-Yawuru Aborigines (chiefly Karajarri, Mangala and Nyikina; mostly males and over 55 years old) speak Yawuru or understand it fairly well. They used to work in Thangoo and/or have affinal relations with the Yawuru people. Yawuru and non-Yawuru taken together, there are more than 70 persons who can speak or understand this language to some extent or other. Those who can safely be called “good speakers” may number less than 20.

When people today talk of the name “Yawuru”, it usually refers to the *Julbayi-Yawuru* and its close neighbors. Those may be designated as Southern Coastal Yawuru (vernacular term: “Small Yawuru”). They are distinguished from the *Minyjirr* (~*Minnyirr*) or *Minyjirr-Yawuru*, usually known as Jugun (=Jukun, Djugan, Djugun) or “Big Yawuru”.

It is not at all difficult to find people still using Yawuru words and phrases in their casual verbal interaction, especially around the Broome Oval, where the ex-Thangoo mob regularly gather and enjoy their chat, or *to:kto:k* (“talk-talk”). It would be, however, extremely difficult to find this language spoken in a pure state, i.e., without major inclusion of words and phrases from other languages, either Aborigin or not. In particular, a mixture of Yawuru and English is the rule, even amongst those of the oldest generation whose native tongue is not English. The switching or mixture is so frequent that one can hardly tell which of the two languages they are actually speaking in. The following text fragments show what the casual style of Yawuru talk today is like:¹⁰⁾

10) ERG stands for ergative, and LOC for locative case marker, respectively.

- (1) *nagula-ni jagam galbu-layin,*
sea-ERG “chuck.him” up-towards

galaa wumangumangu-ni iijimab garrigan.
finish hermit.crab-ERG “eat.him.up” body

‘The bodies were washed up ashore, and then the hermit crabs ate them all up.’ (from a story of the Japanese air-raid on Broome, 1942)

- (2) *dijan-ni wamba i-gariyam miliny-gun*
“this one”-ERG man “he-carry.him” spear*-LOC

gangkuru, mijij-ni i-gariyam warndal-gun
“kangaroo” “Mrs”-ERG “he-carry.him” cradle-LOC

jalangardi yin girrbaju.
sand monitor “and” sugarbag

‘This man came back carrying a wallaby pierced on his spear, and his wife carrying goannas and some honey bee nest in a wooden dish (coolamon).’ (*Karajarri word *miliny* is used instead of Yawuru *mangul* ‘spear’.)

In the above examples, English-derived words are in boldface, for which the English etyma are given in quotation marks. Some readers may consider such a state of mixed language use in the examples given above as a typical symptom of a very “sick” language, particularly from the viewpoint of language maintenance pathology. It is true that Yawuru is, in a sense, giving in to English. Aborigines know quite consciously, however, that they use English in a different way from the way *ɲardiya* (= *ngardiya*, i.e. “white people”) do. This awareness by the Aborigines of the fact that English can be spoken in different ways is of crucial importance in understanding what is going on in the Aboriginal people’s sociolinguistic sphere today.

The state of language mixture such as shown above does not necessarily imply that linguistic assimilation toward the use of English is taking place. The situation is of a transitory nature, in the sense that the stable use of “pure” Yawuru has become a thing of the past. On the other hand, however, the end-point of the transition does not seem to be the stable use of “pure” English, either. The current scene of frequent and seemingly random mixture of English and Yawuru (and other Aboriginal languages) is fairly stable among ex-Thangoo Aborigines in their daily interaction. No apparent allocation of codes to different domains or registers is observed, except in the case of

ceremonial singing.

1.2. Broome Aborigines Today: Language and Social Grouping

The traditional languages of the Broome Aborigines today include Bardi, Nyulnyul, Jabirrjabirr, Yawuru, Nyikina, Mangala, Walmajarri (including Juwaliny or Western Jiwarliny), Karajarri, Nyangumarta and Yulbarija (a Western Desert dialect).¹¹⁾ Of these only Bardi, Walmajarri and Nyangumarta are relatively strong [HUDSON and McCONVELL 1984; McGREGOR 1988a]. None of them belongs originally to the Broome area, although they are today the major Aboriginal groups of Broome both in number and in political status. Karajarri, Mangala, Nyikina and Yawuru are declining, each with only 20 to at the most 40 “full speakers” or good speakers. Few people under the age of 40 have a speaking command of these “weak” languages. Nyulnyul and Jabirrjabirr are almost dead, each with less than five speakers today, although there are quite a few people who still identify themselves, at least partly, as belonging to the Nyulnyul or Jabirrjabirr “tribe”. The traditional residents of the Broome area proper (around the township, Cable Beach, Gantheaume Point, Fisherman’s Bend and the northwest of the Roebuck Plains) were Minyjirr-Yawuru, or “Big Yawuru”, whose language is usually referred to as Jukun (= Jugun, Djugan). The Jukun language/dialect is no longer spoken and very few people identify themselves as Jugun, although a limited number of people can recall words and phrases of the language [MONOGRAPH: 4–7].

The social grouping of the Aborigines in Broome is no longer according to the linguistic or “tribal” grouping. However, the current grouping seems to have much to do with the traditional networks of inter-tribal association. At first glance, the contrast between town-dwelling Aborigines and those living in Aboriginal communities (such as Bidyadanga, Beagle Bay, Djarindjin and One Arm Point)¹²⁾ may seem to be a basic distinction. Apparently, the folk term “townie” may be relevant to the distinction of Aborigines who live more or less permanently in the town and those who do not. Actually, however, it is rather difficult to show what is the standard of “more or less permanent” in this case. The shifting of people to and fro between Broome and each of the four communities is extremely frequent. Such a high mobility may make it impossible and actually pointless to stick to the distinction of “townies” and “community dwellers”. Weekly or monthly migration is a regular practice. Moreover, it is not always the case that those more or less based in a community are more tradi-

11) Of these the first five languages are Nyulnyulan (which is non-Pama-Nyungan) and all the rest are Pama-Nyungan. Spellings of the tribe/language names in this paper follow the recommendation of the Kimberley Language Resource Centre: see McGregor [1988a].

12) For the community names the spellings adopted by respective community council are maintained here, although “Bidyadanga” would be *Bijardangka* and “Djarindjin” would be *Jarrinjin* according to the practical orthography employed elsewhere in this paper.

tion-oriented than the town dwellers. From the viewpoint of sociolinguistic analysis, the townie/non-townie distinction is unlikely to be a decisive factor.

A second possible distinction could be between (a) the “reserve Aborigines” who live (or regularly visit and stay) in one of the several Aboriginal-managed settlements in and around the Broome township and (b) other townies who live, as many non-Aboriginal residents do, in the houses provided by the State Housing Authority. It seems that the (b) group has more regular association with Asian-Aboriginal mixed-descent groups, who are locally called “Colored people” with little pejorative connotation [GARWOOD and STUART 1983; HOSOKAWA 1987].¹³⁾ The Colored people in Broome are, generally speaking, more assimilated to the European life style and speak fairly standard English in their daily life. Actually their English is closer to the standard than the English spoken by some sectors of the white population in Broome. Few of the Colored people are able to speak any of the Aboriginal languages. Regular contact with the Colored may have some effect on the language life of the state house dwelling Aborigines. However, it does not seem that there is any marked difference in the control ability of standard-like “high English” between the reserve dwellers and State-Housing dwellers.

A division of Broome Aborigines which is more significant from the sociolinguistic point of view would be that of (1) **Northerners** (mostly the Dampier Landers: Jawi, Bardi, Nyulnyul, Jabirrjabirr, etc.); (2) **Southerners** (mostly Yawuru, Karajarri, Nyangumarta); and (3) **Easterners** (Walmajarri, Juwaliny, Yulbarija, Mangala, Nyikina, Bunuba, Wangkajunga, etc.) who are relatively newcomers to Broome. The terms “Northerners”, “Southerners” and “Easterners” are not the designations used by the local people themselves. These are tentative namings introduced here for the sake of convenience of explanation and discussion.¹⁴⁾ The division of “cultural blocks” or “major cultural areas” in the Kimberley [AKERMAN 1980: 234–235] is relevant here, although both the Easterners and the Southerners in this paper belong to the Southern cultural block as sketched by Akerman. The major grouping suggested above is partly based on the vernacular ethnic categories of (1) *Gular-raburru* (Jukun and Ngumbarl, and possibly including Jabirrjabirr); (2) *Bajabuga* (often called “saltwater people”, namely Southern Coastal Yawuru and Najanaja Karajarri), and (3) *Wayangarri* (generic designation for the Desert

13) The term is often employed as a self-designation by many of the Asian-Aboriginals. Notice, however, that such discrimination-free use of the word “colored” is peculiar to the Broome area; the word usually bears a connotation of racism in other parts of Australia.

14) The vernacular designation “Hill mob” and “One Mile mob” roughly correspond to the Northerners and the Easterners, respectively. There seems to be no folk term equivalent for the Southerners. The “Thangoo mob” (i.e. ex-Thangoo Aborigines) and some sectors of the “Lagrange mob” may correspond to the Southerners here. These vernacular terms are not used in this paper because they are too context-bound to be a major analytical unit of social groupings amongst Broome Aborigines.

people and the Easterners).¹⁵⁾ We are not using these traditional generic terms in this paper, because some significant change seems to have been taking place in the grouping pattern of local Aborigines in Broome. For example, the people who used to be classified as "Wayangarri" do not necessarily find themselves in the "Easterner" group of today.

Some of the Karajarri (traditionally a *Bajabuga*) people have joined the Northerner group, as far as their residential pattern and economic connections are concerned. Some Aborigines who came up from the "South" of Western Australia have joined the Northerners, too, as far as their residential pattern is concerned. Also, some Easterners, particularly Nyikina and Mangala (and also, though to a much lesser extent, Warrwa, Ungkumi, Bunuba and Wangkajunga) people, were incorporated into the Southerner group, after working together in Thangoo Station or having marriage ties with them. The "Lagrange mob" used to be composed chiefly of the Southerner tribes, but the recent arrival of Walmajarri, Juwaliny and Yulbarija families to this community has resulted in a closer association of the Lagrange people with the Easterners.

