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## Aboriginal English genres in Perth

Ian G. Malcolm

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# Aboriginal English Genres in Perth

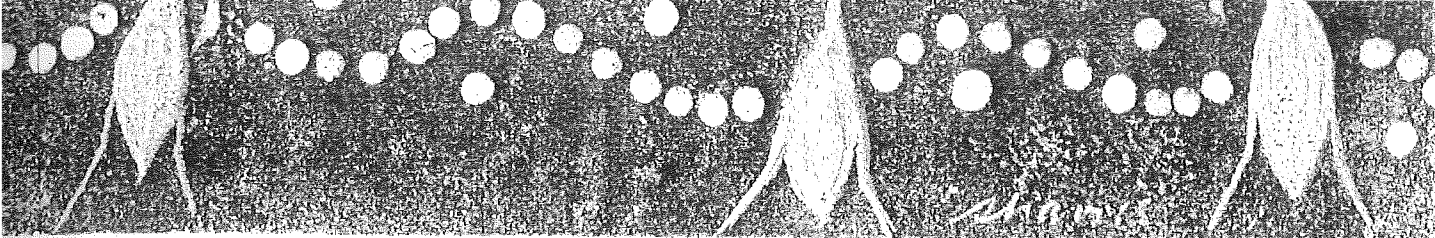
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Aboriginal people with a sense of their cultural beliefs, practices and traditions is a key

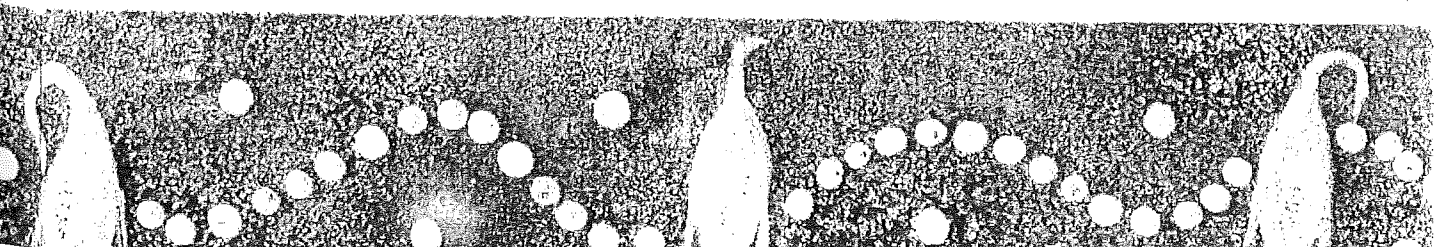




THE UNIVERSITY OF  
PERTH

# Aboriginal English Genres in Perth

Ian G. Malcolm





# **Aboriginal English Genres in Perth**

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Centre for Applied Language and Literacy Research  
and

Institute for the Service Professions

Edith Cowan University

Mount Lawley

2002

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Design: *Now and Then*

“Aboriginal people still practise their cultural beliefs. In particular, the kinship system is a very important component of our way of life. Family and extended members enable Aboriginal people to continue their ways of life. This way of life is always a struggle to maintain, especially with the influences of modern non-Aboriginal society and religions such as Christianity.”

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## Preface

Aboriginal Australia has a unique heritage of oral literature and Aboriginal people of all ages take delight in yarnning. Despite the richness and contemporary relevance of this heritage, little is known in the wider Australian society about the oral discourse skills that are taken for granted in Aboriginal communities.

Although the art of oral narrative has developed over countless generations and by medium of Indigenous languages, previous studies (Malcolm 1994a, b; Malcolm and Rochecouste 2000; Rochecouste and Malcolm 2000) have shown that it is vigorously maintained in Aboriginal English.

The lack of general awareness of the verbal art of Aboriginal English speakers contrasts with the growing awareness, within the wider community, of the great accomplishment of contemporary Aboriginal people in other spheres of the arts, in particular, painting, music, dance and drama.

The work reported on here was initiated with a view to helping this lack of awareness to be remedied, especially with respect to urban-dwelling Aboriginal people, in the interests of both giving credit where credit is due and of providing an informed input to education systems. Such input is an essential prerequisite for the further development of two-way bidialectal education which seeks to found the establishment of literacy skills in standard English on the basis of a prior and ongoing recognition of the existing repertoire of community-based language skills possessed by Aboriginal students.

Many people, both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal, have worked together to make this project a success. The fundamental insights into the ways in which Aboriginal English discourse may be understood have been contributed, principally by Alison Newell, Louella Eggington, Victor Patrick, Glenys Collard, Angela Kickett and by another member of the team who sadly passed away before the project was concluded.

The entering of materials onto our electronic database and assistance with numerous other skills requiring special expertise and experience fell to Alison Hill. Linguistic and educational insights were contributed at many team meetings by Farzad Sharifian and Patricia Königsberg, respectively. Finally, thanks are due to Ellen Grote, who helped to steer the project during a period of my absence on leave and who prepared the literature review and assisted with the completion of the final draft of the report.

Ian Malcolm  
Professor of Applied Linguistics

May 2001

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## Background

The findings of the research project reported here focus on the narrative genres used by speakers of Aboriginal English who reside in the metropolitan Perth area. Previous research into the ways in which speakers of Aboriginal English structure narratives has shown that these are informed by genres which are culturally driven and distinct from those found in the dominant culture (Malcolm, 1994a; Malcolm, Haig, Königsberg et al., 1999a, 1999b; Muecke, 1981).

This project builds on a body of research which originally focused on the linguistic features of Aboriginal English and is now moving to the level of discourse. See further Malcolm (2000c). While much of this investigation has taken place in rural and remote areas, the greatest numbers of Aboriginal English speakers reside within metropolitan areas. Although the lifestyles of many urban Indigenous students may appear to be similar to those of their non-Indigenous peers, there is much evidence to indicate a continuity of cultural maintenance among urban Aboriginal people (Behrendt, 1994; Eckermann, 1977; Keesfe, 1992; Keen, 1988). Because urban dwelling Indigenous people maintain their familial and cultural ties with those outside urban areas, an investigation into the oral narrative discourse patterns was seen to be useful in determining the extent to which these connections foster the maintenance of narrative discourse patterns in the urban environment. Understanding the extent to which the Aboriginal narrative discourse patterns in English are maintained and/or influence the discourse of urban Aboriginal school children is essential to assure that these patterns are recognised and taken into consideration at all levels of education.

The centrality of discourse to education can not be overstated. Discourse remains the medium through which education is undertaken as well as a significant part of the content of learning. The functions of the oral narrative as an expression of identity and a means of making sense of experience have become of increasing interest to sociolinguists and ethnographers in the past two decades. Research in sociolinguistics and the ethnography of speaking which focuses on oral narrative discourse has provided useful insights into the ways in which members of minority cultures draw on genres from their primary discourse community to guide them in constructing both oral and written narratives. Gee (1991), Hymes (1991), and Michaels (1991) have provided useful documentation on the classification of genres in the oral narrative discourse of school-aged non-standard English speakers in cross-cultural settings. Within minority communities, mastery of these genres is highly valued; in cross-cultural settings such as mainstream classrooms, these genres are systematically ignored, criticised, or edited. These uninformed responses contribute to the alienation of minority students.

In support of the policies of the Education Department of Western Australia (EDWA) and the Commonwealth Government to make the curriculum more inclusive for minority students by promoting two-way bi-dialectal educational approaches (Commonwealth of Australia, 1994; Ministerial Council on Education Employment Training and Youth Affairs, 1995; Ministry of Education Western Australia, 1993; Western Australian Primary Principals' Association, 1997), this study has been designed to provide concrete evidence as to the extent to which Aboriginal English genres identified in the speech communities of rural and remote regions of Western Australia are maintained in the urban environment.

This project contributes to the growing concentration of research in Aboriginal English taking place in the Centre for Applied Language and Literacy Research (CALLR) which is concerned with the ways in which English is used by Aboriginal clients of educational institutions. CALLR continues to collaborate with EDWA to research ways in which to implement 'two-way' bidialectal approaches to education within the education system, resulting in various publications towards that end (see Malcolm, 1995; Malcolm et al., 1999a, 1999b). Funding for the research presented here has been provided by the ARC Small Grant Scheme through Edith Cowan University which facilitated the employment of Aboriginal research assistants based at CALLR.

### **Aboriginal English and Oral-Based Literature: A Survey of Research**

The connection between language and identity with a particular speech community has long been recognised by sociolinguists. Aboriginal English functions in part as a 'bearer of Aboriginality' (Malcolm & Kosciielecki, 1997, p. iii) and has been defined concisely (for an extended definition of Aboriginal English, see Kaldor & Malcolm, 1991) as:

a range of varieties of English spoken by many Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people and some others in close contact with them which differ in systematic ways from Standard Australian English at all levels of linguistic structure and which are used for distinctive speech acts, speech events, and genres. (Malcolm, 1995, p. 19)

The pattern of development of Aboriginal English as an Indigenous language varies in different parts of Australia, having 'historically arisen out of highly diverse processes working independently or in combination with one another' (Malcolm, 1995, p. 20). In many parts of Australia Aboriginal English developed from an English-based pidgin, or language of commerce (Donaldson, 1985; Dutton, 1983; Troy, 1990, 1993), into a creole such as Kriol or Torres Strait Creole (Crowley & Rigsby, 1979; Harris, 1991; Mühlhäusler, 1991; Sandefur, 1981; Sharpe & Sandefur, 1977) and then evolved into varieties, or dialects, of English which by definition are mutually intelligible in varying degrees with Standard Australian English. In some areas Aboriginal English developed directly from a pidgin into a variety of English used as a second language by Aboriginal language speakers. More comprehensive discussions on the complex historical processes that Aboriginal English varieties have undergone including the processes of 'simplification', 'nativization', and 'transfer' are available in Malcolm (1995, 2000a, 2001) and Malcolm & Kosciielecki (1997).

Research providing descriptions of the formal features of Aboriginal English began in Queensland in the 1960s focusing primarily on the linguistic features which distinguish this language variety from Standard Australian English (Alexander, 1965, 1968; Department of Education Queensland. Bernard Van Leer Foundation Project, 1970, 1972; Dutton, 1964, 1965; Flint, 1971; Readdy, 1961). Descriptions of the formal features of Aboriginal English spoken in other parts of Australia soon followed. In Western Australia Douglas (1976) described the Aboriginal English variety spoken in the south-west part of the state; and Kaldor and Malcolm in an extensive four-year state-wide study described the speech of Aboriginal school children in 24 schools (1979, 1982, 1985; Malcolm, 1979). Research in other parts of

Australia, both rural and urban, includes studies in Alice Springs (Harkins, 1994; Sharpe, 1977, 1978; Sharpe, 1979), the Northern Territory (Koch, 1985), North-East Arnhem Land (Elwell, 1979; Koch, 1985), Melbourne (Fesl, 1977), New South Wales (Eagleson, 1978, 1982; Hitchen, 1992), and South Australia (Sleep, 1996; Wilson 1996).

Studies in Aboriginal English semantics include the work of Eckermann in Queensland (1977), Kaldor and Malcolm in Western Australia (1979, 1982), Harkins in Alice Springs (1988, 1994), and Carter in New South Wales (1988). Jay Arthur's *Aboriginal English: a cultural study* (1996) provides a useful resource of the meaning of Aboriginal English words in which domain areas are used to organise words and examples are provided from written vernacular sources.

The area of pragmatics has received some attention by researchers, particularly with regard to code-switching. Throughout the short history of the investigations into Aboriginal English, researchers have noted the facility with which Aboriginal English speakers are able to alternate between two or more codes, including Standard Australian English, a range of Aboriginal English forms, i.e., a continuum of 'light' to 'heavy' forms, and one or more Aboriginal languages (Dutton, 1969; Flint, 1972; Harkins, 1994; Malcolm, 1997). McConvell (1985, 1991) and Gale (1993) have addressed this issue in relation to education. The ability to code-switch is a skill that is fore-grounded in bidialectal education initiatives such as the De Kalb program, Koorie English Literacy Project (McKenry, 1994), the FELIKS program (Hudson, 1992), the Kamehameha Early Education Program (KEEP) in Hawaii (Au & Mason, 1983; Sato, 1989), and 'Project Bidialectalism' (Taylor, 1989).

Early work in classroom discourse illuminated the use of distinctive discourse conventions employed by young speakers of Aboriginal English (Malcolm 1979, 1982, 1989, 1994a). An analysis of classroom communicative interactions revealed seven basic speech-act categories (eliciting, bidding, nominating, replying, acknowledging, informing, and directing) in which marked differences of realization exist across Aboriginal and Non-Aboriginal students as well as across teachers and students (Malcolm, 1982). The resulting ruptures in classroom communication due to mismatched discourse conventions has also been noted in bidialectal classrooms in the United States involving Native American school children on the Northern Ute Reservation (Leap, 1992).

Other studies in language use include Eades' work in pragmatics in South East Queensland (1982, 1983, 1984; 1988b); her later investigations into the use of Aboriginal English in legal contexts (1988a, 1991, 1992, 1993a, 1993b, 1994a, 1994b, 1994c, 1995a, 1995b, 1995c, 1996); Sansom's analysis of language use for different social situations and groupings within a fringe-dwelling Darwin community (1980); Malcolm's (1980-82) sociolinguistic restatement of speech rules in Aboriginal communities, based on a range of sources prior to 1980; and more recently the *Desert Schools Project* which explored the role of English and its implications for education (Clayton, 1996). In the *Desert Schools Project*, Standard English was found to have limited functions, while Aboriginal English was found to serve a role similar to that of traditional Aboriginal languages, lending support to the notion of Aboriginal English as an Indigenous language.

## Aboriginal English Oral Texts

Linguistic research into the structure of oral narrative texts in Aboriginal English is marked by Muecke's in-depth analysis of stories told by elderly men in the Kimberley region of Western Australia (1981). Muecke explores the important relationship between the text and the setting of narrative events and offers a range of possible functions that storytelling might serve, e.g., social, pedagogical, transcendental, and historical. Rules governing the order in which the narratives may be told and those governing the rules of ownership, i.e., who has the right to tell them, are also discussed. Muecke identifies six kinds of story sequences including law, payback, hunting, bugaregara (Dreaming), travel, and devil stories. His typology of clause types which serve narrative functions include *narrative*, *dramatic*, *elaborative*, *repetitive*, and *formulaic* clauses. These clause types constitute three different types of frames that alternate throughout the storytelling process. The storytelling context is established in the *performative frame*; the narrator addresses the story itself in the *narrative frame*; and in the *dramatic frame* the speech of story characters is directly quoted. Muecke notes a continuity of narrative discourse patterns in Aboriginal English found in the oral narratives told in Aboriginal languages.

Evidence of some of the forms mentioned by Muecke, in particular the travel and devil forms, was also found by the present author in research with the Wongi school children on the fringes of the Western Desert (Malcolm, 1994a; 1994b). The significant influence of context on narrative discourse was illustrated by the marked contrast in the amount of speech the children were willing to engage in within the school context and that offered in their relaxed after-school setting. Outside of school, in small groups with their peers, they were more likely to 'display the rich complexity of their linguistic repertoire, both English and non-English' (1994a, p. 148).

In this study, which is an important precursor to the present one, five oral narratives told by Aboriginal children and one oral narrative told by a non-Aboriginal child are analysed. The narrative texts are broken down into clausal units and analysed in terms of grammatical, lexical, stylistic, expressive, prosodic, and structural features. The basic structure of these narratives is shown as being marked by a 'fundamental alternation of moving and stopping activities' (1994a, p. 157). In addition, the narratives frequently begin with the identification of participants and end with a return home. It is noteworthy that while recounts of this kind have been noted as common among Aboriginal school children, their occurrence has been mistakenly attributed to pedagogical influences of the Process Movement where it is claimed that personal recounts of experience are encouraged (Walton, 1990). However, the data used in this study was collected in 1973 before the Process Movement began.

A preliminary discussion of discourse forms, features, and strategies which characterise the discourse of Aboriginal English speakers was provided in Malcolm (1994b), in which the presentation of subject matter, the interaction between speakers, and text organisation (p. 294) are considered in relation to the classification of semantic components proposed by Halliday. In the case of discourse strategies, the overarching principles of *shame avoidance* and *conflict avoidance* are discussed in terms of how they guide communicative discourse in Aboriginal society (p. 298). Strategies such as *parsimony*, the economical use of language, and *indirection*, whereby speakers avoid direct contact with those outside their group, are seen to

operate under the shame-avoidance principle, a pattern also observed by Eades (1982) in legal contexts. A third strategy identified that is used to avoid shame is code-switching. Aboriginal speakers are sensitive to the appropriate use of Aboriginal English forms, particularly with respect to a continuum of 'heavy' to 'light' Aboriginal English in relation to their interlocutors. Strategies used to avoid conflict would include the expression of contrary opinions in an indirect manner or the acceptable avoidance of answering direct questions. 'Co-narration' is a fourth strategy discussed whereby the floor is shared by two speakers who co-operate in jointly telling a story (p. 300; see also Malcolm, 1980-82). The richness of Aboriginal English discourse evidenced in the data reinforces the notion of enduring oral traditions in contemporary Aboriginal communicative practices as well as in the context of other World Englishes.

### **Aboriginal English Written Texts**

Studies examining texts constructed by Aboriginal English speakers are few and recent. Gillespie's B.A. Honours thesis (1991) focuses on written (and oral) texts produced during a seven-day visit to a McLaren Creek primary school. She provides a brief description of the formal features of Aboriginal English, but does not explore structural features of the discourse.

In a contrastive analysis study, Eggington (1990) analyses five written texts, two translations from the Nunggubuyu language and three in Aboriginal English. His analysis focuses on what he sees as digressions from topics and thematic alternations. Eggington's claim that these patterns are 'indications of poor teaching/learning rather than a culturally influenced rhetorical pattern' (p. 155) is not supported by later research. Despite Eggington's promotion of the idea that educators should 'avoid thinking in deficit terms' (p. 157), he himself fails to recognise the topic-associated discourse pattern characteristic of Aboriginal English narratives (Malcolm, 1999).

The use of topic-associated discourse patterns in other oral-based minority cultures is documented in Michaels' well-known study of classroom discourse involving African American English speaking students and their Standard American English speaking teacher (1981, 1991). A lack of awareness on the part of the teacher results in her expectations not being met and an ineffectual response leading to frustration on the part of both the teacher and her pupils.

The oral texts collected by Michaels and her colleagues (1981, 1991) are further analysed by Gee in terms of the ways in which the African American English speaking child 'L' narrativizes her experience in artful ways using a topic-associated structure (1991). Her representation of experience is enriched through her use of 'repetition, parallelism, sound play, juxtaposition, foregrounding, delaying, and showing rather than telling' (p. 92), features he notes which are not only valued characteristics of the 'poetry, narratives, and epics of oral cultures' but also of American and European 'modern and "modernistic" literature' (p. 92).

Some of the artistic features observed by Gee in L's oral narrative are also observed in the written narratives of Aboriginal English speaking children (Malcolm, 1999). Two written texts are compared, one written by a girl in Year 6/7 in a remote area in the Pilbara region of Western Australia and the other written by a secondary school

girl in Sydney. Although differences are noted between the two, they both are seen to share influences of their oral-based culture. Some of the oral discourse patterns represented in written texts include 'repetition, parallelism, concatenation, discourse marking, distinctive formulaic features and distinctive forms of thematic development' (p. 4).

The use of Aboriginal English formal and discorsal features and their expression of Aboriginality in Australian literature has raised more theoretical language issues which continue to be debated. Ariss discusses issues regarding the expression of Aboriginality in pursuit of 'social and political integrity' (1988, p. 145) in the non-Aboriginal publishing industry. From a post-structural theoretical perspective, Muecke (1992) discusses the way in which Aboriginal texts, in a broad semiotic sense, vie for 'textual space' controlled by white Australian society.

In relation to the writing practices of Aboriginal English speaking authors, Gibbs (1998) has noted that Aboriginal writers who are more widely read by the non-Aboriginal public, and whose books are included (sparingly) in the schools, have limited their use of Aboriginal English features. She sees this practice as an attempt not to distance their audience while at the same time satisfying audience expectations with 'judicious representations' of Aboriginal English (p. 181).

## Genres and Schemas

The concept of genres, or the classification of oral and written texts, has interested scholars in a range of fields including folklore studies, literary theory, rhetoric, conversational analysis, ethnography of communication, sociolinguistics, linguistic anthropology, and applied linguistics (Paltridge, 1997, p. 5). The range of perspectives and concerns guiding research in these areas are reflected in the differences and similarities in the ways genres are viewed. In a comprehensive overview of investigatory approaches to genres, Paltridge (1997) discusses how various research approaches have evolved as they have been influenced by developments in their own and related fields becoming more multidimensional in scope.

Influential in the analysis of narrative genre was the significant contribution made by Labov and Waletzky (1967) who introduced a framework of narrative components, including *orientation*, *complication*, *evaluation*, *resolution*, and *coda*, which can be used to identify the functions of clausal units in the structure of narratives. Their analysis of the everyday narrative discourse of ordinary people relating personal experience opened the way for the study of vernacular narratives. While these narrative components have proved to be useful analytical tools, weaknesses in the overall framework have emerged in regard to its inability to account for a number of aspects which arise in non-Western contexts. For example, the model does not account for narratives which are 'jointly constructed' (Holmes, 1997) or involve members of an audience participating in such a way as to influence the structure of the story and the path that it takes (Corston, 1993; Duranti, 1986). In some cultures the need for all of these components is unnecessary because of the assumed shared knowledge of the participants and the context in which the narrative is told (Holmes, 1997). The dispensing with some components has also been observed when unplanned narratives emerge in conversation (Küntay & Ervin-Tripp, 1997).



The inattention in the Labov and Waletzky model to issues of participant interaction and the situation in which the narratives are told are also discussed by Schegloff (1997). He maintains that stories elicited by prompts, as in the methodology used by Labov and Waletzky, ignore the importance of the ways in which stories are usually offered and structured to suit audience members in particular situations. The ways in which participants in storytelling events sequence their stories is another issue that is not addressed by the Labov-Waletzky model (Sacks, 1995; Schegloff, 1997). The notion of intertextuality, i.e., the incorporation of materials and structures of earlier performances into new structures, has been recognised by others as playing an important role in the production and interpretation of texts (Bakhtin, 1981; Kristeva, 1980; Lemke, 1992) and has led to the concept of genre as the maintenance of social practice (Hanks, 1987).

The interactive nature of the narrative process and the intertextuality of narrative discourse were issues discussed early on by Bakhtin in his discussions on the dialogic nature of the novel (Bakhtin, 1981). The resurfacing of this early work and others (Bakhtin & Medvedev, 1985; Bakhtin, 1973) along with developments in the emergent field of cognitive linguistics has foregrounded the importance of the conceptual dimension in genre studies in the areas of linguistic anthropology, literary theory, sociolinguistics, and applied linguistics (Paltridge, 1997). The recruitment of schema theory into the investigations of oral and written texts has proved to be a useful tool in analysing genres in non-Western cultural contexts. Deep-rooted culture-specific schemas are understood to guide narrators as they present and represent their experience in oral and written narratives for members in their own speech communities as well as and in cross-cultural settings (Bregman, 1990; Casson, 1983; Chafe, 1990; De Beaugrande & Dressler, 1981; Filmore, 1975; Lakoff, 1988; Langacker, 1990; Palmer, 1996; Strauss, 1992; Talmy, 1983). For a more extensive summary of research trends involving genres and schemas, see Rouchecouste & Malcolm's report on *Aboriginal English Genres in the Yamatiji Lands of Western Australia* (2000).