In some respects, namings such as "Easterner" or "Southerner" might be misleading. Some of the Western Desert tribes, who are referred to in this paper as "Easterners", actually came from the south of Broome: e.g. Mangala, Yulbarija and Juwaliny. The Easterners' fringe camp is actually located to the north of Broome. Also it should be carefully noted that the Northerner/Southerner distinction here does not coincide with the linguistic division of North vs South Kimberley languages [HUDSON and McCONVELL 1984: 18–22]. By linguistic criteria, Yawuru belongs to the non-Pama-Nyungan North Kimberley languages, along with the Dampierland languages such as Bardi, Nyulnyul, Jabirrjabirr, etc. As far as social grouping and cultural activities are concerned, however, Yawuru people are integrated into the sociocultural networks of the south Kimberly region (and further coastal Northwest-Pilbara regions), and therefore have much more in common with the speakers of Pama-Nyungan languages such as Karajarri and Nyangumarta, rather than with the Dampierlanders. As for inter-group marriage patterns, the Yawuru mainly intermarried with the Southerners (and to a lesser extent with the Easterners), while the Jugun, speakers of a closely related dialect of Yawuru, mainly intermarried with those Northerners such as Ngumbarl, Jabirrjabirr and Nyulnyul. According to the Julbayi-Yawuru elders, Jugun (or Minyjirr-Yawuru) is not *Bajabuga*, but *Gularraburru*.

15) A different interpretation is found in the accounts of Daisy Bates in reference to these group names (*Kularrabulu*, *Waiungarri* and *Bajjibugu* in Bates' spelling). These are treated, along with many other tribal names of the area around Broome, as particular "nations", not as generic or classificatory terms [BATES 1985: 59–60].

1.3. Traditional Patterns of Multilingualism

The pattern of traditional multilingualism is in part (but by no means totally) conditioned by the degree of mutual intelligibility. Intelligibility (and unintelligibility) is a sociological function rather than a purely linguistic one, since it is not entirely based on linguistic structures (*viz* similarity and difference of grammar and lexicon). From a grammatical (and particularly morphological) point of view, Yawuru is much closer to the Nyulnyulan languages (Nyikina, Nyulnyul, Bardi, etc.) than it is to its Pama-Nyungan neighbors (Karajarri, Mangala, Nyangumarta, etc.). In lexicon, however, the non-Pama-Nyungan status of Yawuru is less obvious. A count based on 100 items (out of Hale's core vocabulary) shows that Yawuru shares 48% with Nyulnyul, 30% with Bardi, and (rather unexpectedly) 45% with Jawi. In comparison with Pama-Nyungan, Yawuru shares 40% of basic words with Najanaja Karajarri, 31% with Nangu Karajarri, 25% with Mangala and 21% with Nyangumarta. By contrast, Nyulnyul shares only 19% of basic words with Karajarri (Najanaja); the proportion of items in common with Karajarri is even lower in Bardi (14%) and Jawi (16%). It was discovered further that the list of Yawuru basic words includes common items, though to a lesser extent, with other non-neighboring Pama-Nyungan languages: 15% with Walmajarri, 9% with Pintupi (Papunya Luritja) and 6% with Warlpiri.¹⁶⁾ In the general lexicon, apart from the "basic" vocabulary, a large number of Karajarri (particularly Najanaja dialect) and Nyangumarta words are found in Yawuru texts.¹⁷⁾

In practice, very few of the Yawuru people have any practical command of Bardi or Nyulnyul, while many of them understand (and speak to some extent) Karajarri and/or Mangala. Similarly, very few of the Bardi and other Northerners understand Yawuru or any other languages of the Southerners. As for Yawuru-Nyikina mutual intelligibility, many of the old Yawuru speakers actually understand Nyikina fairly well, but that is not so much based upon the inherent grammatical/lexical similarity between the two languages as upon the mutual learning resulting from actual frequent people contact between these two groups. Although the two languages share 61% of the basic vocabulary, there is a marked difference in the most commonly used verbs: only 5 (or 23%) out of the 22 verbal entries in the 100-item basic wordlist are common. There is a considerable difference in the general lexicon. Quite different morpho-

16) The data on which the count is done is taken from the basic word lists deposited at the Kimberley Language Resource Centre, which will hopefully be published as the second volume of the Handbook of Kimberley Languages [McGREGOR 1988a, 1988b].

17) Several cases are observed in which words common to other Nyulnyulan languages suffer semantic specialization due to the inclusion of loan words: *gambi* is 'egg' in Nyikina but in Yawuru today it means 'testicles', while the Pama-Nyungan form *jimbu* (probably borrowed from Karajarri) has become the usual Yawuru word for 'egg'.

phonemic processes are observed, particularly in verbal conjugations. The effect is that a Yawuru person comes to understand the Nyikina language only after a long-term and intensive living experience among the speakers of Nyikina (and vice versa). Young part-speakers of Yawuru today, who understand the Yawuru language spoken at normal speed, do not usually understand Nyikina talk.

1.4. Varieties of Aboriginal English in Broome

In the first place, a remark should be made on the wide range of variability in Aboriginal English, even when we confine our argument to the situation in the Broome town area. Interpersonal diversity and situation-specific flexibility, which are the two aspects of variability, are the prominent characteristics of the English-speaking Aborigines' language life. In close relation with the major social grouping of the Aborigines in Broome, three different kinds of Aboriginal English are observed (See section 3 for their situation-specific flexibility). Although Kriol is not "a dialect of English", it is included here as a well-established variety of modern Aboriginal talk, relevant to the discussion of the sociolinguistic situation in Broome.

1) **Easterner-lect** (or Kriol in Broome): Kriol is not widespread among the Broome Aborigines, except among the newly arriving Easterners (especially the Walmajarri of Looma). For some reason or other, Kriol is disliked both by the Northerner and the Southerner Broome Aborigines; and, for the time being, it is unlikely for Kriol to become a dominant Aboriginal language in Broome. However, more often than not, Broome people have kin relations (both actual and classificatory) with the people of Kriol-speaking areas in the Kimberley: namely Looma, Fitzroy Crossing, Christmas Creek, Halls Creek, Wyndham, Kununurra, etc. Therefore, it is not at all rare for Broome Aborigines to visit these Kriol-speaking towns or communities. Also, Broome people receive frequent visits from their Kriol-speaking relatives. As a result, Kriol and/or Kriol-like speech is by no means unfamiliar to the Broome Aborigines; not only do they understand Kriol fairly well, but in some contexts, as will be sketched later (in 3.3), Broome Aborigines modify their own speech to a Kriol-like style. In Bidyadanga Community (Lagrange) south of Broome, it seems that Kriol (or at least a variety strongly influenced by Kriol) has come to be spoken as a language of daily interaction.

2) **Southerner-lect** (or "Broome Pidgin English"): Aboriginal English, as spoken typically by Yawuru old people, is considered to be a post-pidgin development out of the cattle station pidgin that used to be spoken in Thangoo (and probably in other locations as well).¹⁸⁾ We refer to this contemporary

18) Varieties close to the Thangoo station pidgin were probably spoken in other stations in the area as well. Aged Easterners are often heard to speak in a Southerner-like style, even though they have not spent time at Thangoo station or at La Grange mission. It is likely that this is a ↗

variety as the Southerner-lect of Broome Aboriginal English, since the variety is shared with other ex-Thangoo Aborigines, i.e. the group we have called “Southerners” above. We cannot simply call it “Broome Aboriginal English”, because, as we are going to see, it is by no means the only type of Aboriginal English spoken in Broome. However, this particular variety of Broome Aboriginal English will be the focus of our attention in the later sections of this paper (sections 2, 3.1 and 3.2 in particular). The Southerner-lect, when spoken in a very “heavy” basilectal style, is basically unintelligible to white people (even to those who are experienced in interacting with the local Aborigines). It is distinct from Kriol in its grammatical/lexical aspects (discussed in 2.1, 2.2 and 3.3).

It is interesting to note that a variety of English similar to the Southerner-lect is spoken by many of the old Asian residents of Broome: Malays, Timorese (locally called “Koepangers” as most of them came via Kupang), Japanese and Chinese, mostly over the age of 65. These Asian people used to work on the pearling luggers and picked up English from the labor-mate Aborigines [HOSOKAWA 1987]. The “English” of these old Asians sometimes reveals more “pidgin-like” features (in the sense that the grammatical and phonological complexity is very much reduced) than the variety spoken by the Southerner Aborigines today does. This may reflect an earlier pidgin/jargon stage of the Aboriginal Pidgin English which used to be spoken in Broome. Even today, more often than not, the Southerners’ and the Asians’ speech styles are commonly referred to (by the local people, both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal) as “Pidgin English”. In this paper, however, we do not use the term “Broome Pidgin English”¹⁹⁾ for the following reasons: (1) It can be misleading to apply the term “Pidgin English” to a particular present-day variety, given that there have been several different developments of pidgins (or contact languages) in Broome and the neighboring regions, such as cattle station pidgin(s), pearling lugger pidgin and possibly a Chinese Pidgin English;²⁰⁾ (2) The word “pidgin” is heavily charged with a negative and discriminatory value, especially among the Aboriginal people of Broome, so that it is unlikely for them to give consent to the view that “pidgin” is a neutral technical term of linguistics (It can be confusing as well, since Kriol, as spoken by Fitzroy Crossing people, is often called “Pidgin” by Broome Aborigines, apparently with a pejorative connotation); and (3) after all, the Southerner’s “pidgin-like” lect is no longer a pidgin in strict linguistic terms, although it has a certain historical connection with the cattle station pidgin. Its vocabulary has become as exten-

↘ reflex of the pre-Kriol varieties once spoken in the west Kimberley region, such as that reported by [HUDSON 1983] as “Adult Pidgin” in Fitzroy Valley.

19) I have used this term in earlier drafts of this paper.

20) See Mühlhäusler [1987] for a discussion of the possible historical connection between the south WA pidgin and the cattle station pidgin(s) of north WA.

sive as a full language, serving the varied types of daily interaction of the people. It also has a well-developed grammar of its own. Its communicative role is not situation-bound (i.e. narrowly limited to a few particular settings, as is the case with a pidgin). It is socially stable and not a product of mere insufficient learning of English.²¹⁾ In linguistic terms, the Southerner-lect is an expanded pidgin (here "expanded" means grammatically, lexically and functionally developed). In terms of social functions, it is rather similar to a creole. Today, the Southerner-lect is rather a sociolect (a variety of language based on social groups) than a dialect (a variety based on regional groups).²²⁾ Like many of the post-creole or post-pidgin varieties, Broome Aboriginal English shows a basilect-acrolect (or heavy-light) continuum with regard to its situational and interpersonal variation (See 3.1). The "heavy" style of the Southerner-lect is the unmarked speech style among the older generation (roughly over the age of 50), whose first language is one or other of the traditional languages (Yawuru, Karajarri, Nyangumarta, Mangala, Nyikina, etc.).