Because approaches to genres vary depending on the particular concerns of different perspectives, definitions of genre have varied accordingly. A definition concerned with function views genres as types of communicative events with common purposes (Swales, 1990). A structural definition of genre foregrounds descriptions of internal structure in the classification of texts with similar structural components (Hasan, 1978, 1989; Ventola, 1984) and a structural, conceptual, and functional definition includes aspects of forms and themes in relation to specific social purposes (Ben-Amos, 1976). In the ethnography of communication the notion of speech events often coincides with that of genre and attempts are made to define them from the perspective of the community concerned (Richards, Platt, & Platt, 1992).

The definition of genres used in this study may be compared with that one developed by Swales (1990) in his recognition of the role that internalised knowledge structures play in guiding speakers and listeners in the communicative event (see also Bhatia, 1993; Paltridge, 1997). Proposed by Rouchecouste and Malcolm in their Yamatiji Lands report (2000), the definition is comprehensive and multidimensional in that it not only recognises linguistic/discoursal features of the narrative; it takes into consideration the function of the narrative event itself; and it recognises the

underlying conceptual frameworks or schemas that guide the narrator in constructing the story and the audience in interpreting and/or participating in the narrative event. It is able to explain the recurrence of schemas and their linguistic representations which allow them to be identified by their discourse patterns.

Two early studies in Aboriginal English by Sansom (1980) and Malcolm (1980-2) reflect an ethnographic definition of genres in their classification of speech events. In an ethnography of 'Wallaby Cross', Sansom discusses several speech events in terms of orally reported community events or 'happening[s]' (p. 3). For example, 'broadcasting' and 'proclaiming' are two forms of 'public in-camp communication' which, Sansom maintains, are differentiated by audience response (p. 116). An audience normally responds to 'broadcasting' when it is initiated if it is perceived as conveying news, while a 'proclamation' may at first be ignored by the listeners who see it as an expression of a grievance lacking merit. However, if the proclaimer is persistent and, after a few days, the accusations come to be seen as deserving community attention, the proclaimer is seen as being successful.

In a survey of the research literature on Aboriginal speech use (Malcolm, 1980-2), seven genres were identified and organised on an 'etic grid', a framework suggested by Hymes (1972). Included on the grid were stories myths, folk tales, children's stories, sand stories, songs, and children's songs. It was shown that form, content, narrator, purpose, audience, and degrees of secrecy vary according to genre and the regions in which the activity occurs.

More recent studies in Aboriginal English genres take into consideration the influence of cultural schemas reflecting an Aboriginal world view in the construction of narratives (Malcolm & Rochecouste, 2000). They apply the concept of 'cross-cultural texts' in their analysis of 40 oral texts collected from Yamatji informants in Western Australia. The term 'cross-cultural texts' was initially used by Kachru (1983) to describe the Indian English texts which reflect distinctive discourse patterns informed by conceptual structures from the Indian cultural context rather than the transplanted language medium of English. Malcolm and Rouchecouste posit that, in the Australian context a similar phenomenon has occurred: Conceptual structures or schemas derived from the deep-rooted historical-cultural contexts of Aboriginal experience are encoded into the discourse patterns of Aboriginal English speakers.

Using a 'two-way' research process in which Aboriginal English speakers interpret texts and guide non-Aboriginal researchers through their analyses (see Malcolm et al., 1999b), Malcolm and Rochecouste identify four 'prototypic schemas': Travel, Hunting, Observing, and Encountering the Unknown (later referred to as 'Scary Things' in Malcolm, 2000d). It is noted that more than one schema may be invoked and that sub-schemas may be associated with the main schema. (For further discussions on the activation of schemas and the retrieval of activated schemas through referential devices in Aboriginal English discourse, see Sharifian (2000a).

A prototypical text informed by the Travel Schema would be characterised by the departure of the participants, a pattern of moving and stopping, and a return to the original place of departure. The Hunting Schema is marked by 'the observation, pursuit and capture of prey' (Rochecouste & Malcolm, 2000, p. 17) and optionally includes the kill and the feast. The Observing Schema may relate a detailed

description of either 'natural or social phenomenon' (p. 19) and include identification of features of community relevance (e.g. food sources). The Scary Things Schema would relate either first or third person experience of 'strange powers or persons affecting normal life within the community and is manifest in expression of appearance and disappearance, or seeing or not seeing/finding evidence of the phenomenon in question' (p. 20).

The Observing Schema has been explored in greater detail in the educational context (Malcolm, 2000e) where it is generally assumed that all children operate under the guidance of the same cultural schemas. The discourse of work sample texts provided as guides for Western Australia teachers and the oral texts of Aboriginal English speaking school children were compared. The work samples were extracted from teacher resource materials in the curriculum areas of Science, Technology and Enterprise, and Society and Environment which make up part of the Curriculum Framework (Curriculum Council of Western Australia, 1998) on the rationale that these texts foreground observation and reporting skills. The findings reveal significant differences indicating two diverse modes of constructing discourse, even when the overall purpose (Reporting) is the same. The school texts focus on and value the identification of generic subjects, abstractions, categories and classifications. They are gleaned from mediated sources and organised according to chronological or taxonomic ordering in a selective manner. In contrast, the out-of-school Aboriginal English oral texts focus on and value 'particularised subjects', based on knowledge gained from personal experience. They are organised according to 'associative principles' and based on an inclusive observation process (p. 15). The guidelines provided by the Curriculum Council have not hitherto taken into consideration or offered suggestions on how to implement EDWA's policy of valuing the home language of Aboriginal school children, though it is understood that this matter is currently under consideration.

The role that genres play in bidialectal educational contexts is explored further in another comparative study investigating the classification of genres in a literacy programme developed in the Northern Territory (Malcolm, 2000d). The *Learning English in Aboriginal Schools* (LEAS) literacy kit produced in conjunction with this programme provides teacher resource books along with other support materials. The genres included in the resource materials are described in terms of purpose, structures, and features and include recount, procedure, report, factual description, explanation, discussion, argument and persuasion, newspaper report, and narrative. Using the criterion of purpose set out by the LEAS guidelines, an attempt was made to classify 100 oral texts collected in the Yamatji Lands of Western Australia into generic categories.

The findings indicate Aboriginal English recounts function with a good deal of subtlety to serve a range of purposes beyond those defined in the *LEAS* literacy kit. Despite the poor press it has had among genre educators of the Sydney school (e.g. Martin, 1990), the recount can be seen as a default form for Aboriginal composers and an important element in cultural maintenance. The second most frequently occurring genre is the report, which also serves a variety of diverse functions relating to group behaviour, cultural practices, Indigenous construction of history and contemporary experience, life skills, among others. The infrequent occurrence of other genres in the data, such as procedure, explanation, discussion, argument and persuasion and

narrative prose, is not due to their absence in Aboriginal communities, rather to the fact that they are accomplished through alternative means. For example, procedures are generally learned by observation and practice, often through 'trial and error' (p. 10). Because of the failure of the *LEAS* framework to accommodate genres other than those occurring in Western written communication, an alternative, more flexible framework is suggested, one which allows for an Aboriginal world view and cognitive patterning. (See Malcolm, 2000d, Figure 1 for a visual summary.) The necessity to 'go beyond the genre to the schema which informs it' to achieve full appreciation of the genre's construction is apparent (p. 14).

## Remote/Urban Studies

It was noted by Eagleson in 1982 (p. 113) that at least 30 per cent of Australia's Aboriginal population lived in the major urban areas and that the proportion of Aboriginal city dwellers was growing. Despite this, he referred to an 'illusion' in the minds of most Australians that Aboriginal people were generally to be found in rural and remote areas. The stereotypic view of Aboriginal people as non-city-dwelling can result in Aboriginal city dwellers being either ignored or treated as de-facto non-Aboriginal people when it comes to having provision made for their linguistic and educational needs.

To most Aboriginal people in the cities English is the mother tongue. Some linguistic estimations of the English of city-dwelling Aboriginal people have suggested that their English is non-standard but not distinctively different from that of working class Australians (e.g. Eagleson 1978, c.f. Douglas, quoted in Readdy 1961). Some studies have stressed that the main distinguishers of Aboriginal English speech in urban contexts may be prosodic (e.g. Fesl 1977; Jernudd 1971, p. 22; Hobson 1980). Other studies have shown that many of the markers of Aboriginal English in country and remote areas may be found in the English of city-dwelling Aborigines (e.g. Kaldor and Malcolm 1979; Malcolm 1995; Malcolm and Kosciielecki 1997).

To some extent the variation in findings probably reflects the fact that there is variation among Aboriginal speakers of English as to the degree to which they maintain links with non-city dwellers and the extent to which they are prepared to identify with the English of the non-Aboriginal population. There is, however, no doubt that *some* city-dwelling Aboriginal people speak varieties of Aboriginal English, and it is most likely, in view of the incompleteness of the research data and the fact that it has come almost entirely from non-Aboriginal researchers, that there is more Aboriginal English spoken in the cities than most non-Aboriginal people realize.

There is a need for more research data on Aboriginal English in the city, based on recordings made in Aboriginal contexts by Aboriginal people. In particular, in view of the generally agreed importance of genre in the accessing and expressing of learning in schools, there is a need for more to be known about the genres current in Aboriginal speech communities in the cities and the extent to which these correspond, on the one hand, to the distinctive genres which have been documented for some rural and remote areas, and on the other, to those which have been identified as important for schooling.

Few studies have looked at the degree to which genres and schemas reflecting an Aboriginal world view are represented in the discourse of urban dwelling Aboriginal people. One comparative study, mentioned above in relation to written texts, compares both linguistic and discoursal features of written texts produced by two school-aged children (Malcolm, 1999). The two texts, one written by an Aboriginal child living in Sydney and the other by an Aboriginal child living in a remote area of Western Australia, reveal differences as well as similarities in their construction and the ways in which they narrativize their experience. The urban-based writer employs a 'problem-solution' framework to structure her narrative. She includes an 'anonymous out-group', focuses a single incident, and foregrounds her own action to resolve the crisis. In contrast, the remote-living writer does not employ a problem-solution structure so there is no story climax; rather she reports a series of events (using moving and stopping verbs, characteristic of the 'tracking' structure). Although none of stopping points becomes the focal point of the story, she highlights the telling of a devil story by means of a subtle detour from syntactic parallelisms. Unlike her urban counterpart, she never foregrounds her own actions. Despite these differences, there are shared features characteristic of Aboriginal English narratives. They both take place in a travelling mode; they feature 'dual protagonists'; they identify the main participants of the story; and they are both framed with opening and closing discourse markers (p. 6).

### **The project "Aboriginal English Genres in Perth"**

Previous research had shown that oral narrative was a salient communicative practice for Aboriginal people. It had been shown to carry an important cultural adaptation function among the men of the Kimberley studied by Muecke (1981, 1992) and it had been found to be strongly present in the behaviour of Aboriginal children in various parts of Western Australia (Eagleson, Kaldor and Malcolm 1982; Malcolm 1980-82; 1994a, b; 1999). It was apparent that distinctive practices of oral narrative were strongly present not only in more remote communities but also among the Yamatji in the South West (Malcolm and Rochecouste 2000; Rochecouste and Malcolm 2000) and that these performed an important culture-based socializing and educating function (Malcolm 2000d). There had, however, been no research focus on the practice of oral narrative among Aboriginal city dwellers. In the absence of such research it was not known whether bidialectal educational approaches based on the recognition of such genres would be as relevant for city as for country dwelling Aboriginal students. The project "Aboriginal English Genres in Perth" was devised to fill this research gap.

A proposal for a modest project, funded at less than \$10,000 over one year, was put forward and it attracted funding as an ARC Small Grant. This enabled the Principal Investigator to be supported by a number of part-time Aboriginal research assistants and a part-time graduate research assistant. The project benefited also from its association with concurrent projects, enabling useful collaboration with other research staff, and from further minor injections of funds from the Chief Investigator's research activity account.

## Aims of Project

1. To record naturally-occurring discourse in English among Aboriginal speakers of a variety of ages in Perth.
2. To provide analyses of the discourse recorded with respect to:
  - a) linguistic structuring, focusing on formal features of the verb phrase;
  - b) discourse structuring, focusing on the organisation of idea units (clausal units), the distribution of discourse markers and the allocation of interlocutor roles;
  - c) schematic patterning, focusing on the orientation of meanings to prototypic patterns.
3. On the basis of these analyses, to compare the Perth data with data of a comparable kind recorded among Aboriginal people in rural and remote areas;
4. To draw inferences with respect to the role of discourse in teaching and learning for Aboriginal students from metropolitan, as opposed to rural and remote areas.

## Methodology

The methodology used in this project, as with much of the ongoing research at CALLR, draws on the techniques of the ethnography of communication (Hymes, 1962, 1972; Saville-Troike, 1989) and a 'two-way' research process (Malcolm et al., 1999b). During the last six years of collaborative research, the CALLR team members working on Aboriginal English and bidialectal education at Edith Cowan University and the Education Department of Western Australia have developed a 'two-way' approach to research which involves Indigenous and non-Indigenous researchers working together on the gathering, analysis, and interpretation of linguistic data. This project has continued in that tradition by employing existing research staff members in order to maximise the interrelationship between this project, the related projects in progress, and existing research.

## Data Sources

Data for the study came from both archival and original sources. The archival data came from the following sources:

1. Materials recorded in Midvale Primary School by research assistants Kaye Thies and Anne Davidson in 1977 for the project *Language Problems of Aboriginal Children in Western Australian Primary Schools*, which was conducted at the University of Western Australia by Susan Kaldor and Ian Malcolm, under funding from the Commonwealth Department of Aboriginal Affairs. Tapes made for this project were stored in the Anthropology Museum at the University of Western Australia and were re-used by *permission*. (Tapes MVD2, MVD6, MVKT3, MVKT4, MVKT8)
2. Materials recorded in Girrawheen Senior High School in 1997 by teacher Jackie Nell, a specialist teacher of Aboriginal students, for the project *Towards More User-Friendly Education for Speakers of Aboriginal English*, which was conducted at Edith Cowan University by Ian Malcolm, Yvonne Haig and Patricia Königsberg and funded by the Australian Research Council. (Tape 096 Girr)

3. Materials recorded in Koongamia Primary School in 1997 by Aboriginal Research Assistant Louella Eggington, for the project *Towards More User-Friendly Education for Speakers of Aboriginal English*. (Tape 059)

The original material taped for the project consisted of audio-tapes recorded by members of the research team at Dryandra Primary School (Tape 180 Dry), Warriapendi Primary School (Tape 178 Warr) and at homes in Coolbellup (Tape 172 Co) and Koongamia (Tape 059). In addition, a piece of extended writing by an uneducated woman from an Aboriginal community in Perth was provided to the team for analysis.

## **Informants**

Informants for this project were volunteers from among those identifying as Aboriginal in the Perth metropolitan schools listed above. In addition, some informants were family members and friends of the Aboriginal research assistants, recorded in home settings.

Although narratives told by adults are represented in the data, most of the narratives were provided by children, aged 7 to 18. Parental/guardian consent was obtained for all minors. The Aboriginal research assistants interviewed students individually or in pairs and on one occasion it was arranged for a group of students to record their own narratives, either in pairs or individually, without the interviewer present. Recordings made at school were in informal settings and were not contextualized in pedagogical events.

## **Data Analysis**

The following procedure was employed in analysing all transcribed material:

1. The transcription was checked by Aboriginal research assistants against the tape.
2. On the basis of analysis of the transcripts and/or tapes, self-contained narratives were isolated for analysis. A total of 100 such narratives were isolated (see Appendix B).
3. The narratives which had been identified were each reproduced on a working transcript where they were divided into clausal/idea units (Gee, 1991) for analysis by members of the team.
4. Each narrative, in this form, was discussed (in association, where necessary, with replaying of the tape) in cross-cultural team meetings attended by all Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal team members associated with the project.
5. Linguistic, discoursal and schematic hypotheses were put forward by the chief investigator on the basis of the interpretations of the passages, and these hypotheses were subjected to team discussion. (See below for definitions of Genres and Schemas)
6. Interpretations were only adopted if they were found acceptable to the Aboriginal team members (native speakers of the dialect).
7. When transcripts and interpretations were finalized, the transcripts were entered into the database, using Nud\*ist software.
8. The database was used as required for retrieval of data for ongoing linguistic analysis.

## General Findings

### Genres Identified

The term *genre* has been adopted by investigators from many different research traditions. From the viewpoint of linguistics, it belongs within the realm of the suprasegmental, the level of discourse. Hymes (1977, p. 61) classifies genres as 'categories such as poem, myth, tale, proverb, riddle, curse, prayer, oration, lecture, commercial, form letter, editorial, etc...' which can be identified on the basis of their 'formal characteristics traditionally recognized.' Hymes recognizes the social dimensions of genres, in that they 'often coincide with speech events;' however, he argues that they 'must be treated as analytically independent of them.'

The most influential approach to genre within the field of school curricula in Australia has been that adopted by the Sydney-based group associated with Martin (1997, p. 13), which depicts genres as 'staged, goal-oriented social processes.' Despite the focus on social process, however, the advocates of genre approaches in school curricula have often been heavily monocultural and form-focused in emphasis (Watkins 1999).

Paltridge (1997), in a comprehensive review of approaches to genre, has argued that, although there are many definitions of the concept, they show considerable overlap, and that the differences relate to the different goals and theoretical assumptions of those who use them. He has argued elsewhere (1995) that both social and cognitive aspects need to be incorporated in a framework for the analysis of genre.

The research undertaken here is essentially within the Hymesian tradition. Genres are recognized as sociolinguistic artefacts, recognizable forms for the organization of discourse, which may be identified, at least in part, on the basis of formal characteristics. We argue with Paltridge that a focus on the cognitive dimension is also important, but, for us it is important not to identify a cognitive phenomenon directly with a discourse form. We prefer to consider the genre in its own right as a discourse form while accounting for the cognitive phenomenon separately under the label of *schema*.

Genres are, then, defined for the purposes of this project in terms of their *focus and form* as discursive accomplishments. On this basis, ten different genres were identified and described in the data analysed. These are defined in Table 1.



Table 1  
Genres Defined According to Focus and Form.

| Genre                 | Definition  |
|-----------------------|---|
| Recount               | A retelling of experience either first-hand or observed, in which the primary focus is on the speaker's involvement in or evaluation of the experience. Typically, the recount employs simple clause structure and colloquial style with regular interlocutor attention checks. |
| Collaborative Recount | A recount in which the floor is shared by two or more speakers who have shared in the experience being related. Typically, collaborative recounts incorporate corroboration and continuation signals on the part of the co-narrator.  |
| Narrative             | A fictional, dreamed or imagined account of events, presented either as one-off or habitual, in which the primary focus is on the content of the narrative. Typically, the narrative employs a structure which incorporates a situation, complication and conclusion.           |
| Report                | An account of observed or familiar behaviours in which the primary focus is on the way in which the behaviours are carried out. Typically, the report contains an ordered succession of behaviours and some evaluative comment.   |
| Procedure             | An account of how to do something, in which the primary focus is on the procedure itself. Typically, the elements of the procedure are expressed in verbs in the imperative or with deontic modals.   |
| Dramatization         | An account of fictional or experienced behaviour in which the primary focus is on the effect of the account upon the interlocutor. Typically the dramatization involves the use of a problem-solution structure and culminates in a punch line.                                 |
| Conversation          | An exchange between two or more interlocutors in which the primary focus is upon the sharing of information and evaluations. Typically conversation involves the introduction and development of thematically related topics and includes frequent feedback signals.            |
| Expository            | A presentation of a case in support of, or in opposition to a particular point of view or course of action. Typically the exposition is characterized by the use present tense and evaluative expression.   |
| Joke                  | An account of fictional or experienced events in which the focus is on the incongruity of language or behaviour.  |
| Spinning a yarn       | An account of experience which is presented as factual but exaggerated to the point where it stretches credibility.   |

## Schemas Identified

The concept of *schema* (see further Sharifian 2000) has been adopted into cognitive linguistics in support of the view that the operation of language in the experience of its speakers is best understood in terms of mental imagery rather than linguistic structure. A schema is a conceptual framework through which experience is understood. It follows that schemas underlie the production and interpretation of language at all levels.

Recent work by Gary Palmer (1996) has shown how the analysis of cultural ways of speaking, through the ethnography of speaking, may be brought together with the analysis of conceptualization, through cognitive linguistics, resulting in more insightful cultural descriptions. Palmer (1966, p. 4) has proposed "a single theory of culturally defined mental imagery- a cultural theory of linguistic meaning. In this *cultural linguistics*, phonemes are heard as verbal images arranged in complex categories; words acquire meanings that are relative to image-schemas, scenes and scenarios; clauses are image-based constructions; discourse emerges as a process governed by the reflexive imagery of itself; and world view subsumes it all."

Palmer's approach offers a way of understanding Aboriginal English on the basis of both its formal and its conceptual differences from Australian English, which in turn relate back to the cultural differences of the speakers. Such differences exist at all levels of linguistic structure, up to the discourse level. In this project we have attempted to begin at the discourse level in seeking to understand how experience is being conceptualized in oral narrative by Aboriginal speakers. At this level, we have attempted to distinguish within discourse units, or self-contained texts, the principal features of the ways in which experience is being represented. These we call schemas. Of course, schemas also occur at the lower levels of linguistic form, and we have attempted to take these into account as well. The main focus of this research, however, is on the discourse level. Subsequent research will, we hope, show more about the relevance of schemas in understanding Aboriginal conceptualization at other levels of linguistic analysis.

In accounting for the schemas used by speakers from the Yamatji lands in a previous study (Rochecouste and Malcolm 2000, p. 16) it was necessary to posit 11 schemas. In the present study, in approximately the same number of texts, we have identified 20. The difference is accounted for on the basis of the fact that the Perth speakers appear to have employed more schemas which are shared with speakers from the non-Aboriginal culture in addition to using many that they hold in common with the speakers from the Yamatji lands.

The schemas found in the Perth texts are defined, according to *how experience is being represented* in Table 2.