The Southerner-lect cannot be called a "creole" by a linguistic definition of the term [but cf. HOSOKAWA 1992, forthcoming-a]. Although there are many people who, for most of their everyday life, speak in this variety of language, there are no native speakers of it. The young generation (mostly Broome born), whose parents, "uncles" and "aunties" usually speak the "pidgin-like" style in question, do not speak it as their primary or everyday language. Instead, the young people's everyday language is a more standard-like English, which they picked up through interaction with their multi-ethnic peers in Broome. Pidgin English might have been their first tongue at a very young age: in that case, a decreolization process must have taken place in the very early period. However, I tend to doubt the possibility of "creolization and early decreolization". As will be described later (in 3.1), people of their parents' generation do not (and probably did not) use the "heavy" style when talking to the young people. It is interesting to see that, in spite of this, the "heavy" style has been transmitted to the younger generation as part of their verbal repertoire. The young Southerners employ the "heavy" style as a jargon (or a marked speech style) in certain situations. We shall see some examples later (in 3.1).

3) **Northerner-lect** (or "Bardi English"): It is observed that the Northerner Aborigines in Broome, particularly the Bardi people, sometimes use a very heavy style of Aboriginal English too. It is, however, different both from the Easterners' Kriol and from the Southerners' expanded pidgin. Its use seems to

21) For a discussion on the functional and structural differences between pidgin, expanded pidgin, and insufficient learning, see Mühlhäusler [1974].

22) The notion of "creoloid" [PLATT 1978: 53-55; MÜHLHÄUSLER 1986: 10-11; HOSOKAWA 1992: 446f.] may be relevant here, although the degree of social stability of the Southerner-lect is not as great as that of Singapore English [PLATT 1978], and the impact of formal education on the older generations of Broome Aborigines is minimal.

be restricted to the context of in-group talk, which is not expected to be understood by outsiders, whether Aboriginal or non-Aboriginal. Locally the variety is sometimes called “Bardi English”. In this paper we refer to it as the Northerner-lect of Broome Aboriginal English. A heavy-light variation seems also to be the case with the Northerner-lect: in its lighter phase, the variety is virtually indistinct from the light phase of the Southerner-lect. (In this regard, we might use the general term “Broome Aboriginal English” to cover both sociolects as spoken in a relatively lighter style.) The following sample shows a contrast of the Easterner-, Southerner- and Northerner-lect, respectively, in its light style:

- (3) a. *i bin go: laŋa ta:n.*
 he been go to town
 ‘He went to (the direction of) the town.’ (Easterner-lect)
- b. *i: go: duwa.*
 he go store
 ‘She went to the town center.’²³⁾ (Southerner-lect)
- c. *i: bin go do:be.*
 he been go Derby
 ‘He went to Derby (town).’ (Northerner-lect)

In its heavier phase, however, the Northerner-lect becomes totally unintelligible to the Southerners, so that it is necessary both from the linguistic and sociological viewpoints to distinguish them as different varieties of language. In the case of the Southerner-lect, the heavy style was the unmarked, casual speech style of the older generation. In the Northerner-lect, on the contrary, the heavy style seems to be used only as a marked (exclusively in-group) speech style, both by old and young, but more frequently by the young, as the old people are still able to resort to the traditional language, Bardi. The sociolinguistic function of exclusion/inclusion will be discussed later (in 3.3).²⁴⁾

23) The subject of this sentence, referred to as “he”, is actually female.

24) As my field research was done mainly amongst the Southerner Aborigines (particularly of Yawuru descent), who are not always on good terms with the Northerners (Bardi in particular), substantial data on the Northerners speech variation is limited. Andrew Sampi (teacher at Lombadina School) and Peter Angus (former language worker for the Kimberley Language Support Programme 1984), who are Bardi men themselves, confirmed the in-group use of a “heavy English” among the Bardi people of the Djarinjin Community (Lombadina). From my occasional contact with the people of the Mallingbarr Community in Broome, it is certain that the Bardi and Jawi people of One Arm Point use a very “heavy” basilect, which is neither the Bardi/Jawi language nor Kriol, and that it shows a continuum nature to the light Aboriginal English casually spoken by these people.

2. LINGUISTIC FEATURES OF BROOME ABORIGINAL ENGLISH

Before going into sociolinguistic issues, it would be useful to examine how much and what kind of influence of indigenous languages is observable in the usage of Broome Aboriginal English. The aim in referring to this issue here is not to focus on the structural aspects of the substratum effect, but in order to point out the fact that a considerable amount of modification of English, in all levels of the linguistic system ranging from phonetics to pragmatics, has made the Aborigines feel “easy” about talking in “English”. In a sense, Aborigines no longer feel frustrated about their daily use of English, originally an alien language, as long as they talk in a basilect variety of Aboriginal English (or “blackfella talk”), which is now quite different from English as spoken by people of Anglo-Celtic descent. This is the case even with those whose first tongue is a traditional Aboriginal language. As a matter of fact, the people living in the urban setting of Broome now find some difficulty in speaking in “straight lingo”, or pure traditional language, minimizing the inclusion of English-derived elements.²⁵⁾ An overall modification of English has not merely provided the grounds for easy and extremely frequent switching between (and mixture of) English and Aboriginal languages, but it has also accelerated the shift from the latter to the former.

The Aborigines themselves know quite consciously that the “English” they speak among themselves is not the same kind of English as that spoken by non-Aborigines. The feelings of “easiness” and “ownness” are quite important. Without such feelings, they would have been inclined either (1) to stick to their own traditional languages or (2) to attach negative values to their “poor” English, giving in to a tendency to approximate to the acrolect or “high” English. If they had chosen to keep the traditional codes, a difficulty would have resulted now that their everyday interaction is performed with linguistically mixed groups of Aborigines (beyond the extent of traditional multilingualism). The assimilation to high English would also have resulted in another sort of difficulty, for they would lack one of the most effective strategic resources with which to manage and express their group identity as the socially oppressed people in the dominantly white Australian society.

The following description in this section is based on materials in the Southerner-lect (particularly its basilectal phase) of Broome Aboriginal English. Although this variety shares a number of linguistic features with

25) The vernacular term “lingo” may sometimes mean post-contact languages (pidgin/creole/Aboriginal English). In Kriol-speaking communities, particularly, the word “lingo” refers to the basilect Kriol as contrasted to the acrolect English. Among Broome Aborigines, however, the term “lingo” is usually reserved for the traditional languages, although in certain contexts it could be applied to their own way of speaking English.

Kriol, they are recognisably different in some grammatical and lexical aspects (see section 3.3). To avoid repetition of what is already known to most researchers of Aboriginal English, those features listed in Kaldor and Malcolm [1985] are not discussed here.²⁶⁾

The Broome Aboriginal English (Southerners' basilect) is characterised by the following:

- 1) phonological conditioning (both segmental and suprasegmental) which mainly follows the Yawuru phonological structure. This is, in most aspects, common to other Aboriginal languages of the area.
- 2) distinctive grammatical constructions (see section 2.1)
- 3) frequent inclusion of Yawuru and other Aboriginal words and suffixes (see section 2.2)
- 4) semantic modifications of English words (see section 2.3)
- 5) occasional inclusion of the Broome Pearling Lugger Pidgin (PLP) words, derived from Malay and/or Japanese, e.g. question-marking particle *-ka*, and words such as *makan* 'food', *waja* 'money', *bagush* 'good, well done', *nate* 'wait, hold it', *piki* (*~pikipiki*) 'go on, don't hesitate'.²⁷⁾
- 6) some probably South Sea Jargon (or Pacific Pidgin) words, such as *pikinini* 'little boy', *kaikai* 'to eat', *sabe* 'to know', *kabakaba* 'corroboree', etc.²⁸⁾
- 7) pragmatic regulations which conform to the pattern of Aboriginal culture.

26) Of those features which Kaldor and Malcolm classified as "widespread features" (of Aboriginal Children's English in WA), 1-7, 9, 13-15 are shared by the Southerner-lect of Broome Aboriginal English. Those not observed in Broome are 8, 10, 11 and 12, all of which belong to the features common to "General Australian non-Standard English" [KALDOR and MALCOLM 1985: 229]. Of the features that Kaldor and Malcolm classify as "features restricted to some Northern or desert locations" all (except 21, 27, 28, 30, 32 and 35) are observed in all the types of basilectal Broome Aboriginal Englishes, and therefore do not function as the marking features of the micro-regional varieties of Aboriginal English in Broome (See the discussion in 3.3). It is worth noting, however, that many of the features sorted out by Kaldor and Malcolm as characteristic of Aboriginal Children's English in WA are observed in the Broome Southerners' lect, which is basically a language spoken by adults.

27) See Hosokawa [1987] for the linguistic make-up and a short history of the Broome Pearling Lugger Pidgin (PLP). Reduced forms of the PLP are occasionally spoken by Broome people today as their in-group identity jargon. Although this jargon is sometimes called "Broome Creole" by local people, it has little to do with the present-day Kriol. It seems, however, that an early Aboriginal Pidgin of the area was one of the bases of the formation of the PLP.

28) The reason why these peculiar words are found in Broome Aboriginal English varieties (and not in other Kimberley Aboriginal English varieties) is unknown. They may be traced back to the cattle station pidgin which came up to Kimberley from the southwest, via Pilbara/Northwest regions rather than from east (i.e. Queensland/Northern Territory regions; cf. Mühlhäusler [1987]). Anna Shnukal (in personal communication) suggested the possibility that these may have travelled with the pearling laborers from Torres Strait Islands to Broome. As I have surveyed so far, however, the linguistic influence of Torres Strait Pidgin (now a creole), upon the Broome post-contact language varieties seems to be minimal.

In this paper, due to limitation of space, only 2), 3) and 4) will be briefly sketched below.²⁹⁾ Examples are taken from natural, spontaneous speech of the Yawuru Aborigines. The transcription is broadly phonetic: η is velar nasal, ϕ and β are voiceless and voiced bilabial fricatives; superscripts ^h (as in p^h , l^h , etc.), ^y (as in n^y , ν , etc.) and ^w (as in k^w) indicate aspiration, palatalization and labialization (rounding), respectively; ai , ei , etc. are diphthongs. Several digraphic conventions are employed for typographic reasons: rr is a non-continuant alveolar flap (while single r is a retroflex approximant); rd , rn and rl are all retroflex consonants; sh and ch are used for the laminal alveolo-palatal fricative (sibilant) and affricate, respectively. The letter y is used in place of the phonetic [j] (palatal approximant) and the letter j for the voiced counterpart of ch . Long vowels are indicated by the addition of the lengthening mark (:). Distinctions of a/a and o/o are not indicated. Stress is shown only when it is relevant to the discussion. A short pause is indicated by a comma (,).³⁰⁾

2.1. Distinctive Grammatical Constructions

Locative NPs are usually marked by a prominent stress (usually, but not always, on the head noun of the NP), rather than by a preposition or a post-position.