Table 2

Schemas Defined on the Basis of How Experience is Represented.

| Schema               | Definition  |
|----------------------|---|
| Travel               | The representation of the experience of known participants, organized in terms of alternating travelling (or moving) and non-travelling (or stopping) segments, usually referenced to a time of departure and optionally including a return to the starting point.  |
| Hunting              | The representation of experience of known participants, organized with respect to the observation, pursuit and capture of prey, usually entailing killing and sometimes eating it. Success is usually associated with persistence expressed with repeated and/or unsuccessful actions (e.g. shoot and miss, look and never find). There are a number of sub-schemas associated with hunting, including Cooking, Fishing and Spotting. |
| Gathering            | The representation of experience of known participants, organized with respect to the observation, pursuit and gathering of bush 'tucker'. As with hunting, persistence is an important element in the activity and success is not assured.   |
| Observing            | The representation of experience, usually shared experience, in terms of observed details whether of natural or social phenomena.   |
| Scary Things*        | The representation of experience, either first-hand or vicarious, of strange powers or persons affecting normal life within the community and manifest in the expression of appearance and disappearance or seeing or not seeing/finding evidence of the phenomenon in question.  |
| Rationalizing        | A metacognitive activity in which the speaker is seeking to account for some behaviour on the basis of a schema, either their own or the presumed schema of their interlocutor.   |
| Social Relationships | The representation of experience in relation to the perceived relationship of the individual to identified others, with special reference to the mutual esteem (or lack of it) between members.   |
| Family               | The representation of experience in relation to an extended family network.   |
| Smash                | The representation of experience in relation to known individuals or factions ('mob' smash) who are in (potentially physical) conflict. The speaker may or may not identify with one of the factions.   |
| Problem Solution     | The representation of experience in terms of one or more problems that the protagonist/s need/s to overcome   |
| Pre-figuring         | The representation of experience in terms of what the narrator is hoping to do or achieve.  |
| Trial and Error      | The representation of experience as involving trial and error on the part of the protagonist or narrator, whether successful or not.  |

|                     |  |
|---------------------|--|
| Sport               | The representation of experience within the framework of the rules and activities involved in a recognized sport.  |
| Magic               | The representation of experience within the framework of stereotypic Western media concepts of the magical, involving magicians, wizards, enchanters, witches and associated unnatural events. |
| Horror              | The representation of experience within the framework of the Western media horror genre, involving such elements as vampires, skeletons and stereotyped unnatural beings.                      |
| Ghosts              | The representation of experience involving the stereotypic media depiction of ghosts.  |
| Cowboys and Indians | The representation of experience within the framework of the media genre of the cowboy and Indian Western.   |
| School              | The representation of experience within the framework of formal schooling (school buildings, teachers, classes, timetabled activities, etc.)   |
| Space               | The representation of experience involving stereotypic media encounters with beings from outer space.  |
| Birthday Party      | The representation of the narrator or protagonist as participating in a birthday party in somebody's home and involving such features as presents, games and birthday cake.                    |

\*NB. It should be noted that this designation has been adopted, after considerable discussion of possible alternatives, on the advice of Aboriginal members of the research team. The original wording, 'Encountering the Unknown', was found inappropriate on the basis that the spirit world is not unknown to Aboriginal people.

## Perth Genres: Summary Analyses of 100 Texts

Table 3

Details of Texts: Speakers, Schemas, and Genres.

| Text number | Title                      | Tape ref and year | Speaker/s                 | Schema                                    | Genre (function/form)                          |
|-------------|----------------------------|-------------------|---------------------------|---|--|
| 1           | At the jetty               | MVD2 77           | girl 11/12                | Observing/<br>Problem solution            | Recount 1 <sup>st</sup> pers                   |
| 2           | At the pictures            | MVD2 77           | girl 11/12                | Social relationships/<br>Problem solution | Recount 1 <sup>st</sup> pers                   |
| 3           | Bush animals               | MVKT4 77          | 4 boys 6                  | Observing/travel                          | Collaborative<br>Recount 1 <sup>st</sup> pers  |
| 4           | Rocky Pool/hunting         | MVKT4 77          | 4 boys 6                  | Observing                                 | Collaborative<br>Recount 1 <sup>st</sup> pers  |
| 5           | Dad's trip                 | MVKT4 77          | 4 boys 6, one with sister | Travel/Family                             | Recount 3 <sup>rd</sup> pers/<br>Dramatization |
| 6           | The bobtail                | MVD2 77           | girl 11/12                | Scary things                              | Recount 1 <sup>st</sup> pers/<br>Dramatization |
| 7           | Home invasion              | 172 00 (Co)       | 2 men and 1 woman         | Smash (mob fight)                         | Report, 3 <sup>rd</sup> person (comic)         |
| 8           | Koongamia rabbiting        | 059 97            | 3 boys 11                 | Hunting                                   | Collaborative<br>Recount 1 <sup>st</sup> pers  |
| 9           | Why we went to the funeral | 059 97            | boy age 9-10              | Rationalizing                             | Explanation                                    |
| 10          | Visit to dad               | 059-60 97         | Boy 10/11                 | Travel/Hunting                            | Recount 1 <sup>st</sup> pers                   |
| 11          | The spaceship              | MVD2 77           | Girl 11/12                | Space/<br>Problem Solution                | Narrative                                      |
| 12          | The little Chinese dog     | 172 00 (Co)       | 2 men & 1 woman           | Pre-figuring                              | Conversation                                   |
| 13          | The bloke with a shotgun   | MVKT3 77          | boy 9                     | Travel/<br>Problem solution               | Recount 1 <sup>st</sup> pers                   |
| 14          | Rock fight                 | MVKT3 77          | boy 11                    | Hunting                                   | Recount 1 <sup>st</sup> pers                   |
| 15          | The baby sharks            | MVKT3 77          | girl 10                   | Travel/Observing/<br>Problem solution     | Recount 1 <sup>st</sup> pers/<br>Dramatization |

|    |                                 |               |                         |  |   |
|----|---------------------------------|---------------|-------------------------|--|---|
| 16 | Train tunnel                    | MVD6 77       | boy 8                   | Scary Things   | Recount 1 <sup>st</sup><br>pers/<br>Procedure     |
| 17 | Goanna                          | MVD6 77       | girl 8                  | Gathering/<br>Problem<br>solution                      | Recount 1 <sup>st</sup><br>pers                   |
| 18 | Koongamia<br>kangaroo           | 059 97        | two boys<br>9/10        | Hunting  | Collaborative<br>Recount 1 <sup>st</sup><br>pers  |
| 19 | Koongamia snake                 | 059 97        | girl and<br>boy<br>9/10 | Scary Things/<br>Problem<br>solution                   | Recount 3 <sup>rd</sup><br>pers                   |
| 20 | Koongamia<br>football           | 059 97        | boys 9/10               | Observing/Fa<br>mily                                   | Recount 1 <sup>st</sup><br>pers                   |
| 21 | Front door open                 | 096Girr<br>97 | girl L, 14              | Scary Things/<br>Rationalizing/<br>Problem<br>Solution | Recount 1 <sup>st</sup><br>pers                   |
| 22 | Someone standing<br>at the gate | 096Girr<br>97 | girl P, 14              | Scary Things/<br>Rationalizing                         | Recount 1 <sup>st</sup><br>pers                   |
| 23 | Little black<br>shadows         | 096Girr<br>97 | girl A, 14              | Scary Things/<br>Rationalizing                         | Recount 1 <sup>st</sup><br>pers                   |
| 24 | Clothes go<br>missing           | 096Girr<br>97 | girl L, 14              | Scary Things/<br>Rationalizing                         | Recount 3 <sup>rd</sup><br>pers/ joke             |
| 25 | Woman cooking<br>in the kitchen | 096Girr<br>97 | girl L, 14              | Scary Things/<br>Rationalizing                         | Recount, 3 <sup>rd</sup><br>pers                  |
| 26 | Thought I could<br>fly          | 096Girr<br>97 | girl L, 14              | Trial and Error  | Report 1 <sup>st</sup><br>pers/<br>Dramatization  |
| 27 | Weirdest dream                  | 096Girr<br>97 | girl P, 14              | Scary Things   | Recount 1 <sup>st</sup><br>pers/<br>Dramatization |
| 28 | That movie                      | 096Girr<br>97 | girl A, 14              | Scary Things   | Recount 1 <sup>st</sup><br>pers/<br>Dramatization |
| 29 | Song in my dream                | 096Girr<br>97 | girl L, 14              | Travel/Scary<br>Things/<br>Rationalizing               | Recount 1 <sup>st</sup><br>pers                   |
| 30 | Power line dream                | 096Girr<br>97 | girl L, 14              | Social<br>Relationships                                | Narrative/<br>Recount 1 <sup>st</sup><br>pers     |
| 31 | Dream about my<br>dog           | 096Girr<br>97 | girl A, 14              | Travel/Social<br>Relationships                         | Narrative/<br>Recount 1 <sup>st</sup><br>pers     |
| 32 | Big plate/tunnel<br>dream       | 096Girr<br>97 | girl L                  | Scary Things   | Narrative/<br>Recount 1 <sup>st</sup><br>pers     |
| 33 | Nightmares                      | 096Girr<br>97 | girl A, 14              | Scary Things/<br>Family                                | Recount 1 <sup>st</sup><br>pers                   |

|    |                              |            |                        |                             |  |
|----|------------------------------|------------|------------------------|-----------------------------|--|
| 34 | Cricket at lunch time        | 180Drya 00 | boy 7                  | Hunting                     | Recount 1 <sup>st</sup> pers                   |
| 35 | Noise in a duplex            | 096Girr 97 | girl A, 14             | Scary Things                | Recount 1 <sup>st</sup> pers                   |
| 36 | When they eat                | 096Girr 97 | girls A, P, 14         | Family                      | Report 1 <sup>st</sup> pers                    |
| 37 | Eating with boys             | 096Girr 97 | girls L, A, 14         | Social Relationships        | Expository                                     |
| 38 | High School                  | 096Girr 97 | boy D, 13              | Social Relationships        | Recount 1 <sup>st</sup> pers                   |
| 39 | Cricket                      | 096Girr 97 | boy D, 13              | Hunting                     | Recount 1 <sup>st</sup> pers                   |
| 40 | Sick of fish                 | 096Girr 97 | boy D, 13              | Hunting (Fishing)           | Expository                                     |
| 41 | Diving                       | 096Girr 97 | boy D, 13              | Travel/Family               | Recount 1 <sup>st</sup> pers/<br>Dramatization |
| 42 | Kangaroo dog                 | 096Girr 97 | boy D, 13              | Hunting                     | Recount 1 <sup>st</sup> pers                   |
| 43 | Playing/hunting              | 096Girr 97 | boy D, 13              | Hunting                     | Recount 1 <sup>st</sup> pers                   |
| 44 | Staying awake                | 096Girr 97 | boy D, 13              | Hunting (Spotting)          | Recount 1 <sup>st</sup> pers                   |
| 45 | Stupid kangaroo/stupid truck | 096Girr 97 | boy D, 13              | Hunting                     | Recount 1 <sup>st</sup> pers                   |
| 46 | Turkeys, wild cats, goannas  | 096Girr 97 | boy D, 13              | Hunting                     | Recount 1 <sup>st</sup> pers                   |
| 47 | Eating goannas               | 096Girr 97 | boy D, 13              | Hunting (cooking)           | Recount 1 <sup>st</sup> pers                   |
| 48 | Bush food at school          | 096Girr 97 | boy D, 13              | Hunting (cooking)           | Procedure                                      |
| 49 | Gettin' a feed               | 096Girr 97 | boy D, 13              | Hunting (cooking)           | Recount 1 <sup>st</sup> pers                   |
| 50 | Blue pleated skirt           | 096Girr 97 | girl K, 17             | Social Relationships        | Recount 1 <sup>st</sup> pers                   |
| 51 | Pie fight                    | 096Girr 97 | girls K, R, 17         | Social Relationships        | Recount 1 <sup>st</sup> pers                   |
| 52 | Best teacher                 | 096Girr 97 | girl K, 17             | Social Relationships        | Recount 1 <sup>st</sup> pers                   |
| 53 | Stuff about me               | 096Girr 97 | girls R, K, 17         | Social Relationships        | Recount 1 <sup>st</sup> pers                   |
| 54 | Little Aun'y                 | 096Girr 97 | girl P, 13             | Family/Social Relationships | Recount 1 <sup>st</sup> pers                   |
| 55 | She got wild                 | 096Girr 97 | girl P, 13             | Family                      | Recount 1 <sup>st</sup> pers                   |
| 56 | Mum's birthday               | 096Girr 97 | girl G, with 3 friends | Family                      | Recount 1 <sup>st</sup> pers                   |

|    |                               |               |                  |                              |   |
|----|-------------------------------|---------------|------------------|------------------------------|---|
| 57 | Aboriginal Play               | 178Warr<br>00 | two girls,<br>12 | Family                       | Narrative/<br>Recount 1 <sup>st</sup><br>pers |
| 58 | Goanna and my<br>uncle        | 178Warr<br>00 | boy 12           | Travel/Hunting               | Recount 1 <sup>st</sup><br>pers               |
| 59 | Kangaroo bones                | 178Warr<br>00 | boy 12           | Travel                       | Recount 1 <sup>st</sup><br>pers               |
| 60 | Football on<br>Saturday       | 178Warr<br>00 | boy 7            | Sport                        | Recount 1 <sup>st</sup><br>pers               |
| 61 | Camp                          | 178Warr<br>00 | girl 12          | Travel/<br>Scary Things      | Recount 1 <sup>st</sup><br>pers/<br>Narrative |
| 62 | Intermediate<br>champion girl | 178Warr<br>00 | girl 10          | Sport                        | Expository                                    |
| 63 | Father's Day                  | 178Warr<br>00 | girl 12          | School                       | Recount 1 <sup>st</sup><br>pers               |
| 64 | Emu eggs                      | 178Warr<br>00 | boy 7            | Hunting                      | Recount 1 <sup>st</sup><br>pers               |
| 65 | Twin Witches                  | 178Warr<br>00 | boy 7            | Scary Things/<br>Magic       | Narrative                                     |
| 66 | Flying Fox                    | 178Warr<br>00 | girl 8           | Travel                       | Recount 1 <sup>st</sup><br>pers               |
| 67 | Big Fish                      | 178Warr<br>00 | girl 8           | Travel/Observe<br>ing        | Recount 1 <sup>st</sup><br>pers               |
| 68 | Red Rugby Ball                | 178Warr<br>00 | boy 7            | Sport                        | Recount 1 <sup>st</sup><br>pers               |
| 69 | Pussy Fish                    | 178Warr<br>00 | boy 7            | Hunting<br>(fishing)         | Recount 1 <sup>st</sup><br>pers               |
| 70 | Went fishin'                  | 178Warr<br>00 | boy 7            | Travel/Hunting<br>/Observing | Recount 1 <sup>st</sup><br>pers               |
| 71 | Room twen'y-<br>eight         | 178Warr<br>00 | boy 7            | Scary Things                 | Narrative                                     |
| 72 | My sister                     | 178Warr<br>00 | girl 12          | Social<br>Relationships      | Recount 1 <sup>st</sup><br>pers               |
| 73 | Damper/NAIDOC<br>Day          | 178Warr<br>00 | girl 12          | School                       | Recount 1 <sup>st</sup><br>pers/<br>Procedure |
| 74 | Tae Kwon Do                   | 178Warr<br>00 | girl 12          | Smash                        | Recount 1 <sup>st</sup><br>pers               |
| 75 | Went off at me                | 178Warr<br>00 |                  | Family                       | Recount 1 <sup>st</sup><br>pers               |
| 76 | When they were<br>little      | 180Dry<br>00  | girl, 7          | Family                       | Recount 3 <sup>rd</sup><br>pers attributed    |



|    |                           |                      |  |                                |   |
|----|---------------------------|----------------------|--|--------------------------------|---|
| 77 | Wudarchi's comin'         | 180Drya 00           | boy 13 with father, mother and sister 21     | Scary Things/ Family           | Recount 1 <sup>st</sup> pers                |
| 78 | Motor bike, cars, an dogs | 180Drya 00           | father and son 13, with mother and sister 21 | Scary Things/ Family           | Recount 1 <sup>st</sup> pers                |
| 79 | Plates rattlin'           | 180Drya 00           | boy 13 with father, mother, sister 21        | Scary Things                   | Recount 1 <sup>st</sup> pers                |
| 80 | Roper River story         | 180Drya 00           | father, with mother, son 13, daughter 21     | Scary Things                   | Recount 1 <sup>st</sup> pers                |
| 81 | Didjeridoo                | 180Drya 00           | 2 boys 12                                    | School                         | Report 1 <sup>st</sup> pers                 |
| 82 | Football comp             | 180Drya 00           | boy 7  | Sport                          | Recount 1 <sup>st</sup> pers                |
| 83 | Cathy Freeman's race      | 180Drya 00           | boy 7  | Family/Observing               | Recount 1 <sup>st</sup> pers                |
| 84 | Sequel to Dad's Trip (P4) | MVKT4 77             | boy 6 with sister                            | Travel/Family                  | Recount 1 <sup>st</sup> pers                |
| 85 | Photos                    | MVKT4 77             | boy 6 with sister                            | School/Observing               | Collaborative/ Recount 1 <sup>st</sup> pers |
| 86 | Vampire Story             | MVKT4 77             | boy 6 with sister                            | Horror (Vampire)/ Scary Things | Collaborative/ Narrative                    |
| 87 | Another One               | MVKT4 77             | girl 6                                       | Horror                         | Collaborative/ Narrative                    |
| 88 | Morning                   | MVKT4 77             | boy 6 with 4 Abor friends                    | Family                         | Collaborative/ Recount 3 <sup>rd</sup> pers |
| 89 | Our Own Language          | #059(Koon-gamia) 97  | group of Abor chn 9/10                       | School                         | Recount 1 <sup>st</sup> pers                |
| 90 | Plane Was Gonna Crash     | #059 (Koon-gamia) 97 | girl, 9-10                                   | School                         | Recount 1 <sup>st</sup> pers                |

|     |                         |                         |   |                                 |   |
|-----|-------------------------|-------------------------|---|---------------------------------|---|
| 91  | Play Equipments         | #059<br>(Koon-gamia) 97 | boy, 9-10                               | School/Observing                | Recount 1 <sup>st</sup><br>pers                                 |
| 92  | Cross-Country Race      | #059<br>(Koon-gamia) 97 | Group 9-10 and AIEO                     | School/Observing                | Collaborative/<br>Recount 1 <sup>st</sup><br>pers               |
| 93  | Too Small               | MVD6 77                 | girl 8                                  | Family                          | Recount 1 <sup>st</sup><br>pers                                 |
| 94  | In the Bush             | MVKT8<br>77             | boy 6                                   | Observing/<br>Hunting/Family    | Recount 1 <sup>st</sup><br>pers/ Spinning<br>a yarn             |
| 95  | Scary Picture           | MVKT8<br>77             | boy 6                                   | Ghosts/<br>Scary Things         | Recount 1 <sup>st</sup><br>pers/<br>Narrative                   |
| 96  | Cowboy and Indian       | MVKT8<br>77             | boy 6                                   | School/<br>Cowboys &<br>Indians | Recount 1 <sup>st</sup><br>pers/<br>Narrative                   |
| 97  | Brothers and Sisters    | MVKT3<br>77             | Two boys,<br>L(9) and<br>R(11)          | Family                          | Expository  |
| 98  | Friend's Birthday Party | MVKT3<br>77             | 4 girls<br>aged 9                       | Birthday Party/<br>Pre-figuring | Collaborative/<br>Procedure/<br>Recount 1 <sup>st</sup><br>pers |
| 99  | Trip to Hospital        | #059<br>(Koon-gamia)    | 2 boys<br>9/10 and<br>AIEO              | Family/Travel                   | Recount 1 <sup>st</sup><br>pers                                 |
| 100 | Emu Eggs                | #059<br>(Koon-gamia)    | 3 boys and<br>1 girl, 9/10<br>with AIEO | Observing                       | Recount 1 <sup>st</sup><br>pers/<br>Procedure                   |

## Some Observations on the Corpus as a Whole

Table 3 summarizes the entire corpus on which this study is based. The corpus, as noted above (under "Data Sources" pp.12-13) is diverse in terms of the times and places of recording, the number, age and gender of the interlocutors and the identity of the researchers. Most of this diversity is reported in the table and can be taken into account in the interpretation of the texts. What remain constant are the nature of the speech event and the aboriginality of the speakers. In all cases the persons recorded were in free speech interaction, usually with one or more sympathetic and familiar person present. They were free to talk about whatever they considered worth talking about in the way that they saw best to talk about it. The intention was not to obtain a random sample of the interaction of the subjects but to enable as wide a variety of naturally occurring forms of oral narrative to emerge.

The findings, perhaps surprisingly, show that, when the speakers themselves are able to set the parameters within which they engage in oral narrative, they tend to use a regularly recurring set of discourse forms (genres) and to represent their experience in a regularly recurring set of experiential frames (schemas). The regularities are sustained across recording dates separated by more than 20 years, across ages ranging from 7 or 8 years to adult, across a range of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal researchers managing the tape recorder, and across a range of different constellations of male and female friends in the group. The regularities relate to the ways in which the Aboriginal speakers interpret and perceive the speech event and to the shared ways of thinking, and of conceptualizing experience, which they bring to the opportunity which the event affords for self-expression.

It is interesting to make some comparisons between the speakers and the schemas and genres chosen, but it is important not to make any strong generalizations from such comparisons, in view of the fact that many texts involve more than one schema and more than one genre and that some speakers are more frequently represented among the texts than others. Bearing this in mind, the general picture that emerges with respect to gender of speaker is that both male and female speakers tend to employ the same range of schemas. The exceptions to this are that more girls than boys use the Social Relationships schema and more boys than girls use the Observing and Hunting schemas. Looking at the age of the speaker in relation to the schema chosen, we find that, again, there is a fair distribution of schemas across the age range. About one third of the texts come from speakers aged 6-8, one third from speakers aged 9-12 and one third from speakers aged 13-17. The schemas more commonly present among the younger speakers are Observing, Family and School; those occurring more commonly among the older speakers are Social Relationships, Scary Things and Hunting. With respect to genres, both genders and all age groups show a strong preference for the First Person Recount. Boys were more likely than girls to give Collaborative Recounts, especially among the younger age groups. After Recounts, the next commonest genre was the Narrative. It was slightly commoner among younger age groups and about evenly distributed among male and female speakers.

**Genres Occurring**

Table 4  
Frequency of Occurrence of Genres

| Genres                                       |    |
|--|----|
| Recount 1 <sup>st</sup> person               | 55 |
| Recount 3 <sup>rd</sup> person               | 4  |
| Collaborative recount 1 <sup>st</sup> person | 6  |
| Collaborative recount 3 <sup>rd</sup> person | 2  |
| Narrative                                    | 5  |
| Expository                                   | 4  |
| Report                                       | 3  |
| Procedure                                    | 2  |
| Explanation                                  | 1  |
| Conversation                                 | 1  |
| Total  | 81 |

| Generic Blends                                |    |
|---|----|
| Recount 1 <sup>st</sup> pers/ Dramatization   | 6  |
| Recount 3 <sup>rd</sup> pers/Dramatization    | 1  |
| Recount 1 <sup>st</sup> pers/Narrative        | 3  |
| Narrative/Recount 1 <sup>st</sup> pers        | 4  |
| Recount 3 <sup>rd</sup> pers/Joke             | 1  |
| Recount 1 <sup>st</sup> pers/Procedure        | 3  |
| Recount 1 <sup>st</sup> pers/ Spinning a yarn | 1  |
| Total   | 19 |

**Combined Total** 100

**Discussion**

A number of observations can be made about the data above. First, at least one example of a text approximating to each of the basic curriculum genres was found. This suggests that Aboriginal speakers, engaged in oral narrative in non-school contexts, may hear and use, in the oral mode, texts of the same basic purposes as most of those they are expected to be able to write in school. This, as noted in Malcolm 2000d) might cause us to question the claims of Martin that Aboriginal people, because of the oral based nature of their communication, lack the power to control their world (Martin, 1990, p.40). Rather, we might recognize with Gee (1991, p.7) that it is possible for different groups which use English to employ it differently to make sense of their experience, and that ‘the oral mode, developed in the process of enculturation’ may constitute the ‘primary discourse’ by which its speakers make sense of English as a whole.

Secondly, it is quite apparent that the spread of the Aboriginal texts across the genres is extremely uneven. McKeown and Freebody (1988) have argued that dialect difference does not show in any differences between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal students in the nature and extent of their use of narrative and expository discourse.

This matter needs to be further researched, with matched groups of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal informants in both school and out-of-school settings. In employing oral narrative without the constraints imposed by schooling the speakers in this study clearly treated the recount – a form which Martin (1990, p. 38) dismisses as 'dysfunctional' – as the default form, and employed it with considerable subtlety to perform many of the purposes which would fall to other genres in the usage of non-Aboriginal speakers. Recounts are normally assumed to be first person accounts, but Aboriginal speakers may also express them in the third person, often with an attribution built into the discourse structure, underlining the importance in Aboriginal culture of custodianship of oral material (Muecke 1992, p. 86).

The findings on the preference for the Recount and on the distribution of genres are, as we shall see, similar for the urban (Nyungar) and rural (Yamatji) groups, showing that certain discursual preferences seem to be strongly associated with dialect and relatively unaffected by intensive involvement with non-Aboriginal culture.

Table 5  
Predominant Schemas in Yamatji and Perth Oral Narratives

| SCHEMA                     | YAMATJI<br>(106 TEXTS)   | YAMATJI<br>TOTALS | PERTH<br>(100 TEXTS )   | PERTH TOTALS | COMBINED<br>TOTALS |
|----------------------------|--|-------------------|---|--------------|--------------------|
| 1. Scary Things            | 3, 5, 7, 11, 20, 21,<br>22, 30, 32, 44, 45,<br>47, 48, 49, 50, 51,<br>52, 53, 54, 55, 57,<br>58, 61, 62, 68, 78,<br>81, 83, 96, 97, 98,<br>99, 101, 102, 106 | 35                | 6, 16, 19, 21, 22,<br>23, 24, 25, 27, 28,<br>32, 33, 35, 65<br>(Magic), 71, 77, 78,<br>79, 80 | 19           | 54                 |
| 2. Hunting                 | 6, 12 (news<br>parody), 13, 14,<br>18, 24, 34, 36, 56,<br>75, 87, 90, 92, 93   | 14                | 8, 14, 18, 34, 39,<br>40, 42, 43, 44, 45,<br>46, 47, 48, 49, 64,<br>69,                       | 16           | 30                 |
| 3. Observing               | 1, 2, 10, 19, 27,<br>29, 33, 37, 38, 39,<br>40, 63, 80, 84, 85,<br>86, 88, 89, 91  | 19                | 1, 3, 4, 20, 94, 100  | 6            | 25                 |
| 4. Family                  | 70, 74, 82   | 3                 | 13, 36, 54, 55, 56,<br>57, 75, 76, 83, 88,<br>93, 97, 99                                      | 13           | 16                 |
| 5. Travel                  | 16, 35, 94   | 3                 | 5, 10, 29, 31, 41,<br>58, 59, 61, 66, 67,<br>70, 84   | 12           | 15                 |
| 6. Social<br>Relationships | 69, 76, 77, 108  | 4                 | 2, 30, 37, 38, 50,<br>51, 52, 53, 72  | 9            | 13                 |
| 7. School                  |  |                   | 15, 63, 73, 81, 85,<br>89, 90, 91, 92, 96<br>(Cowboys &<br>Indians)                           | 10           | 10                 |

|                          |                      |   |                  |                   |   |
|--------------------------|----------------------|---|------------------|-------------------|---|
| 8. Gathering             | 26, 41, 42, 43       | 4 | 17               | 1                 | 5 |
| 8. Group Solidarity      | 9, 59, 60, 65, 66    | 5 |                  |                   | 5 |
| 8. Sport                 | 71                   | 1 | 60, 62, 68, 82   | 4                 | 5 |
| 8. Imprudent Behaviour   | 67, 73, 95, 100, 105 | 5 |                  |                   | 5 |
| 12. Problem Solution     | 23, 25, 28           | 3 |                  |                   | 3 |
| 12. Smash (i.e. fight)   | 79                   | 1 | 7, 74            | 2                 | 3 |
| 12. Horror               | 46                   | 1 | 86 (Vampire), 87 | 2                 | 3 |
| 12. Entertainment        | 72, 103, 107         | 3 |                  |                   | 3 |
| 16. Trial and Error      | 64                   | 1 | 26               | 1                 | 2 |
| 16. Contact History      | 4, 31                | 2 |                  |                   | 2 |
| 18. Rationalizing        |                      |   | 9                | 1                 | 1 |
| 18. Pre-figuring         |                      |   | 12               | 1                 | 1 |
| 18. Ghosts               |                      |   | 95               | 1                 | 1 |
| 18. Birthday Party       |                      |   | 98               | 1                 | 1 |
| 18. Space                |                      |   | 11               | 1                 | 1 |
| 18. Joke                 | 17                   | 1 |                  |                   | 1 |
| 18. Fairy Story (parody) | 8                    | 1 |                  |                   | 1 |
| 25. Magic                |                      |   |                  | (sub-schema only) |   |
| 25. Cowboys & Indians    |                      |   |                  | (sub-schema only) |   |

## *Discussion*

The schemas occurring in the data from the Yamatji Lands and from Perth are summarised in Table 5, in the order of the combined totals. In looking at the schemas in this way we are observing the predominant conceptual frameworks which Aboriginal speakers from the two areas used in order to understand and communicate their experience. The table is an oversimplification in that, although in many cases (39 out of 100 in the Perth data) the analysis showed that more than one schema was evidenced in the text, the tabulation is on the basis only of what was considered to be the predominant schema. Thus if, for example, the speaker drew on both travelling and hunting frameworks for the representation of the experience, a judgment was made as to whether it was the travelling or the hunting which was the dominant focus in the representation. In some cases (Magic and Cowboys and Indians) a schema was only seen to occur as subordinated to a more dominant schema, i.e., as a sub-schema.

It is immediately apparent from the table that certain schemas are strongly present in both populations. The Scary Things schema occurs in more than 26% of the texts overall, the Hunting schema in more than 14% and the Observing schema in 12%. Thus, these strongly culturally oriented schemas guide the representation of experience in more than half the corpus (64% of the Yamatji Lands texts and 41% of the Perth texts).

When the trends in the texts from the Yamatji Lands are compared with those in the Perth texts, it is apparent that the six most commonly used schemas overall are common to both populations. Of these schemas, the first five (Scary Things, Hunting, Observing, Family and Travel) are strongly associated with Aboriginal culture. The Observing schema is present more strongly in the Yamatji Lands data and the Family and Travel schemas more strongly in the Perth data. While we should be wary of making generalizations about this, perhaps there is a stronger environmental preoccupation in what is talked about in the rural areas and a stronger preoccupation with human relationships in what is talked about in the city.



## Some Detailed Findings

### Aspects of Linguistic Structuring

#### *Grammaticalisation in Aboriginal Teen Talk*

Grammaticalization has been defined as 'the increase of the range of a morpheme advancing from a lexical to a grammatical or from a less grammatical to a more grammatical status, e.g. from a derivative formant to an inflectional one' (Kurylowicz, 1965, quoted by DeLancey 1993). Recent work on teenage talk in Germany (Androutsopoulos, 1999) has demonstrated the productiveness of teenage talk in contributing to grammaticalisation and potential linguistic change. In the light of this, the present corpus was analysed, in a preliminary way, with a view to observing areas where some of our informants, either on the basis of the expression of their aboriginality or on the basis of their membership of teenage culture, were employing forms which could be leading towards grammaticalisation.

Table 6

Types of Linguistic Structuring Found in Perth Oral Texts

|   |  |
|---|--|
| 1. Thematisation with demonstratives      | <i>This lady Kate... (P 57)</i><br><i>um that camp</i><br><i>um my cousin he to- he said... (P71)</i>  |
| 2. Zero conjunction                       | a) between verbs<br><i>we had to go show him (P 59)</i><br><br>b) between clauses<br><i>he went up to twenty-eight</i><br><i>turned on the light</i><br><i>he sta- he sat down and read a book</i><br><i>(P 71)</i>        |
| 3. Reanalyzed verb 'versed'               | <i>and I versed against B. D. (P60)</i>  |
| 4. Imputed thought/speech marker 'reckon' | <i>an this guy come in</i><br><i>reckons that we were doin it all wrong</i><br><i>an then he reckon,</i><br><i>I'll show you my style,</i><br><br><i>an he wanted to fight the guy</i><br><i>who was teachin us (P 74)</i> |
| 5. 'One' as indefinite article            | T: <i>an I had-</i><br>X: <i>a dingo?</i><br>T: <i>yeah one dingo (P 78).</i>  |

## Aspects of discourse structuring

Table 7

### Types of Discourse Structuring Found in Perth Oral Texts

1. **Indefinite Extension** *an dat* or *that*:  
**Markers** referring to relatives 10/1 (*my uncle an dat*), 2, 32; 25/12  
 (shared knowledge referring to activities 21/2 (*if it's locked properly and*  
 recognition) *that*)  
 other 25/14 (*like fingers an' that choking her*), 18, 19,  
 20; 38/10,21  
  
*an all*: 12/42; 56/8 (*had 'er name on it an all*)  
  
*an all that*: 56/3; 57/36; 81/4 (*cooked up kangaroo an*  
*all that for us*)  
  
*an everything*: 23/5; 62/15 (*I wanna be famous an*  
*everything*)  
  
*an thing*: 100/26 (*My dad can..make cakes an thing..*)  
  
*or anything*: 24/2 (*didn't believe in Jesus or anything*)
2. **Substitute word** 70/21 (*I seen a blowie jump on the thing*); 10/65; 15/14;  
*thing* (*thing* 16/16; 33/16 (*you're not thing*); 35/16; 41/27; 55/2; 57/36;  
 may be substituted 87/13; 92/14; 100/26  
 for a noun, verb, or  
 phrase which may or *things* 23/11 (*men's just, you know, things*)  
 may not be  
 recoverable from the  
 co-text)
3. **Interactive idea unit** 21/15; 23/11; 25/7; 26/2; 27/8; 28/21; 30/28, 22; 31/13,  
**marker you know** 15, 23; 33/36, 12; 35/9; 36/14, 15; 37/32; 67/3; 78/29 (*we*  
*just listened y'know*).
4. **Confirmation** 51/9 (*That was in year ten ay*)  
**eliciting tag ay**
5. **Affiliative tag boy** 18/18 (*had a good feed boy*); 49/41  
 (to male or female  
 interlocutor(s))
6. **Dismay interjection** 49/2; 49/39; 51/2 (*Oh man, um can't really remember*)  
*Oh man* (high level  
 tone)
7. **Clause-final** 16/16, 27; 25/1; 27/3; 28/18; 41/15,19; 43/5; 45/38, 44,  
**suspensory there** 53; 49/47; 56/7; 61/24, 32;  
 77/8 (*there was like a big bed there*).

- 8. Collaboration signals**
- a) Corroborative response *Yeah* 8/3, 14; 85/9, 15; 92/11, 27; 99/9, 12; 100/3, 6, 28
  - b) Plural pronoun for response or extension *We forgot* 57/14
  - c) Second participant narrative extension signal *An(d)...* 20/14; 85/12, 13, 19, 20; 87/13; 100/9
  - d) Repetition  
85/8-9  
A: *Kelvin was swinging on there.*  
D: *Yeah I was swinging on that there.*  
87/11-12  
B: *...and two- um one lady came along and two men.*  
A: *One lady and two men...*
- 9. Profile (trajector) marker**  
*that/dat/this/dis/these*
- 10/89; 11/2; 13/2, 3, 12; 16/4; 27/5; 71/2,7; 73/2; 74/2  
(*this guy came in there*); 86/3, 13, 14, 18, 20, 23, 30, 33, 34, 35; 87/4; 91/11, 19; 92/14, 19; 98/17
- 10. Parataxis**
- 18/3-5 (*one slip ova...I...I jumped...and ...I got de tail*)  
28/39-40 (*I jumped over the table busted up my nail*)  
43/43-45 (*'ang back shot the kangaroo hit the part up there*)  
71/6-7 (*he went up to twenty-eight turned on the light*)  
88/4 (*and and he makes a fire all the time mu mum tellin' im*)  
89/27 (*you wanta know you find out yourself*)  
89/7-8 (*we're always fightin in class...get things confiscated*)  
94/10-13 (*I went down the bush snake come along and bit me in the leg*)  
100/10-13 (*My dad can...make cakes an thing...get money...*)
- 11. Ellipsis**
- a) Pronoun subject ellipsis  
25/5 (*to see if was my uncle*)  
85/15 (*yeah, just sat down to read it and...*)  
93/1 (*used to have a cat*)  
93/7 (*might die*)
  - b) Verb and pronoun object  
94/45 (*my brother back in the tin*)

- 12. Well**
- a) Information signal  
13/2; 21/13; 62/5;; 86/20, 23, 32; 87/5; 88/5; 63/5  
(*an' well we done a painting of Aboriginals*)
  - b) Introducer  
38/1 (*Um well start of the year I met Mee-Meena...*); 98/4.
- 13. Shift marker Like**
- a) Exemplification  
35/21 (*Like last night I had a dream...*);  
35/26 (*Jus like*); 23/1; 25/12; 28/6,9,12; 31/737/7;  
8/15,16,17; 39/13; 43/1; 49/37; 51/5; 53/10; 57/42.
  - b) Interactive idea unit  
26/2; 35/10; 28/4 (*like you know*)
  - c) Hesitation before embarrassing information  
24/1 (*my uncle he used to like drink a lot*), 3;  
25/14; 28/7; 30/19.
  - d) Hesitation before important information  
44/18 (*like 'e jumped out of the car*)
  - e) Direct speech (or non-verbal quote)  
30/19; 36/12; 44/9-10; 45/58-9; 57/61 (*The oldest ones like, 'Don't- you gotta kill it'*), 68; 26/6; 45/29  
(*and the car was like [making flat tyre noise]*).
- 14. Explanatory cos**
- 39/21 (*cause we needed a six to beat 'em*); 42/6,20,21;  
48/22; 74/5; 77/21; 78/23; 96/14.
- 15. Speech/thought marker reckon**
- 77/7,17 (*he reckon 'aww no you boys'*), 24.
- 16. Direct speech marker go**
- 24/4 (*an then my uncle 'e goes 'Where's your clothes?',*), 5,7; 25/7,9; 37/9; 49/39,48,51; 55/11,13;  
57/51,52,55,70; 72/8,10,11.
- 17. Direct speech switching**
- 44/7-8 (*an all them other kids there [puffing] 'Well I'm gonna stay. What about you?'*), 28.

## 18. Repetition

### a) Phrase

67/22+27; 29/12+15; 42/1-4; 85/8+9, 12+13,  
30+31; 91/11+12, 18+21; 92/2+3, 9+11;  
93/8+10+12+14; 94/23+31, 33+35+36+44;  
95/12+17+19; 96/5+6, 18+22, 19+23; 98/9+11,  
10-11+12-13; 99/4+5; 100/4+9+14+19;  
37/1-2 (*I hate it when you eat in front of a boy*) +  
37/13 (*I don't like eatin in front of boys*)  
86/13,14,18, 23, 30, 33, 35 (*this lady*); 86/18, 33,  
34 (*vampire lady*), 12 (*vampire house*), 12  
(*vampire picture*); 88/3,4 (*makes a fire*), 13,14  
(*goes out*), 12, 13, 14 (*my mum*), 14,18 (*my dad*),  
20,23,24 (*he come back home*), 21,25 (*he went  
out again*).

### b) Word

55/9; 56/11; 85/19+20, 25+27, 15+16+17+22+28;  
92/15+16; 93/3+12, 7+14; 94/2+10+17,  
21+23+25+27+33, 45+47, 44+49+52, 48+49,  
46+48+50+52; 95/3+5 (*ghost*), 5+14 (*little*),  
10+11+17+19 (*big*), 10+18 (*gun*);  
96/3+6+8+9+10+12+15 (*cowboy*), 3+5+9+14+24  
(*Indians*), 9+10 (*attack*); 98/15+16+20 (*doll*),  
13+16+20 (*liddle*); 99/7+8+23+27 (*'ospital*),  
26+27 (*clothes*); 100/22+2 (*cakes*)

## 19. Adjective/adverb suffixing

a) *-time* 70/12 *at dark-time*

b) *-way* 18/21,23 *funny-way*

## 20. Recurrent Images

a) *fence* 10/60-76; 13/13; 14/5,6,11; 35/8; 68/5

b) *red eyes/watching* 10/40-41, 43; 28/27.

c) *dog barking* 23/5; 78/22, 30.

d) *dog lost or stolen* 31; 65/28

e) *someone* 22/13; 28/27; 35/31,37.

f) *no-one/nothing* 22/12; 23/7, 9

g) *open* 21/1,4,18; 22/7,8,9; 25/15; 28/26.

## 22. Two Part Generic Structure

P5, P28, P92, P96. (see p.38)

## 22. Demonstrative Pronoun *that there*, *dat dere* (with gesture)

41/19 (*Yeah like e'd jump an' turn like that there*)

85/9 (*yeah I was swinging on that there*); 100/27

78/31-32 (*an then ya heard one at the back of him goin  
[making barking noise]- like that there*);

38-39 (*then then um then next minute we heard a 'oo-oo-  
oo' like that there then*)

The genres observed in this corpus sometimes exhibit a two-part structure, in which the first half of the text is in some way balanced by the second (a similar structure was observed in Wongi data reported in Malcolm 1994b). The two-part structuring at the generic level may be seen to be a reflection at a higher level of patterns of parallelism which are also exhibited at the word and phrase level.

The three discourse markers (*cos/cause*, *you know*, *like*) are all illustrated in the following text extract which comes from a session in which three 15 year old Nyungar girls (A and P are in this extract) were talking with their teacher (J):

|    |    |   |   |   |
|----|----|---|---|---|
| 1  | A: | I hate when I have a dream  |   | I |
| 2  |    | an' I wake up   |   | I |
| 3  |    | 'CAUSE c- c- if I'm facing the other way                              | ↑ | I |
| 4  |    | I'll always look at my door, like <b>you know</b>                     |   | I |
| 5  | P: | [To see if anyone's there]  |   |   |
| 6  | A: | and <i>like</i> it's always <i>like</i> black                         |   | I |
| 7  |    | and <i>like</i> 'CAUSE I got <i>like</i> things hanging from the door | ↑ | I |
| 8  |    | and it's <i>like</i> sometimes you <i>like</i> waking up              |   | I |
| 9  |    | and <b>you know</b>   |   | I |
| 10 |    | <i>like</i> Ann   | ↓ | N |
| 11 |    | you know Ann?   |   | I |
| 12 | J: | Walker  |   |   |
| 13 | A: | <i>Like</i> um we was at her house                                    | ↓ | N |
| 14 |    | an ' we were sleeping   |   | N |
| 15 |    | we was watching Mo Money.   |   | N |
| 16 |    | Ohh an' I'm never watching that movie again at night time             |   | I |
| 17 |    | an' um 'CAUSE we joined the two lounges up together                   | ↑ | N |
| 18 |    | and I was on the lounge by myself                                     |   | N |
| 19 |    | and she was there   |   | N |
| 20 |    | an' she um ,she fell asleep   | ↓ | N |
| 21 |    | an' I fell asleep   |   | N |
| 22 |    | but I could still hear it <b>you know</b>                             |   | I |
| 23 |    | an' then I started sleepin'   |   | N |
| 24 |    | an' um she looked out the window,                                     |   | N |
| 25 |    | an' I'm- someone -  |   | N |
| 26 |    | 'CAUSE <i>like</i> they always closed their their blinds              | ↑ | N |
| 27 |    | but this time it was a little bit open -                              |   | N |
| 28 |    | and someone was there watching 'er,                                   | ↓ | N |

The narrator (A)'s attention is constantly shifting between the world of her narrative and the world of her present interaction, so the idea units she is dealing with are constantly changing. The first nine lines are strongly oriented towards the addressees, because A is preparing the ground for the story which is to follow. All the idea units are what I would call *interactive*, because she is locating herself in the present situation with the listeners and addressing them directly. This orientation is reinforced twice in the section ( in lines 4 and 9) with the marker *you know*, which invites assent and shows audience awareness.

In line 10, A introduces the person with whom she shared the experience, who is her link to the narrated world, and this is the first in a series of *narrative* units. In line 15, A clearly interrupts her narrative to return to the *interactive* world and share with her listeners how she currently feels. She makes another return to the interactive world in line 21, marking this with the confirmation request *you know*. While all this is going on, we see that A is also managing the matter of shared and unshared knowledge between herself and her addressees. She uses another marker for this, the marker I call *explanatory 'cause*. This occurs in lines 3, 7, 16 and 25 (in capitals). On each occasion it directs the attention of the listener to something which has already happened at the time of the narrative, hence the backwards arrows I have inserted at these points. A is also managing the use of yet another discourse marker, which she uses eight times, though only at specific points in the narrative. This is *like*, which functions strongly with the sense of exemplification of what is being talked about and, in this function, introduces the whole of the narrative section in line 10. The sense of exemplification seems to be associated with a sense of anticipation, since *like* always sets up an expectation in the reader. When *like* is mentioned, the listener will be entertained with an illustration or a story or something that is worth holding the narrative up for. Thus, we find that in lines 6, 7 and 8, in each of which it is used twice, it is associated with scary and embarrassing revelations: the narrator is scared of the dark, she sees the clothes hanging on the door and imagines they might be intruders and she can't sleep. Similarly, in line 25, *like* occurs just as we are about to receive the significant information that the blind was left 'open' – the word which immediately invokes the 'Scary Things' schema.

Discourse markers, then, are frequently in evidence in the texts we have examined and they are managed by the speakers in subtle ways. The three that we have had time to illustrate only begin to give evidence of this complexity.

The Aboriginal oral narrators also give evidence of what I call *discourse strategies*, by which I mean various stylistic and performance options which have become an established part of this form of narrative. One of these which links Aboriginal oral discourse with the oral art of many cultures is the use of *parallelism*, or the expression of the same content in two different ways in succession or in close proximity within a text. This is illustrated briefly in Texts A, B and C below:

- Text A

That belongs to that pool, a big snake.