- (4) *a:-gat main há:s diskain wan.*
 I (1sg)-got mine house this.kind one
 'I have a similar one at home.'

- (5) *ai go: jidan nana láp.*
 I (1sg) go sit.down nannie lap
 'I'll sit down on grannie's lap.'

The same is the case with allative ('to somewhere'), ellative ('from somewhere'), instrumental ('with/by something') and comitative ('with somebody') phrases.

- (6) *wi tek-um línju.*
 we take-him police
 'We (excl.) took him to the police.'

29) For further details of the linguistic features of Broome Aboriginal English, see [HOSOKAWA 1986a].

30) Yawuru and other Aboriginal words that appear in Aboriginal English texts are also written down phonetically and therefore their spelling may differ from the orthographic one: e.g. *ṇaṇak* (= *ngalyag*) 'bluetongue lizard'.

- (7) *i: kam kálamburru jat boi.*
 he come Kalumburu that boy
 ‘That young man came from Kalumburu.’
- (8) *jat bindan^o yu bin kich-im wánggara:ŋ(g)ara.*
 that stingray you been catch-him fishing.net
 ‘Did you catch the stingray with a fishing net?’ (cf. Yawuru *birn’dany*
 ‘stingray’, *wangkaraangkara* ‘spider web; fishing net’)
- (9) *yu go: ána-garra.*
 you go Anna-PLURAL
 ‘You (have to) go with Anna’s mob.’³¹⁾

Unlike ellative (i.e. locational ablative) phrases, non-locational ablative phrases (‘from somebody/something’) are usually marked by the adposition of **búrrum** ‘from’ (either prepositionally or postpositionally).³²⁾

A remarkable point is that the Broome Aboriginal English lacks the general locative marker *laja~la*, which is widespread in the Kriol language area. This absence of the adposition in locational NPs is a feature common to the Northerner-lect (see example (3) cited in 1.4). For Broome Aborigines, the use of *laja* appears to be a distinctive feature of the Kriol talk.³³⁾

Another syntactic feature of the Broome Aboriginal English is the postpositional use of English prepositions:

- (10) *mantbi: dat shtó:n-anda.*
 mightbe that stone-under
 ‘(You may find it) perhaps under that rock.’

31) The suffix *-garra* is the Yawuru plural marker [MONOGRAPH: 29f.], and is not the comitative *gera* as occurs in Fitzroy Valley Kriol.

32) In some cases, such as emphatic or relative, *burrum* is used in the ellative (‘from somewhere’) function:

- | | |
|--|---------------------------------------|
| 1) <i>burrum pu:t kam boi</i> | ‘a/the boy who came from Perth’ (NP) |
| 2) <i>burrum pu:t jat boi kam.</i> | ‘It is from Perth that the boy came.’ |
| 3) <i>jat boi kam pu:t. (~i kam pu:t jat boi.)</i> | ‘The boy came from Perth.’ |

33) The process of the development of the general locative marker *laja* in North Australia Kriol in general [SANDEFUR 1986] is unclear. It may have something to do with the semantic functions of the local cases (locative, allative, ellative/ablative, perlative, etc.) in the substratum Aboriginal languages. Interestingly, the ablative/ellative case form in some Kimberley languages (including Yawuru and Bardi) occasionally performs an allative function (see sections 7.5.3.2 and 7.5.3.3 of Hosokawa forthcoming-b for a detailed description of the Yawuru case). It should also be pointed out that, in Yawuru as well as in some neighboring languages, it is rather normal for certain nouns of locational meanings (such as ‘bush’, ‘beach’, etc.) to bear allative meanings without inflecting for either the allative or the locative case form [MONOGRAPH: 262f.].

- (11) *sambadi putiŋ ne:m wú:man toilet kónti-insaɪ.*
 somebody putting name woman toilet Conti-inside
 ‘Somebody keeps writing down bad words [against my daughter] in the
 lady’s toilet inside the Conti (a Pub’s name).’
- (12) *ʔi stap kánen-ajasaɪ.*
 he stop Kanin-other. side
 ‘He lives (in a fringe camp) on the other side of Kanin (a place name
 near Broome).’

The possessive NP formation in Broome Aboriginal English is a good example of the postpositional use of English preposition. In Broome Aborigines’ speech, the English-derived *bloŋ* (“belong”) can be used either prepositionally or postpositionally, as in the following two examples, both meaning ‘mother of Maggie’:

(A) *mami bloŋ-Megi*

(B) *Megi-bloŋ mami*

(A) is the rule in Kriol. In contrast, (B) is the most frequent in the Broome Southerners’ speech; the pattern (A) is used only when speakers try to make their speech closer to the acrolect. Some mesolectal constructions such as *bloŋ-Megi mami* or *Megi bloŋ-(h)im mami* are also observed in the Southerners’ speech, but they are not as common as (A).

Modal and aspectual auxiliaries used in the Southerner-lect include: *kló:jap~kilósap* (“close-up”) ‘nearly, about to do’, *gárrabin* ‘should have been/done’, *másta* ‘must have been/done’, *masbi(:)* ‘must’, etc.³⁴⁾

- (13) *a: kilosap tel-am.*
 I (1sg) close.up tell-him
 ‘I was about to tell (the secret).’
- (14) *yu garrabin stop jiya.*
 you gotta.been stop there
 ‘You should have been there.’
- (15) *k*** masbi: no:.*
 (name) must.be know
 ‘K*** (mail name) must know that.’

nájawe (“another-way”) and *ó:lai~ó:rrai~o:rái(t)* (“all-right”) are often

34) There are also many auxiliaries more or less common to Kriol: *labda* ‘want to’, *kan~kam* ‘cannot’, *gin~kin* ‘can’, etc. A common future marker is either *go:* or Kriol-like *garra~gerra*. Also *bambai* (“by-and-by”) is often used as a future marker.

used as a marker of irrealis clause.

- (16) *nájawe o:laɪ wi gerrim ópʰis.*
 another.way all.right we get.him office
 ‘Otherwise we would have seen him in the office.’
- (17) *kam ya:li-bala o:rraɪ, yu gerr-im nagola.*
 come early-fellow all.right you get-him sea
 ‘If you had come early, you would have caught the up-tide (i.e. good fishing conditions; *nagola* is the Yawuru word *nagula* ‘saltwater, sea’).’

Suffix *-bala* (derived from English “fellow”) marks the predicative use and the adverbial use of adjectives, as we can see in *ya:libala* (“early-fellow”) in (17) above and also in the following examples:

- (18) *a:garra meg-im sha:p-bala.*
 I (1sg)-gotta make-him sharp-fellow
 ‘I’ll make [the tomahawk] sharp.’
- (19) *ginʷa sad-bala φo yu:.*
 (3sg) sad-fellow for you
 ‘She misses you.’ (*ginʷa* is a Yawuru 3rd-person pronoun.)
- (20) *yu o:l-m tait-bala.*
 you hold-him tight-fellow
 ‘You hold it tightly!’

Constructions similar to relative clauses are formed usually without *wh*-words.

- (21) *jat waɪbalo stap andap hil i-get ha:s kɛ:bulbi:χ.*
 that white.fellow stop on.top hill he-get house Cable.Beach
 ‘The whitefellow who lives on top of the hill bought a new house in Cable Beach.’
- (22) *wan girrbaju jaki gerrim tubala kaɪkaɪ pinish-im.*
 one honey Jacky get.him two.fella eat/food finish.him
 ‘The two girls have eaten up all of the bottleful of honey which Jacky got (from the bush).’

- (23) *ai no: dat man diswan bloŋ.*
 I know that man this.one belong
 ‘I know the man to whom this belongs.’ (i.e. ‘I know the owner of this.’)

Personal pronouns are as follows: (subject forms of the basilect)

	sg.	du.	pl.
1st (excl.)	<i>ai</i>	<i>widubala</i>	<i>wibala/aslad</i> (~ <i>asmob</i>)
(incl.)	–	<i>yunmi</i>	<i>yunmibala</i>
2nd	<i>yu(:)</i>	<i>yudubala</i>	<i>yubala/yu:lad</i> (~ <i>yumob</i>)
3rd	<i>i(:)</i>	<i>dubala</i>	<i>jambarra/jallad</i>

The third person plural forms are probably derived from “them-fellow” and “that-lot”, respectively. Yawuru pronouns such as *juyu* (= *dyuyu*) ‘you (sg.)’, *yaderi* (= *yadiri*) ‘we (incl.)’ and *kin’angga* (*ginyangka*) ~ *gin’a* ‘he/she/it’ are also often heard in the basilect. More standard-like forms such as *der~de:* ‘they’ and *wi(:)* ‘we’ (both incl. and excl.) also appear.

2.2. Frequent Inclusion of Yawuru (and Other Aboriginal) Words or Suffixes

A large number of Aboriginal words are used in Broome Aboriginal English. In the Southerner-lect, most of them are Yawuru words. Some Karajarri, Nyikina and Nyangumarta words are also observed. Although such borrowings of Aboriginal words in English spoken by the Aborigines are not at all surprising, it should be noted that (1) the use of the Aboriginal words is not confined to semantic fields related to traditional affairs; and that (2) the Aboriginal words do not always occur with the same meaning as they are used in the original Aboriginal language(s).

- (24) *p*** kan kabo n’amba ŋaɭ’ak, d*** gɪn kaɪkai oɾai.*
 (name) can eat this frog (name) can eat all.right
 ‘P*** (girl’s name) cannot (i.e. is not allowed to) eat the meat of bluetongue lizard. D*** (boy’s name) can eat it without problem.’
 (from an account of a food taboo: original Yawuru words are *gabu* (= *kabo*) ‘eating’ (preverb), *nyamba* (= *n’amba*) ‘this’, *ngalyag* (= *ŋaɭ’ak*) ‘Common Blue Tongue’)
- (25) *yu gat no: pijara tu:.*
 you got no ear too
 ‘You don’t understand, either.’ (Yawuru *bijara* ‘ear’)

- (26) *iget newal durrgarraŋ hiya.*
 he.get footprint motorcar here
 'There's a wheel track here.' (Yawuru *niwal* 'foot, footprint', *durrgarraŋ* 'motorcar')

In the basilect phase of the Southerner-lect, the nominal suffixes of Yawuru appear with quite a high frequency, and in most cases attached to English-derived lexical items. Most commonly used suffixes include the plural marker *-garra*, comitative/instrumental *-barre* (*-barri*), ergative *-ni*, conjunctive *-(e)rr* (*=-yirr*) 'and', directional *-garde* (*=-gardi*) 'towards, to the side of', causal *-nʷurdanʷ* (*=-nyurdany*) 'because of, due to' and delimitative *-manʷjanʷ~manʷan* 'only' [MONOGRAPH: 22].