You gotta throw sand in dere

to let im know when who you are.

Same when you swim in the Murchison River

...

So you gotta throw sand in.

That means you won't get sick.

And you're from that country

Or if you're a stranger

If I went down to Perth somewhere

Or xxx, I'd throw sand it it...

(Y96)
- Text B

J she came out like dat dere...

she nearly killed dat snake

A she stepped on the snake like dat

J Yeah.  
A She stepped on the snake (P19)

Text C

and he still comin back,  
comin back ome,  
...  
an e was drivin along,  
an xx he looked in is (rear) vision mirror  
and big light was behin im,  
so e didn't worry about it  
and e kept on goin along,  
an when e looked again  
it wasn't dere, xxxx,  
so e was driving along ... (Y44)

Another strategy, which indeed, as Christie (1997, p. 144) has noted, is not uncommon among non-Aboriginal Australians, is co-narration. This occurs when two speakers cooperate in relating a shared experience. Among Aboriginal narrators there is typically no competition for turns. While one is narrating the other typically engages in supportive backchannelling, with *yeah*, or *unna*. At some point the first speaker may yield the floor and the backchannelling may turn into a turn for the second speaker. Co-narration has its counterparts in traditional Aboriginal culture where, for example, in ceremonial song cycles, one singer might take over from another from time to time (Rochecouste and Malcolm 2000, p. 12).

We have space to mention just one further strategy and that is the use of *parataxis*, or the placing together of clauses without intervening conjunctions. This, like parallelism, is a strategy common to oral genres in other cultures and it may heighten the dramatic effect. It is particularly employed by Aboriginal narrators when they are using the hunting schema.

egs. 'ang back shot the kangaroo hit the part up there (P43)  
I jumped over the table busted up my nail (P28).

## Aspects of Schematic Patterning

A number of features perform the function of relating the discourse to the schema or schemas which are activated in the mind of the speaker while the discourse proceeds. These features link the speaker with the Aboriginal listener who can be assumed to have the same schema activated. However they often confuse the non-Aboriginal listener who does not share the schema which lends them meaning. Table 8 shows those schemas which occurred more than ten times in our data, in order of frequency of occurrence:



A schema may be shown in the organization of the discourse, as where, for example, the Travel schema (linking the present to the timeless past when spirit beings travelled the land, creating its features) generates a framework of moving and stopping within which the action is represented, or the Observing schema, where the discourse feature I have called *surveying* (Malcolm et al. 1999b) is used, giving equal attention to prominent and peripheral features of the scene being observed, thus following the pattern of observation of the environment which is basic to the life of a hunting and gathering community.

A second way in which the presence of schemas may be made apparent in the discourse is through allusion. It is sufficient for a speaker to include a single image in the discourse to evoke the schema of which it forms a part in the mind of the listener. These images have become familiar to the members of the speech community because of their repeated occurrence, but their significance would escape the listener who was not familiar with the schema with which they are associated. Scary Things schemas are particularly evoked by such images as 'he disappeared', 'I seen dis red eye', 'she seen all de mans comin', 'e looked in the (rear) vision mirror', 'we can 'ear dese people singin', 'the Indian was lookin' at 'im'. These are all associated in some way with avenging figures which come secretly and take people away. By extension, the same schema may evoke the experience of the 'stolen generation' who were taken from their parents early in the 20<sup>th</sup> century under Australian law. Other common allusions are to dogs barking, windows or doors being open and fences being scaled.

The existence of a shared schema means that it is not necessary for speakers to be very explicit. It is common knowledge, on the basis of the Hunting schema, for example, that establishing that a dead kangaroo you come across is still 'fresh' means that it is a potential meal, or on the basis of the Scary Things schema, that, if you see a bird or an animal behaving in an unusual way there is probably a spiritual explanation for this, or, on the basis of the family schema, that if an offence has been committed against a cousin, one may need to accept the responsibility for payback. At the same time, because of the assumption of shared schemas, speakers may often be deliberately vague, substituting the word 'thing' for any noun or verb, and breaking the normal rules of anaphora, by referring to elements not previously mentioned with 'that' or 'dat', as if they were a part of the co-text. With respect to such occurrences, Sharifian (2000a, p. 6) has suggested that the speakers are using *schema-based referencing* as opposed to text-based referencing.

## Genres: Comparisons between Perth and Yamatji Lands

Table 8 Genres: Comparisons Between Perth and Yamatji Lands

| Genres  | Yamatji | %   | Perth | %  | Total | %   |
|---|---------|-----|-------|----|-------|-----|
| Recount (1 <sup>st</sup> person)              | 52      | 48  | 55    | 55 | 107   | 51  |
| Recount (1 <sup>st</sup> person) blended with |         |     |       |    |       |     |
| - Dramatization                               |         |     | 6     | 6  | 6     | 3   |
| - Procedure                                   |         |     | 3     | 3  | 3     | 1   |
| - Narrative                                   |         |     | 3     | 3  | 3     | 1   |
| - Spinning a Yarn                             | 1       | 0.5 | 1     | 1  | 1     | 0.5 |
| - School News                                 |         |     |       |    |       |     |
| Recount (3 <sup>rd</sup> person)              | 19      | 18  | 4     | 4  | 23    | 11  |
| Recount (3 <sup>rd</sup> person) blended with |         |     |       |    |       |     |
| - Dramatization                               |         |     | 1     | 1  | 1     | 0.5 |
| - Joke  |         |     | 1     | 1  | 1     | 0.5 |
| Collaborative Recount                         |         |     | 6     | 6  | 6     | 3   |
| - 1 <sup>st</sup> person                      |         |     | 1     | 1  | 1     | 0.5 |
| - 3 <sup>rd</sup> person                      |         |     |       |    |       |     |
| Recount (1/2/3 Person)                        | 1       | 0.5 |       |    | 1     | 0.5 |
| (Total Recount)                               | 73      | 68  | 78    | 78 | 151   | 73  |
| Narrative                                     | 4       | 4   | 2     | 2  | 6     | 3   |
| Narrative blended with                        |         |     |       |    |       |     |
| - Recount (1 <sup>st</sup> pers)              |         |     | 4     | 4  | 4     | 2   |
| Collaborative Narrative                       |         |     | 2     | 2  | 2     | 1   |
| Report  |         |     |       |    |       |     |
| - generalized                                 | 1       | 0.5 | 1     | 1  | 2     | 1   |
| - particularized                              | 18      | 17  | 1     | 1  | 19    | 9   |
| - particularized, blended with dramatization  |         |     | 1     | 1  | 1     | 0.5 |
| Procedure                                     | 4       | 4   | 2     | 2  | 6     | 3   |
| Expository                                    | 1       | 0.5 | 4     | 4  | 5     | 2   |
| Explanation                                   | 1       | 0.5 | 1     | 1  | 2     | 1   |
| Discussion                                    | 1       | 0.5 |       |    | 1     | 0.5 |
| Conversation                                  |         |     | 1     | 1  | 1     | 0.5 |
| Joke  | 1       | 0.5 |       |    | 1     | 0.5 |

The data represented in Table 8 enable a number of observations to be made about the genres which occur in the collective repertoire of these Aboriginal speakers. First, with respect to the range of genres occurring, it is apparent, as we noted with respect to the Perth data (p.26), that it includes many of those which are represented in school curricula. The speakers here, left to choose their own genre in expressing themselves, obviously have a strong preference for the Recount, but they are not (as some writers have suggested) limited to that. Narrative, Expository, Report and Procedure are not genres beyond their communal repertoire, although it is clear that (with the possible exception of Report) they are not generally favoured means of expression.

Report is a case worth additional comment. It is clear that the speakers in the Yamatji lands used this genre much more frequently than the speakers in the Nyungar lands. When we look more closely at the reports, we see that they tend to be particularized in their content. The speakers are usually reporting on something which they observed, be it an incident, a feature of the environment, or the behaviour of a bird or animal. The speakers were addressing investigators who, they knew, had travelled some 400 kilometres or more from the city to reach the Yamatji Lands and they were usually using the Report genre to inform them of local features or events. The same motivation was not present among the Nyungar speakers who were Perth dwellers, speaking to Perth dwellers.

Another difference between the two populations which is worth noting is the greater frequency of use of the third person attributed recount among the Yamatji speakers. Such recounts might begin, for example, as follows:

‘My Dad told me this story once’ (Y51)  
 ‘My.. mob- my great grandfather he told my mum..  
 And e told my.. my mum’s grandmother  
 An my mum’s grandma told my mum mum  
 An my mum mum tole me...’ (Y30)  
 ‘Oh well this what my oldest brother reckon’ (Y58).

It is clear that Aboriginal informants are most comfortable using the first person recount form (as the figures show) where they are reporting only on what has happened to themselves. To report on what has been experienced by someone else is not normally one’s place, and one must use a disclaimer if doing so, to show that one has the authority to divulge this information. The constraint also applied among urban dwelling Aborigines, but it was clearly more strongly in evidence among the rural-dwelling people whom we interviewed.

This leads us to the other matter which obviously deserves comment: the prevalence of the first person Recount. Overwhelmingly, across both Aboriginal groups and all age groups, the preferred genre is the first person Recount. Does this represent, as has sometimes been suggested (e.g. Rose, Gray and Cowey 1999, p. 29) a communicative limitation, resulting from inadequate exposure to literate text models, or is it associated with a vigorous and strongly maintained tradition of oral verbal art? Our data clearly show that the Recount can be, among skilled Aboriginal exponents, an expressive genre of great subtlety and with multifunctional application. It is, for Aboriginal English speakers, the default genre, fitting, as it does, their interpersonal

style of neither speaking on behalf of others, nor distancing oneself from people by putting oneself forward as a source of information about the world.

The other matter from Table 8 requiring comment is the tendency on the part of the city dwelling (Nyungar) speakers to use what we have called 'generic blends'. Most commonly, we found that they combined the Recount with some other form, such as Narrative or Procedure or 'Dramatization,' showing, as we see it, a tendency to accommodate more than the Yamatji speakers to the norms of the vastly more numerous non-Aboriginal population around them. What we have called 'Dramatization' (see p.15) refers to a genre where the speaker strives for audience effect by using a punch line or exaggerated climax to an event they have experienced or observed.

## Educational Implications

The foregoing provides, I hope, evidence that Aboriginal students are accomplished learners of genres in their own communities, quite independently of what may go on at school. They can use a range of genres in relation to distinctive schemas to convey messages of diverse functions and they are familiar with the management of complex discourse skills.

### Learning About Genres

It is clear that Aboriginal students are likely to have done an excellent job of learning genres quite independently of what they do in school. In terms of learning *about* genres, Aboriginal students may be less well equipped, if only because Aboriginal learning tends not to focus on the analysis of the object of learning into its elements. It is not that Aboriginal students are unaware of the differences between the genres in their life experience. Aboriginal society delights in *yarning* and it is not uncommon for Aboriginal speakers, in the absence of non-Aboriginal people, to parody the genres they observe being conducted in 'flash English' by other Australians. Our informants occasionally gave parodies of school genres, such as the morning news session and the fairy story. They display, thus, intertextual competency up to a point even in the genres which are not a part of the Aboriginal culture. If the genres to which they are exposed are viewed holistically, Aboriginal students are likely to be readily able to identify them. However, Aboriginal students may be bewildered by attempts to reduce genres to structural formulae or boxes on paper representing their sequential stages.

With respect to the genres of their own communities, Aboriginal students possess significant interpretive skills. It has been argued on the basis of our data by Sharifian (2000b, p. 10) that Aboriginal children, by virtue of their participation in their own community, have access to what he calls *societal schemata*, or constructs which are held in common by members of the community and used to interpret experience. Such knowledge is used not only to interpret discursal phenomena but also songs, dances, paintings and other phenomena with meanings held in common by the group (p. 14). They may, indeed, be more familiar with intertextual interpretive practices across modes of expression than are many of their Western counterparts in the school setting.

### Learning Through Genres

Aboriginal students are also familiar, when they come to school, with learning *through* genres, although the genres through which they learn are not those valued by the school system. Oral discourse provides in many ways a foundation for the maintenance of Aboriginal cultural values. In the south west of Western Australia *yarning* provides a socially recognized means of sharing in and reinforcing group values and norms. Farzad Sharifian, in work associated with this research, has identified *yarning* as a societal schema and expressed it in a cultural script, following the Natural Semantic Metalanguage proposed by Wierzbicka (1996), as follows:

'For some time we say things to each other  
It is good if people say things like this to each other

Because we do this, we can know the same things  
It is good if we often do this kind of thing together.'

Through yarning, Aboriginal children hear about what they ought to know and what they ought not to inquire after; they see exemplified culturally valued patterns of behaviour and they see shamed behaviours which are dangerous or which contravene social norms; they see themselves as part of a community with common values.

Among the functions which we have seen yarning (usually identified as Recounts in our data) perform are: warning of the dangers of separation from the group; warning of the dangers of trespassing on others' territory; warning of the dangers of being curious about forbidden knowledge; providing patterns of persistence (a cultural value associated with hunting); providing patterns of payback in defence of relatives; providing patterns of respect for older people and people with spiritual powers; shaming those who show disrespect for the sacred snake; shaming those who lack fortitude; shaming those who obstruct the proper process of hunting and shaming those who have not acquired appropriate skills, like cooking.

Table 9

Illustrations of the Yarn as a Child-Rearing Device

**1. Warning of Dangers:**

**Getting Separated From the Group**

P44 Staying Awake

- 17 *The youngest one Shane*
- 18 *Like 'e jumped out of the car*
- 19 *and went to like-*
- 20 *we's all ready to go*
- 21 *'e jumped out of the blue car*
- 22 *to git in the red car*
- 23 *and 'is mum was lucky us kids seen on the potty*
- 24 *or we- 'e would a been there stuck*

**2. Exemplifying**

**Appropriate Patterns of Behaviour:**

**a) Persistence (in Hunting or Sport)**

P8 Koongamia Rabbiting Text

- 7 A: *um.. my uncle e got his gun out*
- 8 *E shot it in d leg*
- 9 *an e still runnin..*
- 10 *an in the head...*
- 11 *an it was still runnin..*
- 12 *an then.. my uncle said*
- 13 K: *He's still goin*
- 14 T: *Yeah... an you know where we*
- 15 *my uncle said*
- 16 *we have ta jump out*
- 17 *an bash him*
- 18 *and run off*
- 19 *and my brother... my big brother... e jus*
- 20 *hit him*
- 21 *e died*

P10 Visit to Dad (lines 30-97, describing kangaroo shooting)

P39 Cricket

**b) Respect for Older People and Special Powers**

P80 Roper River Story

*Errol (a father) tells his son (13) and daughter (21) a story about an old man, Jarrad Williamson, who was able to move from one place to another by strange powers*

### 3. Shaming Inappropriate Behaviours:

#### a) Failure to Respect the Environment

##### P1 At the Jetty

- 2 *and there was this jellyfish*  
3 *and this boy was messin around with it*  
4 *and um it slashed him across the arms...*  
8 *and that he went to the hospital*

##### Y100 Peeling Like a Snake

#### b) Being a Sissy

##### P14 Rock Fight

- 14 *an uh.. an I shrew shrew shrew anudder rock*  
15 *and it bounced off'is head like a bou- a*  
*basketball*  
16 *and when I went over to see*  
17 *e started balling 'is eyes out*  
18 *go to Mr B.. an all that*

#### c) Getting in the Way of the Hunter's Gun

##### P43 Playing/Hunting

- 27 *As we jus' about to aim at this kangaroo,*  
28 *Like Gordon*  
29 *'cause he think*  
30 *'e- 'e knew things all the time*  
31 *so 'e jumped right in the middle of us*  
32 *an' my uncle just about to shoot it*  
33 *but missed it*  
34 *J: Oh no*  
35 *D: An it was right up close*  
36 *'cause 'e bumped 'im*  
37 *'GORDON!'*  
38 *an' 'e goes*  
39 *'I'm sorry'*



**d) Cooking Something the Wrong Way**

P48 Bush Food at School

- 5 J: *Mr March cooked 'em*  
6 D: *They were half raw*  
7 J: *They were raw, weren't they?*  
8 *They weren't nice at all, yeah.*  
9 D: *Only part wasn't- was cooked- was- would be the*  
*onion*  
10 J: *Mm*  
11 D: *I was sittin' there tryin' to eat it too.*  
12 *U- it's sand*  
13 *too much sand*  
14 J: *Yeah*  
15 D: *xxx one little piece was um-*  
16 *'e should of done it that- that- um in the morning*  
*early*  
17 J: *[Morning] yeah early*  
18 D: *But 'e it about ten or something*  
19 J: *Yeah it's too late*  
20 D: *'e should of dag dug the- the day before*  
21 *An' got that- cook the wood*  
22 *'cause the wood took a long time*  
23 *an' they leave the ashes there*  
24 *that's what they should of done*  
25 *that's what my Dad said.*  
26 J: *Yeah, he didn't- he- he didn't have enough time*  
27 *he ran out of time, yeah*  
28 D: *'e should of asked for help*  
29 *Me and Frank would of 'elped im*

Perhaps more significantly, it is apparent that Aboriginal children characteristically use genres as a means of autonomous learning. This is why the Observing schema is so often employed. Aboriginal children repeatedly tell one another (and adults) what they have observed and in so doing they sharpen their powers of observation. But they also use other schemas: they tell one another about the encounters they have had with the spirit world, and in so doing they develop spiritual awareness; they tell one another about their frightening experiences, and so they objectify their fears and deal with them; they tell one another about foolish mistakes they have made, and so they reinforce their learning not to make such mistakes again.

Table 10  
Illustrations of the Yarn as a Means of Autonomous Learning

|  |   |
|--|---|
| 1. Reporting on Observations                     | <u>P83 Cathy Freeman’s Race</u><br>3 <i>I watched Cathy Freeman</i><br>4 <i>an me an my mum an sister</i><br>5 <i>an we all started to running</i><br>6 <i>and when she finished the race</i><br>7 <i>we all be quiet</i> |
| 2. relating experience to cultural schemas       | <u>P29 Song in my dream</u><br><u>P21 Front Door Open</u>   |
| 3. Checking Individual Against Shared Experience | <u>P37 Eating With Boys</u>   |
| 4. Objectifying Fears                            | <u>P17 Goanna</u><br><u>P31 Dream About my Dog</u>  |
| 5. Monitoring One’s Experience and Behaviour     | <u>P 38 High School</u><br><u>P41 Diving</u>  |

Aboriginal students, then, come to school experienced in learning genres, learning about genres and learning through genres, although their experience in the genres and schemas associated with school learning is limited. What, then, can schools do which will build on what such students already possess and empower them to participate effectively in society beyond their own communities?

**Extending Aboriginal Student Competencies in Genre**

*Learning Genres*

It is clear that Aboriginal students need to learn new genres and much valuable work has been achieved by the promoters of the genre approach in identifying and clarifying some of genres which need to be learned to enable further learning and the development of employable skills to take place. There are, as we have noted, cultural reasons why Aboriginal students prefer to use the Recount rather than other genres whenever possible, but one of the functions of the school must be to help them to extend the range of genres within which they can operate comfortably. As in all educational endeavours, it is important to move from the known to the unknown. This means from the oral to the written, from the experience-focused (Recount) to the content-focused (Narrative), objective description-focused (Report), process-focused (Procedure), cause-focused (Expository), etc. But none of these alternative ways of focusing the energies of the author should be seen as replacing the recount, since personal experience remains the bedrock on which all learning is built.

In extending the range of genres which students can employ it is important that Aboriginal students be clearly shown the differences in aim, context and structure of each new genre. As we have seen, nearly 20% of the genres we recorded from city-dwelling Aboriginal students were blends, attempting to combine discourse forms which are more effective if kept separate.

A further consideration is that, in teaching genres to Aboriginal students, teachers need to be aware of the important relationship between genres and schemas. While an Aboriginal student is working from a basis of schemas coming from his or her own culture it will be meaningless to impose on them a genre which associates with a different schema. In other words, the teacher needs to recognize that the forms of the expression of knowledge which are approved and maintained in the wider society relate to non-universal schemas which give them meaning. Even the problem-solution schema, which, while present in our data, is borrowed rather than native to Aboriginal speakers, is based on underlying notions about the active, rather than ecological, role of the human in relation to the environment. One way of exploring schemas, which teachers could easily employ, would be to ask their students to create chains of association around key words. This would show the extent to which shared knowledge was being invoked by the concepts in question. Another strategy would be to develop with the students an 'ideas map' on the blackboard (or equivalent) to provide an agreed schema relevant to the topic concerned before asking students to write in whatever the genre might be.

In all this, genres need to be taught within an atmosphere of inclusivity, so that they are seen as options which are open to the individual rather than as a prescribed pattern of behaviour based on the assumption that everyone is the same. No speaker of a non-standard dialect should be expected to surrender their dialect as a condition of education. Rather, the approach should be bidialectal, facilitating the effective and harmonious co-existence of alternative patterns of behaviour for alternative cultural settings. It is clear that the oral traditions of Aboriginal English speakers are an important part of Australia's cultural tradition and deserve maintenance within, not only outside of, education systems.

### ***Learning About Genres***

When it comes to learning about genres, the range of genres about which students learn should be extended. It is probably not appropriate for non-Aboriginal students to be expected to learn to use Aboriginal English genres. (Later, perhaps, this may be desirable for those who will be working within Aboriginal communities). However, all students who share in the same education system should be aware of one another's genres and able to appreciate them in their place.

It is important that learning about genres should not be interpreted as learning to analyse genres. We have observed that Aboriginal students are holistic rather than analytic learners and will respond best to holistic approaches to the presentation of knowledge. They characteristically have well developed powers of observation, and these powers should be drawn upon in the education system. Aboriginal students can effectively parody non-Aboriginal genres that they might not be able to analyse. Such skills suggest that genres can be reproduced without being analysed. The use of plan boxes for genre writing may not be helpful to Aboriginal students and may even get in the way of their employing their more holistic imitative skills.

### ***Learning Through Genres***

There is much evidence, dating back over many years (Malcolm 1979) that the instructional genres employed by teachers do not always facilitate the participation of Aboriginal students. They tend to be intimidated by the situation where they are expected to make responses to the teacher with the whole class as an audience. They

crave the company of their peers and often try to interact on a group basis rather than individually with the teacher. It would be wrong to assume from this, as we have seen, that Aboriginal students lack the capacity to learn through genres. They have learned effectively through such genres as yarning and multi-modal communicative experiences in out-of-school settings. Their non-conformist behaviours in school are simply an indication on that the genres through which instruction is being given to them are inappropriate. It is, then, important that teachers of Indigenous students should learn about their existing patterns of learning and attempt at least to compromise with these in the way in which school learning is conducted. It should be remembered, as Paltridge (1995) has pointed out, that genres are learned through intertextual processes. Aboriginal students may lack the background in supportive genres to be able to quickly recognize or conform to genres which are given prominence in school. Where this is the case, teachers should inform themselves of the repertoire of genres which students are exposed to outside the school and not place unrealistic demands on the students.