- (27) *ai laik go: se:l-garra.*
 I like go shell-PLURAL
 'I want (now) to go shellfishing.'
- (28) *si: jat bo:i redwan-barre ti:sha:t.*
 see that boy red.one-with T.shirt
 'See that young man with a red T-shirt.'
- (29) *i gro:lum o:n dadi-rr-mami.*
 he growl.them own daddy-and-mommy
 'He growled (i.e. got mad) at his own father and mother.'
- (30) *yaŋbala-err-ni karri:ŋ wuman, dei kɪn i:tim noyig wan.*
 young.fellow-and-ERG carrying woman they can eat.him no.egg one
 'Young girls and carrying (i.e. pregnant) women can eat it (the *yalgi* goanna) if it has no egg inside.' (explaining a food taboo young women must observe)
- (31) *i ɡɪn teɪk yaderi kanen-garde.*
 he can take us Ganin-side
 'He can take us (in his car) up to around Ganin.'

Occasionally found are redundantly marked phrases, such as these, analyzed as having the pattern of <English preposition + Noun + Yawuru postposition>:

- (32) *dei chenj-im ku:l ɸrom laik-jat-nʷurdanʷ tarabul.*
 they change-him school from like-that-because trouble
 'They often change school due to that sort of trouble.'

- (33) *onli yaderi-man^yjan*
 only us (incl.)-only
 'only us (you and me)'

Occurrence of Yawuru verbal suffixes is rare in Aboriginal English text. They do occur, however, as we see in the following example, which contains a subordination marker *-jarri* 'when, if' [MONOGRAPH: 460ff.]:

- (34) *yu: gadim-jarri, girrbaju narle kariyam, yu: pilimap baniken.*
 you got.him-with honey really carry.him you fill.him.up pannikin
 'When you cut the (right) tree, you'll get sugarbag and carry (bring back) a big one and you can fill up a pannikin.'

A phonetic syncretism, or blending, seems to have taken place in the formation of such words as *ulgaja* 'altogether, in a big mob' in which an English adverb "altogether" and a Yawuru verbal suffix *-gaja* (intensity of action [MONOGRAPH: 213ff.]) are blended. A similar instance of blending is *kal^{hi}i*: 'just at that moment; right then' (from Yawuru *galiya~galaa* 'finish', plus the English word *here*).

2.3. Semantic Modifications

Quite often, the semantic content of English-derived words is adjusted to the pattern of Aboriginal culture. Typical and well-known instances are found in the use of kinship terms. In the Broome Southerners' lect, *grani*: (from "granny") or *nana* (from "nanny"?) refers to 'daughter's daughter' as well as 'mother's mother'. Father's mother, however, is not called *grani*:. As long as the person referred to belongs to the same "skin" (i.e. marriage section) with the speaker and is two generations apart (either up or down) from the speaker, the term *grani*: is safely applied both as a term of reference or as a term of address. It can be said that the word *grani*: is employed in exactly the same manner as the Yawuru kinship term *mimi*. Similarly, meanings of *braja* and *kasin* (*~kasun*) reflect some aspects of the Aboriginal kinship system. Thus, brothers are referred to as *braja* as long as they share the same mother, irrespective of fathers. On the contrary, if they share the same father but not the mother, then they are *kasin*, not *braja*. First-cousins in the mother-mother's sister line are usually *braja*, not *kasin*, because they belong to the same skin. The same kind of modification is applied to the meaning of *jija~sista*.³⁵⁾ Such use of kin terms as above is virtually a copy of the corresponding Yawuru kinship terms. Note that the Southerner groups have a common section system,

35) The heavy form *jija* appears only as a kin term. Catholic sisters are referred to as *sista*, but not as *jija*.

which is not shared by the Northerners.³⁶⁾

In lexical fields other than kinship terminology, the semantic spectrum of English-derived words is also modified in such a way that they now carry the meanings of the counterpart (i.e. roughly corresponding) words in the Aboriginal language(s). With regard to the Broome Aboriginal English, such semantic assimilations are particularly observed with adjectives, adverbs and prepositions (or postpositions). Some cases are given below:

1) In the expression of comparison, *φro:m~burrum* (from) is used in place of “than”. This is considered to be based on the use of ablative *-gab* in Yawuru [MONOGRAPH: 265ff.].

2) use of *basdam* (“first-time”) ‘beforehand, in time (not late)’. It is suggested that this is a semantic copy of a Yawuru adverb *yalirra* [MONOGRAPH: 361].

3) Frequent use of *jilo:~slo:* (“slow”) to mean ‘weak, not loud, not hard’ is based on the Yawuru adjective/adverb *bunyja* [MONOGRAPH: 390f.], which is usually translated by the bilinguals as “slow”, but whose meaning is ‘weak, not energetic’ rather than ‘slow (of speed)’. Similarly, *φani* refers to ‘ill feeling, sickness’ rather than “funny” (parallel to the Yawuru noun/adjective *dardarl*); *jili~chili-bala* may mean ‘disturbed, embarrassed’ as well as “silly” (a copy of the semantic range of the Yawuru adjective/preverb *ngarangara*).

4) *túde:~túdi* means ‘right now’ rather than “sometime today”. Therefore, *no(t) túde:* means ‘not right now’ (but possibly sometime later today). Such a semantic range is coincident with the counterpart Yawuru word *miliya*, which can mean either ‘today’ or ‘right now’ according to the context [MONOGRAPH: 357–359].

5) *jalp* (~*jelp*, *salp*, *selp*) is derived from the English “-self”, but again it embodies the meaning of Yawuru word *ngurdirn* ‘alone, by oneself/itself’ [MONOGRAPH: 389; the adverb *salp-salp* in (37) below is considered to be a structural copy of the reduplication *ngurdirnngurdirn* ‘separately’] (cf. the use of *miselp* in a Kriol-like speech style, as illustrated in 3.3).

- (35) *yunmi bin to:kto:k salp.*
 you.and.me been talk.talk self
 ‘We talked (about it) by ourselves (i.e. confidentially).’

36) Semantic modification of kin terms is by no means restricted to Yawuru-English contact, but is rather a general phenomenon, taking place probably in all of the Aboriginal Englishes that have developed in north Australia.

- (36) *li:b-um jelp bambai.*
 leave.him self by.and.by
 'Leave it (the fire) as it is for some while.' (stopping someone from putting more firewood)

- (37) *tu:bala go:n salp-salp.*
 two.fellow gone self-self
 'They went apart.'

6) The cultural connotation of the verb *singim* ("sing-him") 'to send a love-call' is based on the Yawuru semi-transitive verb *gilbira* 'sing a magical song in order to bewitch a woman the singer wants' [MONOGRAPH: 425f.], although the magical connotation in the original Yawuru verb is reduced in the Aboriginal English expression today.

These semantic modifications observed are by no means limited to the Aboriginal English spoken by Yawuru and fellow local Aborigines. Some of the semantic aspects briefly sketched here are common to many other Aboriginal languages and cultures. A list of such semantic modifications or adjustments as briefed above would be quite extensive. It is clear that in many aspects of lexical semantics the Southerner-lect (as well as other Aboriginal English varieties of the area) embodies Aboriginal concepts. As rightly pointed out by McConvell [1985: 101]: "Even speaking in English, people still live, at least in some of the essential aspects, the world of Aboriginal culture". One of the effects of such semantic modification is a minimization of the cultural discrepancy between speaking English and speaking traditional Aboriginal languages, thus prompting a shift to English. Another effect is that non-Aboriginal people, when listening to Aboriginal people speaking in "English", usually fail to understand what is being spoken, even if they manage to catch most of the words that constitute the utterance. Therefore the Aboriginal people are able to maintain their own "language", even speaking in "English". This also tends to prompt the shift from speaking traditional languages to speaking English.

3. SOCIOLINGUISTICS OF ABORIGINAL ENGLISH VARIETIES IN BROOME

In this section, some key issues are addressed with regard to the social functions of Broome Aboriginal English varieties. The first two subsections (3.1 and 3.2) deal with the in-group variability. The last subsection (3.3) discusses the social functions of the inter-group variability.

3.1. Choice of Lect among the Yawuru

Aborigines of the younger generation in Broome generally have a fairly good command of standard-like English, which is the primary language of their everyday life today. Young people acquire the traditional language(s) of their parents or grandparents only with limited, passive competence. For these young Aborigines, the traditional languages have already become something not their own (though not alien), except for several lexical items such as kin terms, plant/animal names, names of traditional artefacts, etc. This is not only the case with “weak” and “sick” languages such as Yawuru, but also with relatively “strong” languages such as Bardi.

However, one of the findings from my participant observation among the “townie” Yawuru Aborigines in Broome was that these youngsters still use, on certain occasions, many “pidgin-like” phrases and constructions. It should be noted and emphasized that it is usually not when they talk to the old people that the young people use such an elder-like style. “Pidgin-like” talk is certainly the unmarked lect (i.e. speech style or register) for the older people. On the contrary, for younger people, it is a marked lect. Four typical situations are observed in which Yawuru young people resort to the elder-like “heavy” lect.

- 1) The first relates to the matter of confidentiality: they switch to a heavier lect when they feel a need to keep the content of the talk more or less secret from outsiders.
- 2) The second situation is baby talk: Young mothers are often heard to use heavy forms when talking to babies. For example, *bijibiji* (“fish-fish”) or *warle* (Yawuru word *warli* for ‘meat’ including fish) when feeding their babies; *pigibigi* for ‘piggy’, *luguja* ‘Look at that!’, *kaikai* ‘Eat it’, etc. Such baby-talk function of the heavy lect in younger people’s speech is quite intriguing, since the old people are observed, quite in contrast, to use “light” lect (i.e. acrolect) as baby talk, and also as a style of address to small children (cf. the discussion on Kriol baby talk in Sandefur [1984: 146]).
- 3) The third situation seems to have something to do with baby talk: when “growling at” (i.e. scolding or forcibly commanding) small children, a heavier lect is preferred and seems to be effective. A typical instance:

- (38) *yu wanda ai go: ?ichu:*
 you want I go hit.you
 ‘I’ll hit you if you don’t stop it’

which was used in place of lighter, casual style, such as *ju: wont mi: t(ə) hichu:* “D’you want me to hit you?” or *ai! hichu:* “I’ll hit you”.

- 4) The fourth context in which young Yawuru are observed to make use of a

heavier lect is motivated by a feeling of identity, as when they need to express their “group identity”: sometimes simply as Aborigines, but on other occasions more specifically as Yawuru or as “ex-Thangoo mob”; or even negatively as “not Bardi”, “not Kriol-speaking mob”, etc. Such varied levels of identity manifestation seem to be mainly performed by lexical devices. It should be noted in this regard that sometimes more than the usual inclusion of Aboriginal words (not necessarily Yawuru ones) is observed in the presence of local white and/or Coloured (Asian-Aboriginal) persons, rather than when talking among in-group Aborigines. Since those local people generally understand many, if not all, of the Aboriginal words scattered in the casual speech, the reason why the young Aborigines include Aboriginal words in their utterance is something different from the matter of confidentiality or communication blocking. These lexical elements are considered to comprise a sort of identity-flavouring factor.

The old people switch freely between the basilect (“heavy” style) and the acrolect (“light” style); they do so quite deliberately. They employ a light style, if not the lightest, when they talk to school teachers, medical doctors, social workers, policemen, town officers, and shopkeepers, who are mostly non-Aboriginal. Yawuru elders also tend to use a light lect to little children, including those who don’t speak any language yet, but use a heavier style, if not the heaviest, to the relatively older children, especially to teen-agers.³⁷⁾ Also observed, though not very frequently, are scenes in which old people switch to an acrolect, nearly a whiteman-like polite style, when asking fellow Aboriginal elders for some special favour that is more or less likely to be turned down.

With regard to the old people’s speech style range, it should be pointed out, and emphasized, that although they usually talk in the heavy lect, this is not because they have a poor command of “better English”. They positively choose to talk in the heavy speech style, in spite of the fact that they do have a fairly good command of a much lighter style (i.e. high English). For instance, the auxiliary verb *do* conjugates according to the normal English paradigm (into *do*, *does* and *did*) in the old people’s acrolect, whereas these standard forms are seldom heard in their basilect. The case of the verb *be* is more complicated and interesting. In the basilect, this verb is not used (or, rather, should not be used) either as an equational copula or as an auxiliary that marks progressive:

- (39) *dis ka:d no:gud.*
 this card no.good
 ‘These cards are not good at all.’

37) Though no statistical research has yet been made, my impression is that women tend to use a lect lighter than that used by men when talking to young fellows. It may be said, at least in the case of Yawuru, that the range of women’s speech variability is wider than that of men’s.

- (40) *sista kamin*.
 sister coming
 'The/A (Catholic) Sister comes/will come.'

On the other hand, in some (but not all) of the embedded existential sentences in which locative NP is implicit and the verb *be* means 'exist, be there', the standard finite forms (i.e. "is/am/are/was/were" according to person/number/tense) are used in the basilect as well as in the acrolect.³⁸⁾

Conversation between the old and the young is often asymmetric: in terms of the basilect-acrolect axis, they remain at different points on the variability continuum. The logic is simple: They speak in their respective unmarked styles. Old fellows use a heavier lect to talk to young fellows, who usually reply in a lighter lect.

It is often considered to be the case that asymmetric use of different linguistic codes between older and younger generations is a decisive indicator of language shift. However, the case of heavy/light asymmetry as observed in the use of Aboriginal English among the Yawuru may not be that simple. McConvell suggests that the disuse of traditional language by young Aborigines is not always due to their lack of competence or knowledge, but rather to a strong sociolinguistic restriction against its use [McCONVELL 1986: 18-19]. The passive competence of young people should not be underestimated in this regard. Old people can confidently use the heavy style (virtually a degree of Yawuru-English mixture with maximum inclusion of Yawuru phrases and suffixes/enclitics) to talk to the young people. This must be one of the factors reinforcing the social stability of the Southerner-lect as a non-creolized expanded pidgin [HOSOKAWA 1992: 444-447].

3.2. Mock English and Pseudo-Pidgin

What is called "mock English" here is a kind of quasi-high English used by Aborigines, chiefly by the young, as a caricature of "whitefella talk". By contrast, "pseudo-pidgin" is an incorrect and/or inappropriate use of Aboriginal English by non-Aborigines (and its satiric copy by Aborigines).

What is mocked in the mock English is not the white people's "high English" itself so much as those Aborigines who are inclined to copy the manner of "whitefella talk" or "master talk". What is most often caricatured in mock English is the polite expressions and addresses, which are characteristics of European culture but are rather alien to Aboriginal culture. Typical examples of mock English are the following:

38) In the Yawuru language, the verb *ni* 'do/be/sit' (suppletive roots are *nga* and *ji*) is seldom omitted in existential predicates, whereas it is omitted when functioning as a copula [MONOGRAPH: 455ff.]. Actually, use of *ni* as equational copula seems to be limited to such careful style as in formal elicitation sessions.

- (41) *ékiskʷu:s mi:* “Excuse me.”
- (42) *wúd yu: pliz:s...* “Would you please....”
- (43) *thɛ.ŋkʰyú: berriberri móch.* “Thank you very, very much.”

These are marked by deliberate deformation in pronunciation: [ékskʷu:] in place of usual light Aboriginal English pronunciation [eksʷu:z]; [wúd yu:] instead of [wudʷu:]; [pli:s] instead of [pliz]; and so on. The mock-style pronunciation of “thank you” frequently has a blaming connotation: “Look what you’ve done!”. What seems to be underlying such comical distortion of pronunciation as exemplified above is a potential discord, in the context of recent socio-economic change in Broome, between the Aborigines and the Asian-Aboriginals (the locally called “Colored people”, who speak a fairly standard variety of English as their daily language), rather than the mere black-white conflict.

What is underlying the use of pseudo-pidgin, on the other hand, is indeed the black-white social conflict. Some non-Aboriginal people, especially those who are by profession in regular contact with Aborigines, are inclined to make use of pidgin-like phrases of their own invention or arrangement when they talk to Aborigines. In the following examples, proper Aboriginal English expressions are given in *italics* while pseudo-pidgin phrases are indicated in "quotation marks":

- 1) “look-look-him” (instead of *lugaran*);
- 2) “me” as subject pronoun (which should be *ai* both in Broome Aboriginal English and in Kriol, as well as in standard English);
- 3) “bin seen” (for *bin si:-m*);
- 4) “we-fellow” referring to you-and-me-all inclusive. The inclusive pronoun form, however, should be *yunmibala* (i.e. you-and-me-fellow) in the Southerner-lect; *wibala* (i.e. we-fellow) has the exclusive meaning ‘we but not you’);
- 5) “sun-go-down-time”, apparently a calquing of Kriol *sanggurranwai* ‘west’ (from “sun go down way”), instead of *aβdanundam*~*a:ɔdandam* (i.e. afternoon-time) which is the proper Broome Aboriginal English expression for ‘sunset time’ or ‘evening’.³⁹⁾

Users of pseudo-pidgin are trying, often from their goodwill, to modify

39) Kriol expressions are for some reason disliked by many of the Broome Aborigines. One of the reasons for this hatred may be that some white people who are conversant with Aborigines (especially with those of inland Kimberley regions) tend to use Kriol phrases when talking to Broome Aborigines.

their speech so that it would be appropriate or easy to understand for their Aboriginal interlocutors. Perhaps they believe that such modifications reduce the ethnic distance between Aborigines and *ɲardiya* (i.e. “whitefella”). They fail to take notice, however, of the fact, first of all, that Aboriginal English has its own grammatical regulations, and that these are by no means a simple “breaking down” of standard English grammar and vocabulary. They also fail to realize the identity factor that underlies the use of varieties of Aboriginal English. Basically, *ɲardiya* are not supposed to talk in the “blackfella way”⁴⁰⁾ and the use of improper Aboriginal English by a non-Aboriginal person is often perceived by Aborigines as something insulting, even if the non-Aboriginal person has no such intention.⁴¹⁾ The Aborigines, who are extremely skillful players of speech styles, cannot help mocking such ridiculous talk on the part of the whitefella. Pseudo-pidgin phrases are more often than not mimicked by Aborigines when they report to their fellow Aborigines what a *ɲardiya* said. A marked “pseudo-pidgin” style can be used in such reported speech, even though the non-Aboriginal person whose words they refer to did not actually use such a style! This kind of counter-mocking has a stylistic function of coloring the reported speech with a slight disgust. As well as in reported speech, pseudo-pidgin phrases are also employed by Aborigines to make a verbal order (to fellow Aborigines) flavored with a sort of humorous arrogance.

3.3. Inter-Group Variability in Broome Aboriginal English

As briefly pointed out earlier in this paper (1.4), several different dialects/sociolects of Aboriginal English and of Kriol are spoken by different groups of Broome Aborigines today. It would be difficult, however, to precisely answer the question of how many varieties of (Aboriginal) “English” there are in the region. After all, they are all based on English lexical items, to some extent or other, and developed on the basis of Aboriginal cultural concepts. The difference between the varieties is by no means categorical or static. We have listed three micro-regional varieties: 1) Kriol as spoken by the Easterners; 2) the Southerner-lect as spoken typically by the ex-Thangoo Aborigines; and 3) the Northerner-lect (or Bardi English). Some Bardi people, however, claim that there is some difference even between the English as spoken in Lombadina (Djarindjin community) and that as spoken in One Arm Point community. Also, micro-regional variation of Kriol is a well-known story, both among the researchers and the people who speak it.

40) This may be the other side of the coin of what Mühlhäusler [1985: 13] points out as the “widely used convention of non-white speakers of Australian Pidgin or Creole English that these languages are not to be used in the presence of whites.”

41) Sandefur and Sandefur [1980: 33] and Sandefur [1984: 141–142] report a similar phenomenon of “mock Kriol” (a term used by Brennan [1979: 32], as quoted in Sandefur [1984: 141–142]) from their experience in the Northern Territory and in the Kimberleys.

To make the matter more complicated, some inherent variability of a continuum nature (acrolect-basilect) is observable for all of these group-specific varieties. Again it is impossible, and perhaps pointless, to assume a categorical borderline between the acrolect and the basilect [HOSOKAWA forthcoming-a]. At least two things can be pointed out here:

- 1) Although these varieties originally emerged as micro-regional varieties, all of them are now involved in constant interactions in the town of Broome. They are, therefore, being reinforced as sociolects (i.e. socially motivated varieties), rather than as dialects (i.e. regional varieties).
- 2) Although the differences among these group-bound varieties in the basilect extremes are remarkable, the acrolect of each, close to the standard English, shows little difference.