Ideally, Aboriginal students should have as many experiences as possible of peer-learning, since that will enable them to negotiate the genres appropriate for their learning rather than having to conform to whole-class patterns suiting the non-Aboriginal majority. And teachers should learn from the fact that Aboriginal students are experienced autonomous learners who know the value of discourse as a learning tool. Learning experiences should be devised which will tap into these skills.

### **Conclusion**

Until recently, little has been known of the naturalistic English discourse skills of Aboriginal children, because most educationally oriented studies have ignored their out-of-classroom performance and concentrated on changing their behaviours as quickly as possible through classroom instruction. In my view, the genre approach, as it has been interpreted in most Australian schools, has tended to follow this pattern. An alternative pattern is proposed here, according to which capacities of Aboriginal students to learn, learn about and learn through genres in their own communities should be understood, recognized and built on by educators in an overall bidialectal framework.

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# **APPENDIX A**

**Summary of Analyses**

**and**

**Detailed Analyses of Selected Texts**

### Summary Analyses of 14 Texts

| TEXT                         | SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE                           |  |                                |   | DISCOURSE FEATURES              |   |  |  |
|------------------------------|---|--|--------------------------------|---|---------------------------------|---|--|--|
|                              | Schema  | Allusions  | Schema-derived strategies      | Hybrid features   | Generic structure               | Expressive devices  | Cohesive devices   | Hybrid features                                      |
| P13 The Bloke with a Shotgun | Travel/ Problem-Solution                      | Jumping fence  | Demonstratives (shared schema) | P-S structure; unnamed protagonist; Aussie lexis            | 1 pers recount/ narrative       | Parallelism (2 parallel episodes); <i>well</i> information signal |  | Starts as recount, switches to narrative; punch line |
| P14 Rock Fight               | Hunting                                       | Walking along fence; missed  | Persistence                    | Individual protagonist; one central action; boys' lexis     | Collaborative recount 1 pers    | Parallelism   |  |  |
| P15 The Baby Sharks          | Travel/ Observing/ Problem-Solution           | We went to...  |                                | Starts with travel & observing schemas, then problem solutn | . Recount 1 pers/ Dramatization | Parallelism (2 parallel episodes)                                 |  | Punch line   |
| P20 Koongamia Football       | Observing/Family                              | Watchin; Kin terms (cousin, uncle, brother)  | Surveying                      |   | Recount 1 pers                  |   |  |  |
| P21 Front Door Open          | Scary Things/Rationaliz ing/ Problem-Solution | Door open; night time; Aboriginal law; looking for                                   |                                | Adolescent lexis; Explanation (rationalization)             | Recount 1 pers                  | Parallelism   | Indefinite extension: <i>and that</i> ; exemplification: <i>like</i> |  |
| P23 Little Black Shadows     | Scary Things/ Rationaliz-ing                  | dog barking; nothing was there; wudachies; alone in bed                              |                                | Explanation (rationalization)                               | Recount 1 pers                  | Parallelism   | Exemplification: <i>like</i>   |  |
| P26 Thought I Could Fly      | Trial and Error                               |  |                                |   | Report 1 pers/ Dramatization    |   | Interactive unit marker: <i>you know</i>                             | Dramatization; punch line                            |
| P27 Weirdest Dream           | Scary Things                                  | 'all the little kids were tryin to run for the ouse'<br>'they was ..tryin to get me' |                                | Dream frame for story with sensitive content                | Recount 1 pers/ Dramatization   | Clause-final (suspensory) <i>there</i> ; parallelism              | Interactive unit marker: <i>you know</i>                             |  |

|                      |                                     |   |  |  |  |   |  |  |
|----------------------|-------------------------------------|---|--|--|--|---|--|--|
| 28 That Movie        | Scary Things                        | black (night); open blind; someone; watching er; out the window                             |  |  | Recount 1 pers/ Dramatization                    | Parataxis;  | Exemplification: <i>like</i> ; Explanatory <i>cause</i> ; Interactive unit marker: <i>you know</i>           |  |
| 29 Song in My Dream  | Travel/ Scary Things/ Rationalizing | Singing; Up north   |  | Dream frame for story with spiritual content         |  | Parallelism (2 part structure: past experience/ present relevance; also parallel lines).                      | Interactive unit markers: <i>you know</i> , <i>ay</i> ; Explanatory <i>cause</i> ; demonstratives to profile |  |
| 35 Noise in a Duplex | Scary Things                        | Jump our fence; someone; Knocking on window; Context of moving around                       |  | Anticlimax (the 'someone' was Dad)                   | Recount 1 pers; Complex (non-linear) progression | Parallelism (2 part structure: Generalization/ Exemplification; also parallel lines).                         | Interactive unit marker: <i>you know</i> ; Explanatory <i>cause</i>  |  |
| P39 Cricket          | Hunting                             | miss it; after that ..big feed; identified participants; persistence; travel context; fence |  |  | Recount 1 pers                                   | Parallelism (2 part structure: generalization/ exemplification); successive subject deletion                  | Exemplification: <i>like</i> ; Explanatory <i>cause</i> . Contadictory extension: <i>well</i>                |  |
| P44 Staying Awake    | Hunting (Spotting)                  |   |  |  | Recount 1 pers (with flashback)                  | Parallelism (2 part structure: leaving the group by falling asleep, or being left behind); Lexical repetition | Explanatory <i>cause</i> .   |  |
| P65 Twin Witches     | Scary Things/ Magic                 | 'scarin all the kids.. takin some' kids and dogs lost                                       |  | Western ghost story affected by Scary Things schema. | Narrative  |   |  |  |





## Detailed Analyses of Texts

### P13 The Bloke With a Shotgun

Text P13 represents a modification of the Problem-Solution schema, under the influence of an Aboriginal English discourse pattern.

#### *Schematic Structure*

##### Episode 1

- |                          |           |
|--------------------------|-----------|
| 1. Situation/Orientation | lines 1-4 |
| 2. Problem/Complication  | lines 8-9 |
| 3. Solution              | line 10   |

##### Episode 2

- |                          |              |
|--------------------------|--------------|
| 1. Situation/Orientation | line 11      |
| 2. Problem/Complication  | line 12      |
| 3. Solution              | lines 13-15  |
| 4. Evaluation/Coda       | lines 16-17. |

Thus, in its schematic pattern this narrative brings together the non-Aboriginal preferred pattern of the Problem-Solution structure with the Aboriginal English pattern of parallel episodes.

#### *Discourse Features*

1. The protagonists and antagonists are unnamed.
2. There is a predominance of demonstratives (4) and definite articles (4) over indefinite articles (2) which might imply the assumption of a shared schema. However, it is also possible that the demonstratives are being used to function in a similar way to indefinite articles.
3. There are a number of lexical selections which have an Aboriginal English flavour: 'bloke' (lines 2, 12); 'e,'s' (line 12); 'took off' (line 10) and 'jarred' (line 17).
4. There is a 'punch line' (line 16).

### P14 Rock Fight

Text P14, 'Rock Fight' is informed by the hunting schema, though it is dealing with an activity other than hunting.

#### *Schematic Structure*

1. We cannot comment on space/time orientation, since the narrator may have taken this as already given, as this narrative abruptly followed another.
2. There is no travel context, nor any pattern of moving and stopping activity, nor is there any frame suggesting going out and coming back.
3. The protagonist is an individual.
4. The hunting schema may be observed in the way in which the fight is described:

|                        |              |
|------------------------|--------------|
| threw                  | line 7       |
| missed                 | line 9       |
| backed, cornered       | lines 10, 11 |
| threw                  | line 12      |
| it bounced off is head | line 15.     |

The schema dictates the same attention to detail and the same foregrounding of persistence which were apparent in the story from the Yamatji Lands, although it is much shorter and has only one episode.

### Discourse Features

1. As in the Yamatji Lands text, parallelism or repetition are employed (lines 1-3; 5-6).
2. This account contrasts with the Yamatji one in that it does not employ 'surveying' but concentrates only on the central action.
3. Indefinite articles outnumber definite articles and demonstratives, suggesting that there is no assumption of a schema which is shared with the interlocutors (who included the friend who was being talked about in the story, but also the interviewer who was a middle aged non-Aboriginal woman).
4. There is one recurrent image, 'fence' (lines 5, 6, 11), which we have found in some stories from the Yamatji lands, and which, according to the Aboriginal research assistants on the team, frequently enters into oral narratives. Perhaps there is a sense, also, of a metaphorical fence, in the person of the authority figure who is alluded to in line 18.
5. The discourse incorporates some fixed expressions which are a part of what we might call 'boys' talk' and which are not distinctive to Aboriginal speakers: 'muckin around', 'bawling 'is eyes out.'

## P15 The Baby Sharks

Text P15, 'The Baby Sharks' is an interesting example which exhibits blending in its schematic structure.

### Schematic Structure

## Episode 1

- |                                |        |
|--------------------------------|--------|
| 1. Time/space orientation      | line 1 |
| 2. Initiation of travel schema | line 2 |
| 3. Hunting schema: capture     | line 4 |
| observation                    | line 5 |

## Episode 2

- |                          |            |
|--------------------------|------------|
| 1. Situation             | lines 6-13 |
| 2. Complication          | line 14    |
| 3. Resolution/Punch line | line 15.   |

The narrator has, then, started off following an indigenous schematic pattern and then shifted to a non-indigenous one.

## P20 Koongamia Football

In the following example of ‘surveying’, S, a six year old girl, is describing to L, an Aboriginal Islander Education Worker, an event at the football where her uncle ventured onto the field to recover his baby daughter who had crawled onto the field and, while he was doing so, was struck on the head with the ball.

- 1 S: Dey got little cousin  
2 L: Yeah

- 3 S: And they little cousin crawled in the way  
 4 and...Uncle Steve..he- oh he got hit..  
 5 and there (gesture indicating the head)..  
 6 annnd like we watched Freda Bickley play-  
 7 thas her name..  
 8 an 'er baby was like.. she's a nice girl wid about ten names..  
 9 an' I was only watchin' Uncle Steve watchin' football.

With respect to the use of this style, it should be noted that:

- a) the focal event of the story (line 4) is not treated as a 'climax' is treated in a story following Western conventions; it is embedded in the overall depiction of the ongoing activities, not reserved special treatment at the end;
- b) the focal event is told with an inattention to detail recoverable from context or common knowledge, e.g. the fact that the baby crawled in the way *of the players* (line 3), and that Uncle Steve *went onto the field* (line 4) to recover her; in this sense, the narrator treats the listener inclusively with herself as a vicarious co-participant in the event and presumes upon her inferential skills to fill in the detail;
- c) the use of the past continuous to depict the narrator as present throughout the events (line 9), in contrast with the events described using the simple past tense (lines 3, 4, 6);
- d) the inclusion of peripheral detail about Freda Bickley - a person unknown to the interlocutor (hence the interpolation 'thas her name' in line 7);
- e) the apparent equal attention given to the baby of Freda Bickley even though she is not an active participant in the events;
- f) the balance achieved between the parent and baby in the focal event with a parent and baby to whom nothing unexpected happens, enabling the extraordinary to be viewed as co-existing with the ordinary.' (Malcolm et al 1999b, p. 50-51)

## P21 Front Door Open

The narrative P21, following the Scary Things schema, clearly makes a significant allusion to the 'open door'.

### *Schematic Structure*

1. The space/time orientation is in line 1, and it is night time.
2. A door which had been shut has been found open (lines 1-4).
3. The mother of the protagonist wakes her up to explain what is happening.
4. The explanation is given (lines 6-15).
5. The explanation is reaffirmed (lines 16-17).
6. The consequential action is taken (line 19).

### *Discourse Features*

1. The protagonist is first person.
2. There is a clear pattern of repetition/parallelism (lines 1, 3-4, 18; 7, 10; 13, 17).
3. Lines 2 and 5 have a final 'and that' indefinite extension, which is not uncommon in Aboriginal English discourse.
4. Line 16 conflates thinking and saying, something which is commonly found in the Yamatji texts but there the verb 'reckon' is used.
5. The speaker uses a number of typical adolescent narrative features:

'she's saying' (lines 6, 9); 'we're oh yeah right whatever' (line 8); 'n yeah' (line 20) and 'like' (lines 2, 4).

### **P23 Little Black Shadows**

Text P23 came from a secondary school girl in the city. It is among those derived from the 'Scary Things' schema, and, in particular, the stories of the little people, but it has some differences from stories of this type recorded in the Yamatji lands.

#### ***Schematic Structure***

1. There is a time/space orientation in line 1 and it is clear that the story takes place at night.
2. The protagonist (who is not the narrator) is alone in bed (alone in the sense that the others, though present, are sleeping).
3. The protagonist sees small creatures, first as shadows, then as 'Woodachies'
4. The dog barks.
5. The mother of the narrator investigates.
6. 'Nothing was there.'
7. There is a reprise of lines 4-7 (lines 8-9)
8. Finally, there is an explanation.

#### ***Discourse Features***

1. The protagonist is in the third person and not named.
2. The word 'cause' is used in line 10 with the normal causal meaning.
3. An equal number of definite and indefinite articles (2 of each) is used, suggesting that there is no strong sense of a shared schema.

### **P26 Thought I Could Fly**

This text is a good illustration of the alternating use of interactive and narrative idea units.

Narrative idea units (which may be compared, in some respects to Todorov's 'cardinal functions' (See Barthes, 1996):

- are based in the world being evoked
- typically employ verbs of action
- may involve dramatization
- may carry involvement markers (e.g. *just*)
- may carry explanatory unit markers (e.g. *cause...*)
- may be signalled with an exemplification maker (*like*)
- are often introduced with a coordinating conjunction (e.g. *And...*)

Interactive idea units (which may be compared, in some respects to Todorov's 'catalysers' (See Barthes, 1996):

- are based in the world of the narrator (speaker and hearer/s)
- typically employ verbs of personal state or feeling
- may use continuous aspect (denoting agreed habitual action)
- may use deictic expressions to locate the narrative world in space/time
- often carry displacement markers (e.g. *cause; you know; true*, etc).

|   |   |                           |
|---|---|---------------------------|
| [I just jumped off the thing]             | a | narrative                 |
| I thought I could fly like ya know        | b | interactive               |
| I thought the wind could hold me up a bit | b | interactive               |
| I jumped off                              | a | narrative                 |
| and next minute I hurt my tummy           | c | narrative                 |
| I'm like (pretending to cry)              | c | narrative (dramatization) |
| I jus felt so sick                        | c | interactive               |

(The text also illustrates parallelism, shown with the letters a, b, c).

## P27 Weirdest Dream

This text also illustrates the alternation of narrative and interactive idea units.

|   |   |             |
|---|---|-------------|
| 1 P: [I had] I had the most weirdest dream once             | a | narrative   |
| 2 it was about two years ago                                | b | interactive |
| 3 we all was at a party                                     | c | narrative   |
| 4 at my Aun at my Auntie's 'ous there                       | d | interactive |
| 5 L: [I got a spin out one]                                 |   |             |
| 6 P: next minute these kangaroos with spears come along     | e | narrative   |
| 7 an' trying to kill us                                     | f | narrative   |
| 8 Ooh boy ( <i>laugh</i> )                                  |   |             |
| 9 no but it was so scary you know                           | g | interactive |
| 10 an' all the little kids were trying to run for the 'ouse | h | narrative   |
| 11 'n' I was out there                                      | i | narrative   |
| 12 an' I picked up my little cousin                         | j | narrative   |
| 13 I just ran   | k | narrative   |
| 14 I was crying   | l | narrative   |
| 15 an' oh boy it was scary true                             | m | interactive |
| 16 they was with spears trying to get me                    | e | narrative   |
| 17 ooh no (7.7)   | g | interactive |

(as in the previous text, parallelism is shown by a, b, c, etc.).

## P28 That Movie

An analysis of this text is given above under 'Aspects of Discourse Structuring'.

## P29 Song in My Dream

### *Schematic Associations*

This narrative, like many which we have recorded by Aboriginal students, has an overall preoccupation with the interrelationship of physical and spiritual experience. The framework of a 'dream' story provides a ready structure in which such subject matter can be communicated, especially when one is speaking to a non-Aboriginal person. As Arthur (1996, p. 10) has correctly observed, Aboriginal English maintains the Aboriginal understanding that the 'spiritual world is everywhere manifested in the physical.' But there is a further level of spiritual association in this story. It is concerned with a message being sung. Singing, in traditional Aboriginal society, was a powerful way of accessing spiritual forces. Gill (1998, p. 169), referring to the work

of Strehlow, notes: 'Songs are often sung to prevent or to inflict injury or sickness...Some songs have the power of charms, to bring about changes in the weather, for example, or to attract a person of the opposite sex. Songs certainly are considered powerful and efficacious.' South-west Aboriginal people are well aware of the spiritual power of singing. One of the ways in which this awareness is maintained is through oral art. Here, whether consciously or not, L has drawn on this cultural schema and given expression to the power of song to bring a spiritual message. In lines 24-27 the teacher attempts to read a meaning into what L has said, but her meaning is not taken up by L.

One other schematic association is worthy of comment, and that is contained in the first six lines. At the outset, L puts her narrative within the framework of travelling around the country. In many of our narratives especially from rural dwelling Aboriginal people, the travel schema is fundamental to the structure of the story. Here it does not form the main framework but it is implied.

### *Narrative Structure*

We can observe, with respect to the narrative structure of L's story (as we will with all the narratives we look at) that it is in two parts. The first part extends from lines 1 to 15 and is concerned with the past experience of the narrator; the second part extends from lines 16 to 23 and is concerned with the present relevance of that past experience. At a more fine-grained level we can see that L is communicating her narrative in a patterning of units which I call *narrative idea units* and *interactive idea units*. The former are embedded within the world of the narrative and carry the story forward. The latter are less frequent, but move into the here-and-now world of the interaction and are concerned with the understanding and empathy of the hearer. Interactive idea units are in lines 10 ('you know what it was?'), 16 ('I still have that dream you know'), 19 ('I think it's a message or something') and 22 ('I just loved it, ay').

### *Discourse Markers*

L makes use of three discourse markers which are commonly found in Aboriginal English narratives. In line 16 she uses the tag 'you know'. This has the purpose of marking an interactive idea unit. It shows that the listener's awareness is important to the speaker. In line 17 she uses what I call 'explanatory 'cause''. This should not be confused with the conjunction 'because' which signals the reason for something. Rather, it is used to signal something that the listener needs to know to understand or interpret what has gone before. The third discourse marker is the tag 'ay', which, like 'you know' marks an interactive idea unit, but has the additional sense of soliciting confirmation, whether verbal or non-verbal.

### *Expressive Discourse Strategies*

A common device in oral narrative in many parts of the world is parallelism, or the restatement of something often with some modification. This is also common in Aboriginal English oral narrative. We see it in lines 12 and 15, lines 15 and 21 and lines 19 and 22 (though in this latter case it is probably simply the retrieval of a previously interrupted utterance). L also uses non-verbal expressions as expressive devices, in lines 12 ('oohh') and 23 ('Mmmm'). A third device, also typical of Aboriginal English discourse is the use of the demonstrative 'this' to bring certain elements from the background of her story into profile, as in the case of 'this funny

dream' (line 7), 'this book shelf' (line 9) and 'this song' (line 10), clearly the most salient elements in the story.

### **P35 Noise in a Duplex**

Text P35 is a further extract from the same conversation, this time with 'A' doing the narration.

#### ***Schematic Associations***

A, like L, is concerned with the interrelation of physical and spiritual experience. Aboriginal English narratives are typically about known and named persons, but there is one exception. There is a narrative tradition derived from a schema I have elsewhere described in the words of one of our Aboriginal research assistants as 'scary things' (Malcolm 2000d) in which the words 'someone' or 'something' are used to refer to visitants who are unknown and only vaguely, if at all, perceived. A in this story is invoking this tradition. Her story, however, perhaps because of the presence of the non-Aboriginal teacher, does not claim to present an actual visitation, but rather a hoax. It is noteworthy that, as in the story by L, the schema of travelling around is present in the background, in that A locates her experience in one of the stopping places of her past experience.

#### ***Narrative Structure***

The narrative structure of A's story, like that of L, is in two parts. The first part takes up lines 1-22 and is concerned with generalization about experience; the second part takes up lines 26 to 39 and provides an exemplification to support the generalization. The distinctness of the two structures is clearly seen if we examine the verbs and discourse markers involved. The first part employs the imperfect tense consistently. 'Used to', sometimes reduced to 'used', occurs 8 times. It also repeatedly marks idea units as interactive, using 'you know' four times. By contrast, the second half has no verbs in the imperfect and no interactive idea units, but is fully oriented to the narrative.

#### ***Discourse Markers***

We have noted the use of the discourse marker 'you know' (lines 7, 9 and 17). Two other discourse markers are used. In lines 6 and 7 we see the use of explanatory 'cause, in the same way in which L used it, to introduce a sequence which provides detail for the explanation of what has gone before. The other prominent discourse marker is 'Jus like', in line 26, which marks the introduction of the second section of the text (the exemplification).

#### ***Expressive Discourse Strategies***

Two expressive discourse strategies are worthy of mention in this text. The first is the parallelism which we find in lines 27-33. We observed parallelism in L's text but the process is a little more complex here. Three cases of parallelism appear to be embedded, wholly or partly, in one another. At the widest level, line 27 'I heard someone' has its echo in line 33, 'He can hear me.' The anxiety of contact with the unknown in line 27 is balanced with the relief of contact with the known in line 33. Then the significant words 'someone knockin' on my window' in line 28 have their exact echo in line 31. Meanwhile the response of the narrator is incompletely expressed in line 29 and completed in line 32. Clearly the movement of the narrative



is complexly patterned, not following the linear progression which standard English requires. Yet the story does follow a non-Aboriginal pattern in the way in which it employs another expressive device, a punch line (lines 38-39) to provide an impactful conclusion.

### **P39 Cricket**

#### ***Schematic Associations***

This is an example of a sporting story which is schematically organized according to the hunting schema. Hunting stories are a popular traditional genre among Aboriginal people, especially males, in more remote and rural areas, but the hunting schema is still accessed by metropolitan Aborigines and may be used as a framework for the representation of sporting events. The hunting schema (see Malcolm and Rochecouste 2000) typically has four main elements: the observation, the chase, the kill and the feed. Stories following this schema commonly employ various suspensory devices, stressing the need for persistence on the part of the hunter. D is a boy about 13 years of age, speaking with 'J', the same teacher who was addressed in the other extracts. As is common in a hunting story (since it is important that nobody gets lost) he identifies the participants by name (lines 17-19). He shows the need for persistence on the part of the team (since their win nearly got away from them) (lines 20-33) and he rounds the match off, in the same way as a hunting trip is rounded off, with a feed (lines 38-41). It is also important to note that, as in the case of the previous narratives, the event is put in the context of travel around the state (line 8).

#### ***Narrative Structure***

Like some previous narratives, this one has a two-part structure. It is similar to A's narrative in that it begins with a generalization about experience (in lines 1-11) and then gives an exemplification (lines 12-41) but in this case the exemplification is presented as a special case which contradicts the experience which has been generalized about.