The issue is, then, how people mark and recognize less standard-like, group-bound manners of speaking. Inclusion of Aboriginal words from different indigenous languages are the firsthand, most obvious and most effective way of marking the speech. But the device is by no means limited to this. For instance, some non-Aboriginal words are used more frequently by one group than by others:

- 1) The Northerners tend to say *makaraŋ* (from “muck around”) to mean ‘cause trouble, make disturbance, annoy people’, where the Southerners would say *karaŋkabu:t* (“cranky-about”?; cf. Dutton [1983: 104]) and the Easterners would say *bagarramap* (“bugger-him-up”, cf. Roper River Kriol *bagadimap* ‘mess up’, Tok Pisin *bagarapim* ‘destroy’). Also often used by all the groups of Broome Aborigines is *hambag*, a popular Australian English word (“humbug”) meaning ‘deception, mischief, non-sense’ (from the 19th century British English “humbug”; cf. in Tok Pisin *hambag* ‘deceive, be unreliable’). However, The Northerners and the Easterners use the word *hambag* as noun or adjective, while the Southerners tend to use it usually as a transitive verb in the form of *hambag-am* to mean ‘deceive, annoy’ and, more often than not, ‘rape’.
- 2) The popular pidgin verb *sabe~jabe* is used commonly by the Southerners with a neutral meaning of ‘know’, either in affirmative or in negative/interrogative. By contrast, in the Northerners’ speech, this verb is used almost exclusively in the negative phrase *ai no sabe* ‘I don’t know’ (often with a connotation of ‘that’s not my business’). The use of the word *sabe* among the Easterners seems to be limited to the oldest generation (probably reflecting their pre-Kriol style [HUDSON 1983]).
- 3) Words like *bugibugi~bogi* ‘bathing’ and *yuwai* ‘yes’ are considered to belong to the Easterners and people from further eastern Kriol-speaking areas. The Southerners prefers *lad* (“lot”?) or *-garra* (the Yawuru nominal plural

suffix *-garra*) in place of *mob* in Kriol and the Northerner-lect. Similarly the Southerners are seldom heard to use the very popular Aboriginal English word *mudiga* (i.e. motorcar) in the preference of a Yawuru-derived noun *durrgarraŋ* ‘motorcar’ (literally ‘one which makes a roaring sound’). In their acrolect, the Southerners tend to use the phonetic form *motaka* rather than *mudiga*. The latter sounds too Kriol-like for the Southerners. Where Northerners would say *lugarrim* (“look-at-him”?) and Easterners would say *lugaɸdam~lugadam* (“look-after-him”), Southerners usually say *maindim~mandum* (“mind-him”).

4) The words derived from the Broome Pearling Lugger Pidgin (PLP) such as *makan* ‘meal; to eat’, *pikipiki* ‘go on’, *minom* ‘drink’, *terrarra~terra*: ‘nothing left’ are quite popular among all the groups of Broome Aborigines [HOSOKAWA 1987]. However, more other PLP-derived words such as *kap-parra* ‘head, thinking’, *mardi* ‘dead, exhausted’, *bagu(:)sh* ‘good, well’, seem to be used mainly by the Southerners (irrespective of whether or not the speaker once worked for the pearling companies), and only occasionally by some Northerners (in this case, usually by those who used to work on the pearling luggers).

As well as the lexical marking devices sketched above, there are several grammatical differences that function as folk distinctive features of different Aboriginal Englishes. As already mentioned in 2.1, whether or not to use the location marker *lanja* is one of the most salient features which distinguishes Kriol talk from non-Kriol talk. Another distinctive feature is whether *blog* is used as preposition or postposition (see 2.1). Verbal auxiliary *bin* as a past/perfect marker is less used in the Southerner style, whereas it is regularly used in Kriol (and seemingly in the Bardi English).

Differences in pronominal forms are also observable between Kriol and Broome Aboriginal English (BAE). Some of the differences in subject pronouns are shown below (Kriol forms as spoken by the Easterners in Broome; for BAE, forms casually used by the Southerners are listed here):

	Kriol	BAE	English
1+2	<i>minn^yu</i>	<i>yunmi</i>	“me and you”/“you and me”
1+3	<i>mindubala</i>	<i>widubala</i>	“we two (but not you)”
1+2+3	<i>wilad~melabat</i>	<i>yunmibala</i>	“we all (you, too)”
3+3+3	<i>o:lad~olabat</i>	<i>jambarra</i>	“they”

Group-sensitive marking is also observed in the phonetic level. In pronouncing such words as *singgarra* (“sing-out”) ‘call out, speak out’, *igarrim* (“he-get/got-him”) ‘there is/are’, etc., Northerners (particularly the Jawi people) tend to articulate the non-retroflex rhotic (spelled *rr*) much more strongly

(usually as a trill) than Southerners do. This probably reflects the different phonetic realizations of the *rr* phonemes in Yawuru and Bardi/Jawi. In Yawuru, *rr* is a weak alveolar tap or flap (often devoiced at word-final and pre-consonantal positions) and it is seldom a strong trill or rolled continuant. In Bardi and Jawi, in contrast, the *rr* phoneme is usually realized as a strong trill (like Scottish “r” or Spanish “rr”).⁴²⁾ The phonetic difference in question becomes clear when we compare the pronunciation of such cognate items as: Bardi *nurru* ‘fire’, Yawuru *nurru* ‘hot ashes’; Bardi *kularr* ‘west’, Yawuru *gularr* ‘west’; Bardi *marrk* ‘a type of shield’, Yawuru *garrbina* ‘a type of shield’. The different ways of pronouncing the rhotic by Bardi/Jawi and by Yawuru people may well have resulted from some kind of sociolinguistic process in the traditional context. If that is the case, then it would be plausible that the phonetic difference between the Northerners’ and Southerners’ speech styles today is just a mapping of the sociolinguistic contrast which already existed in the original multilingualism of the regional Aboriginal society.

All those features sketched above can mark (both in perception and in production) the different kinds of Aboriginal English. To “mark” here means to make it recognizable which particular group-bound (or micro-regional) variety is in use. What should be pointed out here is that there are two different (and in a sense contradictory) effects of marking: (1) identity manifestation; and (2) confidentiality of speech.

The group-bound lexical items (such as *minn’u* vs *yunmi*) or the minute phonetic differences (such as in rhoticity) do not really make the lect unintelligible to the Aborigines of the other groups. Those markings are, therefore, mainly relevant to the level of identity manifestation.⁴³⁾ The marked lexical items are good tools for a speaker who wants to manifest his/her group identity without distorting the denotative function of language. There are times, on the other hand, when people want to keep a secret of some sort or other and need to use a language which may not be understood by outsiders. Aborigines can do this by making their style of speaking English as “heavy” as possible, typically by a massive inclusion of vernacular Aboriginal words (as well as other in-group jargon words) and even grammatical suffixes from the

42) This may be the reason why the English *l* sound (particularly in the inter-vocalic position) is sometimes changed to a tap *rr* in the Southerners’ speech (as in *burruk* ‘bullock’), while the lateral sound *l* is maintained in the Northerners’ speech: e.g. ‘follow, track’ is *balayim(ap)* (“follow-him-up”) in the Northerner-lect, but *barramap* in the Southerner-lect. In some instances, English retroflex *r* is also modified to the non-continuant flap (tap) in the Southerners’ speech, as in *dinjurri* ‘stingray’, *barriyal* ‘burial funeral service’, and *irrim* (“hear-him”) ‘listen/hear’.

43) There are several levels at which an Aboriginal person identifies him/herself. If “Aboriginality” is the major or macro-identity, membership at a particular sub-group of Aborigines would be micro- or sub-identity. Unlike urban Aborigines in large cities in the south, one cannot be an “Aboriginal in general” in north Australia.

substratum language(s).

The striking effect is that it is virtually as if the people were still maintaining “tribal lingo” as far as intelligibility and language attitudes are concerned. What is particularly interesting in this regard is that the inter-group pattern of intelligibility remains much the same as it was in the days of traditional multilingualism. As a matter of fact, the communication barrier between the Northerners and the Southerners is still maintained even after the decline of their respective traditional languages. When Bardi men from One Arm Point speak at their natural quick speed and in their in-group style, the speech would be almost unintelligible, not only to non-Aborigines, but also to the Yawuru and other non-Northerner Aborigines. On the other hand, if a Yawuru man and a Karajarri man chat in the Southerners’ in-group lect, then again that would be hard to comprehend for out-group Aborigines such as the Bardi. It is not that the Aborigines are always talking in their in-group style. Such “heavy” talk that makes it difficult for out-group Aborigines to decode the speech is a marked lect for the users themselves. It is even heavier than their casual (unmarked) “heavy” lect, or basilect. Probably some sort of “backsliding” [MÜHLHÄUSLER 1986: 69–71] is employed as a means of lowering the decodability.

What is more, the Aborigines have now gained an inter-group lingua franca, namely “blackfella English”, which is less ethnicity-bound or region-bound (therefore shared with other blackfellas) but still often unintelligible to non-Aborigines. To put it in a schematic chart, the table below shows the three levels of intelligibility that are manipulated by the Broome Aborigines today.

	in-group Aborigines	out-group Aborigines	non-Aboriginals
light Aboriginal English to high English	+	+	+
heavy Aboriginal English	+	+	—
in-group jargon	+	—	—

Although intelligibility and verbal repertoire (i.e. the range of code-switching) are matters of idiosyncrasy, it is also the case that such idiosyncrasies are socially conditioned to a significant extent. Although the schema above is somewhat simplifying, it displays the essence of what is actually a very complicated and delicate strategic manipulation of the verbal repertoire. The point is that people from different groups (mostly, but not totally, based on the traditional local and kinship organizations) can modify their speech, as necessary, by adjusting it to one of the three levels shown in the chart above. They now perform such a subtle strategic adjustment without resorting to the use of traditional Aboriginal languages. As far as this strategic aspect of the ex-

clusion/inclusion mechanism is concerned, the merit of keeping traditional languages is virtually lost.

To recapitulate, the reasons for keeping and reinforcing the heavy, pidgin-like speech style consist in the strategic function of identity presentation. With regard to communication blocking, we have seen that there are at least two levels of blocking: (1) shutting out all outsiders, not only *gardiya* (Europeans) but Aborigines of other groups as well; or (2) shutting out *gardiya* but including Aborigines. It may now be suggested that the variability in Aboriginal English fulfills some important social functions that were originally satisfied by regional multilingualism. Probably the most important aspect of traditional multilingualism in Aboriginal Australia was the difference of language as a sociocultural resource for expressing and manipulating social identities (both of speaker and hearer); another important function, however, is considered to have been the control of communication barriers, i.e. sometimes shutting out all the outsiders, but sometimes excluding only non-local, stranger Aborigines while including non-stranger Aborigines of different language groups. As has been illustrated so far, these two functions are provided by the inter-group varieties of Aboriginal English today.