#### ***Discourse Markers***

D uses three discourse markers. In lines 5 and 13 'like' (which corresponds to 'Jus like' which was used by A) performs the function of leading in to an exemplification. In line 21, in common with the two previous narrators, D uses explanatory 'cause' to provide the background to what he has already spoken about. The other discourse marker is one not encountered before. It is the use of 'well' to introduce a contradictory extension, in line 12.

#### ***Expressive Discourse Strategies***

A common strategy used in hunting stories is to introduce a subject, then use a succession of verbs relating to it without repeating the subject. D uses this strategy in a limited way in lines 31-33. The effect is one of heightened anticipation of the kill (or in this case, the win). It is noteworthy that, in describing what we might perceive as a single action, the hitting of a four, D uses 6 verbs, showing observation of all the details of the ball's course (lines 27-33).

## **P44 Staying Awake**

This is a later extract from the interaction between D and his teacher. D is describing what went on on a 'spotting' expedition, where a group of people went out in the dark, driving around with a spotlight looking for kangaroos.

### ***Schematic Associations***

There is one fundamental underlying schema in this narrative. It is a schema in which the group of people involved in the event share a reciprocal awareness and responsibility for one another. This is expressed in D's desire not to go to sleep first, which would isolate him from the group and what they are doing, and it is also expressed in the concern for Shane, who nearly gets left behind. Aboriginal English discourse abounds in stories which underline the importance of doing things together and stress the foolishness or peril of going it alone.

### ***Narrative Structure***

As in a number of previous narratives, we find that this one is structured in two parts. The first part, lines 1-12 is concerned with the narrator's leaving the group by falling asleep, and the second part, lines 13-28 is concerned with Shane's leaving the group by jumping out of the car. The two halves are clearly distinguished in the grammatical selections they entail. In the first half there is greater employment of existential verbs, imperfect tense and the progressive aspect, showing that, as in the case of text P35, the narration commences in a generalized way. The second half, which is strongly narrative, predominantly employs verbs in the simple past tense.

### ***Discourse Markers***

For the fourth time in four texts, we find the explanatory 'cause being used. It occurs in line 2, leading in to an explanation of why it was not a good thing for D to go to sleep first. The other marker employed in this text is 'like' with the sense of exemplification, as used in texts P35 and P39. We find it in lines 3, 5 and 9. In the latter instance, like functions in the phrase 'I'm like' as a direct speech introducer.

### ***Expressive Discourse Strategies***

In lines 7 and 8 we see direct speech interpolated into the narrative with no phrase identifying the speaker. This is not uncommon in Aboriginal English and is also found in some Aboriginal languages and in oral narrative in other parts of the world. Line 28 appears to represent another example of this strategy, and it also illustrates another common Aboriginal stylistic device: lexical repetition. The other strategy which marks this text is the use of flashback in lines 2 - 11. D tells of his going to sleep in the first line, but from lines 2-10 he is detailing the struggle he had made to prevent this happening. It is not until line 12 that the story resumes with his waking up. Again, we see that the narrative is not constrained by the kind of linear progression that would be expected in a story in standard English.

## **P65 Twin Witches**

This text appears to be an attempt on the part of an Aboriginal child speaker to bring together elements of Western ghost stories and the Aboriginal stories of the stolen children. In Lines 19, 22, and 23, for example, the speaker juxtaposes 'scarin'' and 'takin'', which represent non-Aboriginal ghost stories and Aboriginal stolen

generation stories respectively. This passage reflects a certain degree of struggle on the part of the speaker to work out her way by drawing on Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal schemas and this appears to lead to a state of hanging in-between and communicative malfunctioning towards the end where the ghosts turn out to be 'good witches'. The utterance 'o-oh ok' is also a witness to an absence of a clear schematic anchor point for the speaker to continue.

## **APPENDIX B**

### **Transcripts of Texts P1-100**

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\*P1 At the Jetty

\*"Derryn" 11/12 y.o. talking with interviewer Ann Davidson  
1977 Midvale #185

1 D: we went swimming down at the old jetty  
2 and there was this jellyfish  
3 and this boy was messin around with it  
4 and um it slashed him across the arms-  
5 I: oh.. Man of War was it?  
6 One of those jellyfish with things trailing after  
them?  
7 D: yeah  
8 and that he went to the hospital

+++++

\*P2 At the Pictures

\*"Derryn" 11/12 y.o. talking with interviewer Ann Davidson  
1977 Midvale #185

1 D: and.. Every night we went to the pictures  
2 I: yeah  
3 D: and um.. one night I went to the pictures  
4 and I just had shorts..  
5 and I'd come back from swimming  
6 and I had my bathers top on  
7 and my sister says "you're not sitting with me  
8 you're not dressed properly!"  
9 I: (laughed) And what did you do?  
10 D: I just sat there I didn't mind what she said.

+++++

\*P3 Bush Animals

\*Midvale Primary School pupils: 4 boys (Age 6) interviewed  
by Kaye Thies, 1977 (MVKT4 #182)

1 A: Well, you know my auntie.  
2 My auntie xxxx first.  
3 We went to bush-  
4 she had the turn- she had a turn at the bushes, inna  
(?) xxx?  
5 B: Yeah.

6 A: And then I was down the swamp

7 seen bobtails an' all that.

8 C: Mrs. J\_, we we've caught a lot of bobtails

9 and we took them to the zoo.

10 I: Did you?

11 D: Yeah.

12 B: Zoo.

13 D: Zoo. It's a zoo.

14 All: Zoo.

15 D: We went to the zoo.

16 All: xxx

17 A: We saw a big-- I saw a big monkey an' he peed (?).

18 All: (laugh) 165

+++++

\*P4 Rocky Pool/Hunting

\*Tape KTMV4 #182 Midvale 4 boys (Age 6) 1977

1 C: We shoot kangaroos.

2 A: We don't. (?)

3 I: Where was that?

4 C: At um Rocky Pool.

5 I: At Rocky Pool.

6 A: I saw I saw-

7 C: Yeah, my uh-- my unc- my unc-my brother-in-law-my  
brother-in-law-my  
brother-in-law he pick a bobtail, dead one.

8 A: I saw- I saw- I saw- I saw bobtail in the bushes.

9 I: Did he, C? What did you see, A?

10 A: I saw a kangaroo dead bobtail.

11 D: Bobtail and my xxx.

12 A: Dad keeps goin' in the shop o' some butcher.

13 D: Dat's a very xxx

14 I: What else have you seen in the bush? 105

15 D: I see-e-e lizard.

16 I: Yes.

17 D: One lizard. And I sa-a-a-w snake.

18 C: Why are we not allowed 'o talk 'n this(?)?

19 D: Cattle(?) snake. And I saw I saw xxxx.

20 I: Why?

21 C: Why are we allow allowed 'o talk into this(?)?

[tapping]

22 B: And I saw I saw a dead chicken.  
23 C: xxx  
24 I: Did you? Where-- where's that A?  
25 A: At the bushes at Rocky Pool.  
26 B: No my dad um my dad um took-- cooked that for dinner.  
27 I: Did he?  
28 B: We had duck (?).  
29 I: Where'd he come from A?  
30 A: The bushes.  
31 D: And it came from the--came from the swamp.  
32 I: From the swamp.  
33 D: Yes.  
34 I: Mm-m.  
35 D: We catch emu.  
36 A: xxx  
37 D: And my uncle he got a gun  
38 I: Has he?  
39 D: Some real bullets...and some real gun  
40 and we go hunting me and my pop and 'im and my fr- my  
friend  
41 A: I'm goin' to lunch now. I'm hungry.  
42 D: an' my uncle my friend and in Adobe (?)  
43 xxx emu emu.  
44 That's- that's where we catch emu in the bush. 122

+++++

\*P5 Dad's Trip

\*Tape MVKT4 #182, 1997 Midvale Primary School: 4 boys (age  
6) interviewed by Kaye Thies

1 A: And..my dad... they went to Ger'lton  
2 I: Yeah  
3 A: And he got drunk  
4 I: Did he?  
5 A: Yeah  
6 I: Why?  
7 A: He drink 'im a bottle of beer  
8 I: Yeah  
9 A: He let me have beer too  
10 I: Did he drink too much?  
11 B: Yeah  
12 A: xx a lot.

13 He he he he forgot to ..some..give me some

+++++

\*P6 The Bobtail

\* #185 Derryn (age 11/12) interviewed by Anne Davidson at  
Midvale P.S. 25.10.77

1 D: well I was having a bath..  
2 and um.. the water turned red  
3 and just as I was getting out of the bath  
4 well we lived at this little place  
5 an there's a bush [ an xxxx  
6 I: [-this in Broome? back in  
Broome?  
7 D: yeah.. an dere's.. there's lots of bobtails  
8 I: yeah  
9 D: an I was in the bath  
10 an I was gettin dressed  
11 I got dressed  
12 and I trod on this bobtail..  
13 an I slipped over  
14 and I was screaming  
15 and um.. Ann come in  
16 and she was trying to hit the bobtail with a  
pool.. pool table  
stick  
17 cause there's a pool table at the front..  
18 and um.. it got stuck on the end of the stick  
19 and it wouldn't come off..  
20 and there.. and um that night there's about Seven  
bobtails in in the bedroom..  
21 an I wouldn't sleep on the foldup bed  
22 I was scared they would get on the bed..  
23 an that night that night I wouldn't go to sleep  
24 I was scared of the bobtails.

+++++

\*P7 Home Invasion

\*Coolbellup Tape 2 #172

Text withdrawn due to bereavement

+++++

\*P8 Koongamia Rabbiting Text

\*Tape #059 recorded by Louella Eggington 29.5.97.

\*T, S, A = Aboriginal boy students (age 9/10)

\*L = Aboriginal research assistant

\*K = AIEW

1 T: Las week our family..we go rabbitin..

2 we look.. go out for rabbit

3 S: aw yeah

4 A: Aw we got bunny rabbit..

5 book.. this big fat rabbit

6 dat fat

7 um.. my uncle e got his gun out

8 e shot it in d leg

9 an e still runnin..

10 an in the head....

11 an it was still runnin..

12 an then .. my uncle said

13 K: He's still goin

14 T: Yeah... an you know where we..

15 my uncle said

16 we have ta jump out

17 an bash him

18 and run off

19 and my brother... my big brother.. e jus hit him

20 e died.

21 K: Ya know where Josie and em live.. ay an Neil

22 and ya know ya know where I live don't ya

23 L: Rabbit.. rabbit.. rabbit's curry..good boy

24 did ya didya make.. ar a soup, stew

25 T: we just threw it in da van

26 an it rolled..

27 an landed on glass

28 S: You live near the park.

29 K: An I know where Dion an Jimmy live

+++++

\*P9 Why We Went to the Funeral

\*Tape #059 1b Koongamia Group 2 interviewed by Louella Eggington 29.5.97, lines 420-430. Students aged 9-10

1 x: annnn. .then I went. to.. xx to my sister..

2 umm.. I went to my cousin.

3 who died.. thas died...

4 then.. af' dat.. I went .. went to um...

(laughter)

5 x: I'll start

6 K: all right yeah... you can just.. you can talk the next one

7 x: I start last cause I'm... you finished here

8 x: I went to Kalgoorlie. for my um ah Nana's funeral

9 cause. my Nana Holly she um her son. um they was up in town

10 and her son got runned over and died..

11 an den next her umm. her man. um went right in.

12 um went down on the. in the car.

13 and he had a car crash

14 and he died

15 so that's why we went up to Kalgoorlie to um..

16 we 'ent to funeral..

+++++

\*P10 Visit to Dad

\* #059 1b Koongamia Group 2, ages 9-10, interviewed by Louella Eggington 29.5.97. Names are pseudonyms

1 D: uh on the weekend um.. me an my uncle an dat we went up to visit

my dad..

2 me'n Matt an Marvyn?? an dat...

3 an um.. we um we when we went up dere.

4 when we was comin

5 an we went to. um big tree

6 an um.. an we want go to our auny's.

7 an me an Marvyn when we first got in dere

8 aunty said do youse want to come to the pools?

9 an den. we went to d pool

10 an we was started swimmin  
11 an den after that we got out..  
12 then we w- we went out  
13 an we ad feed  
14 an then after we camped out dere  
15 an (th)en. my uncle said we're gonna go huntin  
16 so we went huntin wiv our.. xx  
17 den.. when we was goin huntin..  
18 we were look my uncle Mark-  
x: [ (laughs)  
19 D: [ he was xx he was walkin in this big bushy part  
20 where there was bushes up to dere xxx  
21 D: we got lost  
22 an um we were.. still walkin  
23 we got up  
24 we went right up to the hill  
25 and um.. and. we looked over de hill  
26 and we. we saw..  
27 I was sittin dere lookin down the hill  
28 and um...  
29 K: yep  
30 D: there was another bushy part dere  
31 an dere was um xxx dis tree an some.. kangaroos all  
layin under there  
32 an um... we ran down to our uncle an that  
33 an we told im  
34 and um.. our uncle came running up  
35 an e looked an looked....  
36 and um.. and.. when we went.. when.. my uncle went  
running.. up  
37 an then.. dey looked over  
38 an den dey saw um dat.. all dem boom- kangaroos..  
39 an when we walked to go down  
40 we looked up back up  
41 an we saw red eyes.  
42 K: yeahh  
43 D: an then- but we didn't.. we didn't look back up dere  
again..  
44 so we went din- we- looked back at the kangaroos  
45 an.. my uncle e ad a gun xxxx  
46 an thexxx kangaroo jumped at us..  
47 and soon as e went??

48 they jumped um.. my uncle shot im...here..  
49 and.. must of-.. it bounced at here..  
50 and xxx then um.. my.. my other uncle.. Jim was  
dr- ridin  
51 an it was dis big.. push.. like  
52 an there was a big boomer dere  
53 an um.. my uncle jumped out of the car  
54 an we went xxx  
55 cause we were sleepin ..  
56 an I jumped up  
57 an I looked dere..  
58 an me an Jillian got up  
59 an we- we jumped over..  
60 and um.. my uncle e e was?? got frew de fence  
61 an e start fightin the boomer..  
62 but the boomer um starts bootin im  
63 an e- e still come back towards im..  
64 an e started to fight it..  
65 an.. e ranned around the thing  
66 dat... jumped.. out of the fence..  
67 and um.. we was.. we was.. went dere..  
68 an when we went we ad to put close my uncle  
69 e.. uncle Mark ad de gun on im..  
70 then e waited till it got close  
71 an when e jumped it  
72 e shot  
73 an e hit it..  
74 but it still kept on jumpin..  
75 an e got away up de back of de other fence..  
76 an en.. we went.. goin again..  
77 and.. hatch cause we was in .. dey.. in my other  
uncle over dere..  
78 an we was doin dis big... truck...  
79 an like... we was going along and  
80 Catch.. e e swayed??? that  
81 so e would get off de road  
82 but e snapped de rope  
83 an jumped it off  
84 an started chasin it..  
85 an e.. he ran.. uh.  
86 e e caught it by the leg  
87 but.. e's.. e saw another kangaroo..



88 an dat kangaroo ran around- ran that way  
89 an then that one.. e went an followed that kangaroo  
90 an let the other kangaroo.. go  
91 an then.. e caught..  
92 e.. di'n caught dat one..  
93 an then... my uncle.. we caught a mother one  
94 an um.. when we were ch- when my cousin Marvyn  
checked the.. pouch..  
95 e saw a- a boomer..  
96 a liddle baby boomer.....  
97 liddle baby....

+++++

\*P11 The Spaceship

\*Tape #185 MVD2 25.10.77 "Derryn" (girl, age 11-12)  
talking with Kaye  
Thies and three non-Aboriginal friends

1 D: um.. well.. about .. a week ago  
2 well these people up in.. up North somewhere saw this  
spaceship..  
3 and little red things like men come out ..  
4 when um.. and they shone the torch on it  
5 an they disappeared

+++++

\*P12 That Little Chinese Dog

\* #172 Coolbellup tape 2, recorded by Lloyd Riley 2000 \*text  
on hold\*

Text withdrawn due to bereavement

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\*P13 The Bloke With the Shotgun

\* #176 MVKT3 25.10.77

\* The speaker, 'Barry', is an Aboriginal boy aged 9, in a  
group of 4 boys 2 Aboriginal and 2 non-Aboriginal. The non-  
Aboriginal interviewer is Kaye Thies (I). 'Nicholas' is an  
Aboriginal boy aged 11. Names are pseudonyms.

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

2 well we went over dis bloke's house  
3 and e's had dis dog  
4 and e ad a double barrel shotgun  
5 N: that's goin  
6 B: and..  
7 I: it's going  
8 B: we went through de tunnel  
9 and a dog.. de dog came..  
10 and.. we took off  
11 and.. we went to the caravans park  
12 an this other bloke he ad.. he ad dis um gun and  
e's two dogs..  
13 and.. we um tried to jump the fence of the caravan  
park  
14 but it was too high for me  
15 so my hu- cousin Hedley well he chucked me over  
16 and and I landed on my head.  
17 I jarred him!  
(others laughing)

+++++

\*P14 Rock Fight

\* #176 MVKT3 25.10.77

\* "Nicholas", aged 11, talking with a mixed  
Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal  
group. The non-Aboriginal interviewer is Kaye Thies. "M",  
who interrupts,  
is non-Aboriginal. "Barry" is present in the group and is  
an Aboriginal  
boy aged 9. Names are pseudonyms.

1 N: [ I shrew.. I shrew a rock..  
2 me an Barry's shrowin rocks at each other  
3 an uh I shrew it  
4 we were muckin around..  
5 Barry e walkin along the fence here..  
6 at that uh fence over dere..  
7 an I shrew a rock  
8 and e just ducked  
9 and.. missed im  
10 and e- I backed im  
11 I cornered im up in the fence with a stone..

12 M: Can I say where I live?  
13 I: just a minute till Nicholas's finished  
14 N: an uh..an I shrew shrew shrew anudder rock  
15 and it bounced off 'is head like a bou- a basketball  
16 and when when I went over to see  
17 e started balling 'is eyes out  
18 go to Mr B\_\_ an all that

+++++

\*P15 The Baby Sharks

\* #176 MVKT3 25.10.77 Lines 111-121 The speaker is "Doreen",  
around 10  
years old with a group of 2 Aboriginal and 2 non-Aboriginal  
female  
friends. The non-Aboriginal interviewer (I) is Kaye Thies.  
Names are  
pseudonyms.

1 D: When we was down Geraldton  
2 we went to the beach and fishing..  
3 I: yeah  
4 D: and we caught about ten fish..  
5 and I saw these baby sharks swimming around with the  
dolphins..  
6 you know these dolphins  
7 that let you dive off.. one of them..  
8 I: what do you dive off?  
9 D: these big square things..  
10 I: yeah?  
11 D: and there's a ladder..  
12 you have to swim in the water  
13 and climb up the ladder..  
14 an the shark went an bit the thing off  
15 an I nearly got drowned.

+++++

\*P16 Train Tunnel

\* #186 MVD6 26.10.1977 "Shannon", a boy aged 8, interviewed  
by Kaye  
Thies (I). Name is pseudonym.

1 I: What were they saying that was scary?

2 S: When we all um- people were talking about vampires  
3 sa- while we were walking in the tunnel,  
4 they keep on hiding in these sides,  
5 used to be a train, co-coming through there,  
6 an' we jus hop in there.  
7 An' we never knew they was there..  
8 Nobody.. so they kept be on hiding there  
9 going 'Raa-h'  
10 I: Oh.  
11 S: Scares.  
12 I: Where's the tunnel?  
13 S: Not far from here.  
14 I: An old train tunnel... is it?  
15 S: Just um way down there.  
16 There's a um thing there  
17 going like that  
18 and uh um bridge over there.  
19 Don't go o' the bridge all these little things  
20 I: Could you take your had away from your mouth.  
21 S: Turned around the corner  
22 then going um where all rocks are.  
23 an ya uh start followin trail going down  
24 I: Yeah  
25 S: when ya um- you don't go that way,  
26 you go go up there  
27 and big tunnel there  
28 and you goin' straight through it  
29 I: Mm-m  
30 S: Walk a little  
31 and turn back  
32 and go through it again.

+++++

\*P17 Goanna

\* #186 MVD6 26.10.77 "Karen" aged 8, Grade 3 talking  
with Anne Davidson  
(non-Aboriginal). Name is pseudonym.

1 Karen: A little - uh I was walking with my um brother  
2 My brother went to get a bit of fruit for me  
3 and I stayed there  
4 and this goanna was walking through the bushes

5 and it scared me.  
6 I screamed.  
7 My brother came  
8 and he just left me there.

+++++

\*P18 Koongamia Kangaroo Text

\* (Tape #059 recorded by Louella Eggington 29.5.97).

\*

\* A = Aboriginal boy student

\* S = Aboriginal boy student

\* L = Aboriginal research assistant

\* K = AIEW

1 A: Um... caught um marlu..  
2 we..take em ome...  
3 n.. one slip ova....  
4 I... I jumped....  
5 and...I got de tail  
6 L: Unna ohh  
7 S: a um.. one kangaroo.. dis one.. just one that was the  
joey....  
8 an... an... cause my family was runnin along an...  
9 in front of d joey  
10 an den.. he jumped right ova dem...  
(laughter)  
11 K: Oh, who did that, your dad?  
12 A: An e stopped to catch em-  
13 nah my pop  
14 K: Oh your pop  
15 A: e jus went-  
16 L: xxx an ya ate him up  
17 A: but.. we had some for feed..  
18 had a good feed boy (laugh)  
19 L: Yeah.. oh  
20 K: You had a good feed  
21 A: Funny way  
22 K: mm  
23 A: Funny way  
24 K: I don't know  
25 S: An my pop shot one one one one um marlu  
26 right in the um um the eye

27 an it dropped dead  
28 L: mmm  
29 x: listenin for dat..  
30 dey look for kangaroos  
(noises)

+++++

\*P19 Koongamia Snake Text

\* #159 recorded by Louella Eggington 29.5.97. Students  
ages 9-10.

K = AIEW

LE = Aboriginal research assistant

J = Aboriginal girl student

A = Aboriginal boy student

1 J: My sister she went to.. she went to put er rubbish  
away..  
2 K: Yeah  
3 J: an she was messin roun  
4 playin like dat  
5 an.. she was gunna git cut  
6 K: mmm  
7 J: she came out like dat dere...  
8 she nearly killed dat snake  
9 A she stepped on the snake like dat  
10 J: Yeah.  
11 A: She stepped on the snake  
12 J: An she chucked food  
13 an she jumped  
14 an telled dad  
15 an d-dad kill it with a rake  
16 K: Yeah  
17 A: Dey chopped de head right off.  
18 K: You can't touch em ay  
19 LE: mmm

+++++

\*P20 Koongamia Football Text

\* #159 recorded by Louella Eggington 29.5.97. Students ages 9-10.

\* Names are pseudonyms.