There are still a couple of other functional aspects of traditional multilingualism relevant to our present discussion of Aboriginal English variability. One is the practice of "using the other's language" when meeting people of other language groups (but not strangers). For instance, it was observed that Yawuru elders, who usually don't speak Kriol, started to talk in a Kriol-like style to the guests from south Kimberley. It was on the occasion of an exchange of corroborees, held as a sort of "shadow festival" during the 1986 season (August) of the *Shinju Matsuri* (Festival of Pearl).⁴⁴ It was not, however, that the Yawuru people then spoke fluent Kriol. What they actually did was simply use a few marked words and phrases from Kriol, such as *lanja*, *yuwai*, *melabat*, *olad*; regular use of *bin* as past/perfect marker; and use of *blog* not as postposition but as preposition. Although such lexical devices are not many in number, their high token frequency in the actual verbal interaction worked successfully to make their talk sound Kriol-like. It was observed, at the same time, that the Wangkajunga men who talked with the Yawuru people then used those words that would usually characterise the Broome people's speech, such as *makan*, *minum*, *sabe*, *birra* (Yawuru word for 'bush'), *nagola*

44) This famous festival of Broome, which the local Aborigines call *jinjudam* (i.e. "Shinju-time"), has recently been becoming a highlight of mass tourism, in which Aboriginal dance is one of the main show-business features. Apart from the show on stage, however, the invited non-local Aboriginal groups camp in the nearby bush and take the opportunity to hold an inter-regional exchange of songs (stories) and dances, this time without a tourist audience. The shadow festival in August-September 1986 was joined by such Kriol-speaking Aborigines as Wangkajunga (of Christmas Creek), Nyikina (of Looma and of Noonkanbah), Bunuba (of Fitzroy Crossing) and Walmajarri (of Looma and probably of Fitzroy Crossing as well).

(Yawuru word *nagula* ‘sea’), *nurlu* (Yawuru word for ‘corroboree’), etc. Such an “inverted asymmetry” of language/dialect choice is considered to be a parallel phenomenon to the traditional practice of using the other’s language. It may be worth noting that the participants of the interaction sketched above are not strangers to each other, although they belong to different “tribes”. They knew each other before and were actually in a classificatory kin relationship.

Another case of Kriol-like talk was observed when a Yawuru woman was talking to her “daughter” (actually her ex-husband’s sister’s daughter), who belongs to Nangu Karajarri group and lives in Bidyadanga (La Grange), where people’s language has recently been strongly influenced by Kriol. The Yawuru woman asked the following question, using *miselp* (Fitzroy Valley Kriol form) instead of *jalp* (Broome Southerners’ from).

- (44) *gabaman pe: yu, o yu garra pei miselp.*
 government pay you or you gotta pay me.self
 ‘Does the Government pay (the travel fare) for you, or do you have to pay it yourself?’

Evidently, the traditional etiquette of speech accommodation (i.e. use of the other’s language) is still practised by the Yawuru and other Aborigines of the west Kimberley region, even speaking in “English”.⁴⁵⁾

The other social function of traditional multilingualism to be mentioned in regard to the Aboriginal English variability under discussion is its role of symbolic expression of personal history. The following is a clear instance. There are two widows, aged in their 60s, who are blood sisters and both native speakers of Yawuru. They now use English to talk to each other, as well as in most situations in their daily life. One of them once married a Karajarri man, while the other used have a Nyikina husband. Interestingly enough, it was observed that the woman who had had a Karajarri partner used more Karajarri words and phrases as well as Yawuru ones in her basilect, whereas her sister tended to use more Nyikina words and phrases. One of their blood brothers confirmed that the tendency is the same when the sisters speak in Yawuru. Further, during the formal elicitation sessions that I had separately with these two women, the one who had had a Karajarri spouse tended to reject the Yawuru

45) Similar etiquette seems to be observed in the Yolngu speaking area of the north Arnhem Land (Shigenobu Sugito, p.c.) and amongst the Torres Strait Islanders (Anna Shnukal, p.c.). This is possibly a pan-Aboriginal practice. It surely has a solidarity function between fellow Aborigines who, though speaking different languages, belong to the same cultural area. It may also have to do with traditional values: it is a good and highly prestigious thing for an Aboriginal person to be a speaker of many languages [cf. BRANDL and WALSH 1982; RUMSEY 1993].

words she didn't know or remember by declaring that the word in question was a Nyikina word, while the other, who was once married to a Nyikina man, would say in similar circumstances, "Oh, that might be Karajarri!".

4. CONCLUDING REMARKS

We have seen in this paper (1) how the features of a traditional Aboriginal language penetrate into the use of a variety of Aboriginal English, and (2) how the emergence of micro-regional varieties of Aboriginal English is replacing some of the important social functions originally carried out by the multilingual nature of the Australian Aboriginal society.

With particular reference to a micro-regional variety of Aboriginal English, namely the Southerner-lect of Broome Aboriginal English, we have seen that it constitutes a type of post-pidgin continuum. Creolization has not taken place, yet a situation quite similar to a post-creole continuum has come about [MÜHLHÄUSLER 1986: 11]. On the extreme of basilect, Yawuru people have substantially modified the English language and adjusted it into the mould of traditional Aboriginal cultural and linguistic patterns, a practice which is by no means confined to Yawuru. On the other hand, they have now established a good control over the heavy-light switching (perhaps, "swinging" or "swiftling" might be a better term), so that outsiders are left out, or are even unaware of the very existence of the basilect Aboriginal English which functions as the in-group secret code.

We have also discussed the fact that the formation of locally-bound Aboriginal English has much to do with the decline of the indigenous languages. Genesis of an Aboriginal English may not always be a result, though it tends to be supposed that it is, of the decline of traditional languages. In some circumstances, the effect may be the opposite, as we have seen in the case of Yawuru and Aboriginal English. The formation and social stabilization of Aboriginal English could be a cause, if not the only cause, of the death of traditional Aboriginal languages.

Of course, sociolinguistic scenes such as those depicted in this paper are specific to Broome, which constitutes a medium-size township and in which the indigenous languages are losing their essential back-up of traditional cultural practices. The particular conditions that underlie the case of Yawuru-English contact include the following:

- 1) The setting is predominantly urban. There is permanent and intense contact with English-speaking monolingual whites. The schooling rate of the Aboriginal children is fairly high.
- 2) The region was originally notable for brisk multitribal communication: intermarriage, multilingualism, extensive trade, including exchange of songs

and ceremonies, mutual invitation on the occasion of rites of initiation, etc. Some aspects of such inter-group contact have been reinforced by urbanization.

3) The influence of Kriol (i.e. north Australia creole) exists. It is becoming stronger due to the recent influx of Easterners and the sociopolitical “coming-up” of Kriol in the Northern Territory and in east Kimberley.

4) Originally Yawuru was not a language spoken by a great number of people. It is obvious that the loss of country had the most serious impact on the maintenance of the Yawuru language.

Replacement of traditional languages by Aboriginal English is not taking place in all of the Aboriginal communities in Australia. The state of affairs depends on cultural vitality (or the lack of it) in a particular Aboriginal community or group, probably irrespective of the population size and/or the remoteness of that community. When the cultural functions of an indigenous language are considerably reduced, it is very likely that the language will be replaced by some variety of Aboriginal English or Kriol, as these new languages can fulfill, by and large, the social functions of the traditional languages. It should be emphasized, in this regard, that the identity function of language can be fulfilled without keeping original languages.

The influence of television and the growing popularity of rental videos should be also taken into account. Through these entertainment devices, people are exposed every day, and with considerable intensity, to varieties of non-Aboriginal Englishes, standard and non-standard. Many of the Aboriginal elders complain that video movies are “just eating up” the young people’s time and intelligence, which would before have been spent in acquiring traditional skills and knowledge.⁴⁶⁾ Also worrying the elders is the lack of a tribal meeting place and occasion to meet. At least, this was the main answer that Yawuru people gave to the question “Why do you think your people are losing the Yawuru language?” Tribal “business” is no longer exercised among the Yawuru and, in a sense, there is no occasion in which an intensive use of the indigenous language is required.

The argument in this paper by no means suggests that the people who are now happy with the everyday use of their own variety of English do not care at all about the maintenance of their own traditional language. They do want to keep it. But the point is that few of them are really keen on keeping it as a full language. What matters is the sphere of language which they think is essential: ceremonial songs, kinship terms, fauna and flora terms, Aboriginal place names (toponyms) and associated dreamtime stories. Now that full revitalization of the language is rather unlikely, it might be claimed that the destiny of

46) The other side of the coin, however, is that such audio-visual equipment has a remarkable potential, much more than papers and meetings, for the maintenance, and hopefully some degree of revitalization, of the traditional skills and knowledge, including language.

Yawuru, as well as that of other Aboriginal languages in the Broome region, lies with the possibility of survival as a specialized, and in a sense restricted register.

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再部族化と言語混交：西オーストラリア州ブルームのアボリジニー 諸集団における帰属意識戦略の諸相

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本稿では、オーストラリア北西部キンバリー地区ブルーム周辺の先住民族集団のひとつ、ヤウル・アボリジニーの日常的な言語使用の様態（多言語使用、言語混交、ビジン化、言語切替え等）の社会背景の分析を通じて、この地域における先住民族諸集団の政治的再編成という文脈のもと、ヤウルが置かれている状況を描く。（1）ビジン・クリオール変種をも含む広義の「アボリジニー英語」の形成、特にその意味論的發展の度合いが、伝統言語の消長を左右する要因であること、（2）アボリジニー伝統社会において多言語使用が果たしていた社会的機能が、今日ではアボリジニー英語の域内変種群によって担われていること、（3）地域における民族再編の動向と社会言語学的現象との連関を明らかにするためには「同一集団に帰属するアボリジニー、帰属しないアボリジニー、非アボリジニー」という三者関係モデルを設定する必要があること、などが指摘される。本稿第1節は、ヤウルの社会文化的背景、伝統的な多言語使用の型、近隣諸部族のブルーム集住にともなう三つの政治文化集団への収斂を描く。第2節はヤウルが用いるアボリジニー英語の特徴を記述する。第3節は、言語スタイル（話体）の戦術的操作の事例分析を通じて、集団間関係の諸相と言語運用の有機的連関を論じる。