\* K = AIEW

\* L = Aboriginal research assistant

\* S, A, T = male children

\* J = female child

1 K: What about football?

2 Did you go an watch your brother play football?

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

4 K: Watch yourself play

5 A: Yeah

6 K: Did you go an see.. Phillip play.. er

7 A: at the WACA

8 K: at the WACA?

9 A: Nuh

10 K: You didn't..

11 A: Nuh.. cause we [h]as ten games to play

12 Many: Ohhh no

13 K: E's brother was in the.. Little league in Essendon on Sa- um Sunday

14 A: an Eagles

15 L: Hey don't.. did he win...when..what day.. you didn't get....

16 ohh don't that would've been solid ay....  
(laugh)

17 oh boy I would've been.. I'd've been there standing at the fence..

18 tryin to look through the fence

19 S: Dey got little cousin

20 crawled in the way

21 and...Uncle Simon...he-

22 O he got hit...

23 an there..

24 annnd like we watched Freda Bickley play

25 thas her name...

26 an er baby was like..

27 she's a nice girl wid about ten names..

28 an I was only watchin Uncle Simon watchin football

29 L: mmm

30 S: An Graham man he's like my brother

31 A: My brother e lives at Cue

32 S: about four five years older then me...e's five

33 L: mm

34 K: yeah.

+++++

\*P21 Front Door Open

\* #096Girr 29.10.97 (Lines 6-15) 'Lena' (highschool student) interviewed by Jackie Nell (non-Aboriginal teacher). Name is pseudonym.

1 L: Okay um, early this year um we keep finding our front door open at night time

2 like we make sure if it's locked properly and that

3 but every time we got up to 'ave a look

4 it's like always open

5 an' with um Mum woke us up one morning

6 an' she's saying

7 oh um it's about 'round about the time of the Aboriginal law

8 and we're like oh yeah right whatever

9 she's saying

10 yeah it's 'bout it's 'round about the time

11 where all Nyungars go 'round

12 and look for the men or the woman that's done wrong

13 an' well they must 'a been looking for Dad.

14 J: Why your Dad?

15 L: 'Cause 'e cheated on Mum an' that ya know

16 and we thought

17 yeah it's most probably Dad that they're looking for

18 and um just find the d front door open all the time

19 'n' we always have to shut it with the couch against it

20 'n' yeah

+++++

\*P22 Someone Standing at the Gate

\* #096Girr 29.10.97 (Lines 21-28) 'Patricia' interviewed by Jackie Nell

(non-Aboriginal specialist teacher). Name is pseudonym

1 P: Oh yeah jus' um, just recently my uncle went up to um Wiluna

2 an' 'es he mucked around with um some of the um Wongis' womans

3 and now they're after 'im

4 an' he was at my um auntie's house

5 an my cousin was there by 'imself

6 and when 'e 'e thought that my cousins were there

7 'cause he heard the gate open

8 and the front door and his window was open

9 an' 'n he heard it open

10 and then 'e yelled out like if Bill 'are you there?'

11 an' then went out

12 and no one was there

13 an' 'e saw 'e thinks that 'e saw someone standing at the gate

14 some blackfulla standing at the gate

15 an' 'e just um locked up the house

16 an' just waited for 'im to come 'ome.

+++++

\*P23 Little Black Shadows

\* #096Girr 29.10.97 (Lines 47-53) 'Aileen'. Names are pseudonyms.

1 A: (Oh yeah ...um) Like um um like um up in Wongan Hills um my um my Mum's sister's um kids they was all asleep and um in the room

2 and they had a dog

3 and um and this little girl she could see like little black shadows xxx

4 um she could see little wong um wudachis

5 and um and then um but the dog was barking and everything

6 but when my mum went an 'ad a look

7 nothing was there

8 and um the girl could keep seeing it keep seeing it

9 but nothing happened

10 'cause they they alcoholics see

11 an' just was just xxx um devil of mens - just you know things

+++++

\*P24 Clothes Go Missing

\* #096Girr 29.10.97 (Lines 67-72) 'Lena' (pseudonym)

1 L: Oh my uncle he used to like drink a lot with a lot of Aboriginal people

2 and um like they didn't believe in Jesus or anything

3 an' um my little niece my little cousins they used to like run around the front yard and back yard

4 an' then um my uncle 'e goes 'Where's your clothes?'

5 an' they go 'Ohh dese people took my clothes.'

6 'How can your clothes go missing like that?'

7 and they go 'Ohh they just flicked it off me'.

+++++

\*P25 Woman Cooking in the Kitchen

\* #096Girr 29.10.97 (Lines 74-84) 'Lena' (names are pseudonyms)

1 L: Oh an my uncle he just use to live in Girrawheen there

2 before he moved into his house

3 um Patrick G\_ was asleep

4 an' he could smell some cooking

5 an' e' um woke up to see if was my uncle

6 an' um he actually seen this woman um cooking in the kitchen

7 'e goes 'Oh get out woman' you know

8 'This my house not yours.'

9 She goes "No you get out

10 I was here for years before you came along'

11 and um so that like

12 couple days later my Nanna an' my other um elders like Grandpops an' all that they came around

13 and they were praying

14 an' one of my Nannas she um feel these little fing  
like fingers an' that choking 'er ,  
15 and she 'as to like, they left the windows open  
16 so the spirit goes out.  
17 She feel this choking  
18 and when she like finished an' that  
19 she 'ad to finish the praying an' that  
20 'cause it's choking 'er 'an that  
21 an they noticed it  
22 'cause it in 'er voice  
23 an they had kept on praying  
24 an got over it  
25 an the spirit's not there anymore

+++++

\*P26 Thought I Could Fly

\*(lines 101-103 Girrawheen #096) Lena' (also present:  
'Patricia', 'Aileen', and Interviewer Jackie Nell)

1 L: [I just jumped off the brick thing]  
2 I thought I could fly like ya know  
3 I thought the wind could hold me up a bit  
4 I jumped off  
5 and next minute I hurt my tummy  
6 I'm like (pretending to cry) I jus' felt so sick xxx  
(70)

+++++

\*P27 Weirdest Dream

\*(lines 114-120 Girrawheen #096) 'Patricia', 'Lena', (also  
present: 'Aileen', and Interviewer Jackie Nell)

1 P: [I had] I had the most weirdest dream once  
2 it was about two years ago  
3 we all was at a party at my Aun  
4 at my Auntie's 'ous there  
5 L: [I got a spin out one]  
6 P: next minute these kangaroos with spears come along an'  
trying to  
kill us  
7 Ooh boy (laugh)  
8 no but it was so scary you know

9 an' all the little kids were trying to run for the  
'ouse  
10 'n' I was out there  
11 an' I picked up my little cousin  
12 I just ran  
13 I was crying  
14 an' oh boy it was scary  
15 true  
16 they was with spears trying to get me  
17 ooh no (7.7)

+++++

\*P28 That Movie

\*(lines 121-139 Girrawheen #096) 'Aileen', 'Patricia',  
and Interviewer Jackie Nell (also present: 'Lena')

1 A: I hate when I have a dream  
2 an' I wake up  
3 'cause c- c- if I'm facing the other way  
4 I'll always look at my door, like you know  
5 P: [To see if anyone's there]  
6 A: and like it's always like black  
7 and like 'cause I got like things hanging from the  
door  
8 and it's like sometimes you like waking up  
9 and you know like Ann  
10 you know Ann?  
11 J: Walker  
12 A: Like um we was at her house  
13 an ' we were sleeping  
14 we was watching Mo Money.  
15 Ohh an' I'm never watching that movie again at  
night time  
16 an' um 'cause we joined the two lounges up  
together  
17 and I was on the lounge by myself  
18 and she was there  
19 an' she um ,she fell asleep  
20 an' I fell asleep  
21 but I could still hear it you know  
22 an' then I started sleepin'  
23 an' um she looked out the window,

24 an' I'm someone-  
 25 'cause like they always closed their their blinds  
 26 but this time it was a little bit open  
 27 and someone was there watching 'er,  
 28 an' she looked again  
 29 an' she turned  
 30 an' she just sat up  
 31 she said 'Aileen, Aileen'  
 32 an' then I just woke up  
 33 she slapped me right in the eye  
 34 an' then I got up  
 35 she an' started screaming  
 36 an' then she she jumped over the thingo  
 37 I didn't even I was still half asleep  
 38 I jumped  
 39 an' um I jumped over the table  
 40 busted up my nail  
 41 an' then like um she banged into 'er dad  
 42 she broke 'er nose  
 43 and then like um we was all screaming  
 44 no one put no lights on or nothing  
 45 we was all banging into each other  
 46 J: [So that's how she broke her nose] (8.8)  
 47 A: Yeah but she's like she's embarrassed of it  
 48 she was telling all different stories

+++++

\*P29 Song in My Dream

\*(lines 140-154 Girrawheen #096) 'Lena', 'Patricia',  
 Interviewer Jackie Nell (also present: 'Aileen')

1 L: Oh when was it  
 2 I went when I was um little  
 3 'bout yeah it was ten years ago  
 4 I was about five  
 5 and um we was livin' up north in Broome.  
 6 No not Broome, Roebourne.  
 7 And um I remember having this funny dream  
 8 that I was in the lounge room in the um the house  
 9 and then this book shelf fell on me,  
 10 an' then this song come on you know what it was?  
 11 J: What was it?

12 L: 'I just called to say I love you'. Next thing  
 y'knew oohh  
 13 P: [And the book shelf fell on you  
 14 and they were sing'n oh ho]  
 15 L: (Laughs) An' no 'I just called to say I love you'  
 that song came  
 16 I still have that dream you know  
 17 'cause it's  
 18 J: Oh it's like a recurring dream  
 19 L: Yeah I just like I think it's a message or  
 something  
 20 J: Yeah  
 21 L: it's like y'know that song came into my dream  
 22 I just loved it ay  
 23 I'm like Mmmmm  
 24 J: What the message is in that?  
 25 when you fall in love  
 26 you gonna fall in love  
 27 like it's gonna be like a tonne of bricks

+++++

\*P30 Power Line Dream

\*(lines 214-240 Girrawheen #096) ('Lena', 'Patricia',  
 'Aileen', and Interviewer Jackie Nell)

1 L: I dreamt that I was pregnant to Billy  
 2 an' I only had a little belly  
 3 an' I dreamt that we jumped off the bus at the  
 interschool excursion,  
 4 an' I lost the baby all of a sudden.  
 5 An' then I started talking to Dan Michaels  
 6 you know Dan Michaels.  
 7 P: Yeah  
 8 L: I started talking to 'im  
 9 an' I had no kid anymore  
 10 then I seen Patricia  
 11 an' I go 'P-a-t-r-i-c-i-a'  
 12 an' I was running up to 'er  
 13 an' like I thought like I dreamt I was really fat  
 14 an' I  
 15 wha's that girl?  
 16 Julia Davies or somethink

17 P: Yeah  
 18 L: I had her behind me  
 19 an' she was like running like with me  
 20 I'm like 'go 'way' like that in my dream  
 21 so then like- so I looked up  
 22 an' she went, was up on these poles you know the um  
 power lines  
 23 J: mm-m  
 24 P: [xxxx]  
 25 L: [I dreamt that he's]  
 26 na I dreamt that he's attaching them  
 27 an' he was- it swinging up us girls  
 28 and we were like under the slide you know  
 29 we was like don't throw xxx of 'em (11.7)  
 30 P: xxxxx  
 31 L: And I'm going to Julia 'Get- get-'  
 32 'cause the only reason I was going off to Patricia is  
 to  
 33 'cause she was um teaching me how to make these papers  
 um you know  
 34 the cranes things you know  
 35 J: Yeah  
 36 L: I was dreaming that she was teaching me how to make  
 things with paper  
 37 J: Oh god  
 38 A: Go 'way  
 39 L: An' then I dreamt that she wanna to whippin' us with a  
 um power lines  
 40 P: [Whippin' us with power lines (laughing)]  
 41 J: [Oh god that is a strange dream]

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\*P31 Dream About My Dog

\*(Lines 246-269 Girrawheen #096) ('Lena', 'Patricia',  
 'Aileen', and Interviewer Jackie Nell) (Commentary 270-274)

1 A: And I used always have dreams about my dog  
 2 like he's gonna die or something  
 3 P: [Nyawn poor thing, poor dog]  
 4 J: [like you can't find them  
 5 and they run away  
 6 and you try and get 'em]

7 A: [Yeah] like last night I had a dream about um Rach-  
 , Rachel  
 8 an' everyone was there, even you  
 9 everyone was there  
 10 an' um we 'as at- down near bus stop  
 11 but it all was changed  
 12 like you go around the corner  
 13 an' it was all like all oval an' everything xxx  
 'n' everything you  
 know  
 14 P: (laughing) hey xxx  
 15 A: Yeah an' um an' um I brang my dog you know  
 16 and I didn't put a leash on 'im  
 17 an' um I was holding 'im  
 18 an' then I let 'im go  
 19 an' then like we 'as all whistling to um'  
 20 L: [Dorothy and the wizard boy]  
 21 A: all these drug dealers to drug dealers we were  
 whistling at 'em  
 22 but e' was cute  
 23 but we's all whistling at 'em ya know  
 24 an' then they went 'round the corner  
 25 an'they was up on the oval there  
 26 an' then um my dog went  
 27 an' so I went looking for 'im  
 28 an' I could 'ear 'im like screaming an' screaming  
 29 P: [Ohh Nyawn] (laughing)  
 30 L: [yelping sounds]  
 31 A: Yeah like that  
 32 J: (whining)  
 33 A: [and I went an' had a look]  
 34 and they wasn't there  
 35 they was goin' they was goin' past you girls  
 36 P: Yeah  
 37 A: An' then I walked back  
 38 an' they had 'im..in- in the arm you know  
 39 an' like, I was like crying  
 40 P: Torment- torturing 'im  
 41 A: Yeah an' then they walked up to the thing  
 42 an' 'e an' 'e got killed  
 43 an' I just woke up  
 44 didn't 'ave no time to cry nothing like that



45 just woke up  
46 an' I  
47 P: [Ohhh]  
48 L: (Ohhh)  
49 A: [an' I sad look for my dog]

+++++

\*P32 Big Plate/Tunnel Dream

\*(lines 282-292 Girrawheen #096) ('Lena', 'Patricia',  
'Aileen', and Interviewer Jackie Nell)

1 L: Miss, when I was little  
2 I had this um,  
3 everytime I fell asleep  
4 I dreamt that um  
5 like this always happen  
6 I dreamt  
7 that I was on this big um big plate  
8 like circle plate,  
9 an' I dreamt  
10 that same was down the bottom  
11 but it was just a never ending like tunnel.  
12 I dreamt every time I went to sleep  
13 I was dreamt  
14 that I was going rocking like that  
15 J: Mm  
16 L: An' so I had to keep waking up  
17 so I don't rock to one side  
18 an' I used to feel really sick after  
19 I go 'why you sick? '  
20 An' I go 'oh no'  
21 I just keep dreaming all the time  
22 gonna tip over or something  
23 J: You must'a been rocking in your sleep or something  
24 L: Yeah that's what I do  
25 I like I sleep  
26 but I rock my one leg you know  
27 [ like shake it]  
28 P: [Yeah shake it yeah]

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\*P33 Nightmares

\*(lines 307-321 Girrawheen #096) ('Lena', 'Patricia',  
'Aileen', and Interviewer Jackie Nell)

1 J: [Oh no] when I was scared  
2 I used to go into my mum's room  
3 an' an' I say "Mum can I get in your bed?"  
4 an' she'd go "No go way"  
5 [and so I used to sleep] next to the bed  
6 L: [I used to do that]  
7 J: Did you ever do that?  
8 Did you ever like try 'n' get into your mum  
9 [like when you were scared?]  
10 P: [I, I used to jump in mum's bed anyway]  
11 A: [I jump in mum's bed waitin' for 'er,  
12 an' I quickly get in you know  
13 I was 'avin' nightmares]  
14 an' I used to wake my dad  
15 an' 'e said, "No jus' stay dere"  
16 [an' you're not thing  
17 an' I used]  
18 J: [(laughing) come an' check my room]  
19 A: [An' I managed to pick my bed  
20 put it on the  
21 an' make sure 'es checkin' this 'ere.  
22 Get my bed  
23 an' put it on the floor  
24 an' jus' sleep,  
25 or if ya did that  
26 like I use to go keep them knees put in  
27 an' jus'- jus' get myself in there you know  
28 an' I'll be like real, real like soft  
29 so 'e doesn't wake up  
30 an' in the morning  
31 'e'll like boot me like y'know  
32 he didn't know I was there,  
33 an like I used like oh  
34 oh you know  
35 'n' 'e said,  
36 "How d'you get there?" you know.  
37 "I don't know," you know.

+++++

\*P34 Cricket at lunch time

\*(lines 171-179) Dryandra #180 L=Louella; P=Daniel (year 2)

1 L: [yeah] an um ok an what about at school?  
2 what do you and your friends do at school?  
3 P: at lunch time and recess time I xxx crisps  
4 and we played cricket  
5 and I got a score  
6 L: mm-m  
7 P: I was a bowler  
8 L: yeah  
9 P: an I went like that  
10 an then then Tom missed the..ball  
11 and then I got a goal  
12 L: an you won?..did you? mm  
13 P: well I- I did at nineteen- nineteen-ninety-nine  
14 L: mm-m

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\*P35 Noise in a Duplex

\*(p. 11-12, Lines 332-347 Girrawheen #096) ('Lena',  
'Patricia', 'Aileen', and Interviewer Jackie Nell)

1 A: I used to live in duplex  
2 an' I jus' my- my window was right near um  
3 L: under that thing-  
4 A: yeah an' um I used to have -  
5 I used to hear xxx all shake  
6 an' like 'cause we saw  
7 'cause we used live next to all the criminals an'  
everythink you know  
8 an' um they used to jump our fence  
9 the police used to always run in our back you know  
10 you jus' like- you didn't know what was goin' on  
11 so you always like jus' layin' there  
12 If you got up  
13 my bed was real squeaky  
14 if you got up  
15 it like squeak  
16 an' then like if you walk aroun' the thing  
17 you xx you know

18 it always used to make a noise  
19 an' used to be scared to get up  
20 an' jus' layin' there  
21 or like when you hear it stop  
22 you say da a d  
23 J: [(laughing)]  
24 L: [xxxx]  
25 P: [xxxxx]  
26 A: [Jus' like like the um] other week um  
27 I heard someone  
28 I thought someone knockin' on my window  
29 an' I go like this  
30 when we was just goin' to sleep  
31 someone knocking on the window  
32 I go 'Da-a-d'  
33 He can hear me  
34 I kept sayin'  
35 I said 'D-a-d! Over there!'  
36 I said 'Ohh did you jus'  
37 did you hear someone knock on my window?'  
38 'e said 'No that was only me'  
39 'oh-h you idiot'

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\*P36 When They Eat

\*(p. 12; Lines 359-370 Girrawheen #096) ('Lena',  
'Patricia', 'Aileen', and Interviewer Jackie Nell)

1 A: I hate when people  
2 when they eat  
3 they go (clicking noises)  
4 P: Oh yeah I know  
5 Michael- Michael he goes  
6 I said 'God you know  
7 Close your mouth.  
8 Don't chew like a cow.'  
9 A: My cousins do that  
10 my cousins do that  
11 ohh always make up excuses  
12 I say like  
13 I say 'Ohh what you- you live in a farm?'  
14 an' I say um

15 L: [In the bush there]  
16 P: I jus' say  
17 'Don't you know  
18 how to close your mouth?  
19 Are you a cow?'  
20 A: An' I always say that to my dad  
21 'cause 'e got no teeth  
22 but it- 'e use- used to say  
23 'I need more flavour.'  
24 an' I said  
25 an I tried to do it  
26 but use to taste the same.  
27 an like 'cause they-  
28 they like get on my nerves  
29 an' they do it  
30 so when they finish  
31 I get something  
32 an I start doin' it  
33 but they must be used of it

+++++

\*P37 Eating With Boys

\*(lines 378-391 Girrawheen #096)

\*('Lena', 'Patricia', 'Aileen', and Interviewer Jackie Nell)

1 L: Yeah I hate it  
2 when you eat in front of a boy  
3 J: [Why?  
4 Why do you hate  
5 eating in front of a boy?]  
6 P: Yeah xx tha's shame  
7 L: Tha's like  
8 I was over at Billy's house  
9 and 'e goes 'You wanna hurry up an' eat that'  
10 an' I'm like mmm like that  
11 'Don't be shame in front of me'  
12 an I'm goin' ayy  
13 I don't like eaten in front of boys  
14 you might think we 'ave sauce or something hangin' off  
15 P: [Something could jump on your shirt  
16 an' oh way, oh shame]  
17 J: [xxx girls eat as well]

18 wha's- wha's  
19 an' when they know you eat  
20 L: Yeah but boy take big bites  
21 and you're like  
22 J: Tryin' to eat lady like  
23 A: Oh if- if the boys are my friends  
24 it's all right  
25 I can-  
26 but if I like that boy or something  
27 I like- I- you don't, you know  
28 I get totally off food  
29 P: But I can eat in front of my friends  
30 an' then like the boy is my friend xx you know  
31 like when we get out 'ere  
32 I- I fight the boys for the food you know (18.1)

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\*P38 High School

\*(lines 400-407 Girrawheen #096)

\*'David' (year 8) with Jackie Nell in the Aboriginal  
Education Office

1 D: Um well start of the year  
2 I met Mee- Meena, Rachel an' Patrick Lawrie  
3 an' we was like thought- thought  
4 'oh well, 's high school.  
5 Who cares?'  
6 An' we um had trouble  
7 people didn't like us  
8 so we got in some trouble.  
9 And um, got really in trouble  
10 suspended an' that  
11 and then in like um term two  
12 I started coolin' down  
13 in term three I got some sheets (?)  
14 an' then started noticing what school's all about.  
15 Like it ain't there for-  
16 like you need the knowledge for school  
17 like for um jobs  
18 an you don't have-  
19 don't mess around  
20 'cause um teachers are there to help you

21 not there to stop you from fightin' an' that

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\*P39 Cricket  
 \*(lines 473-495 Girrawheen #096)  
 \*'David' interviewed by Jackie Nell

1 J: So you not gonna play Cricket or anything?  
 2 D: 's boring  
 3 J: No, bit of a girl's game, is it?  
 4 D: You sit there an' hit 'n' bat ball  
 5 then your like  
 6 an' you miss it  
 7 and you get jarred up by your coach an' that.  
 8 We used to play Cricket when we's in North  
 9 but we kept on losing.  
 10 J: Did you? Yeah. Not a good team?  
 11 D: Naa  
 12 well we only won our last match xx  
 13 when they like- when we played the top team  
 14 and they had to play to git in the grand final to'  
 win,  
 15 but we beat 'em by two points.  
 16 J: Yeah, well that [might[ -  
 17 D: [my] um friend arr-  
 18 wha's 'is name?  
 19 I think 'is name is Peter.  
 20 He hit-  
 21 'cause we needed a six to beat 'em  
 22 J: Yeah  
 23 D: He hit a four.  
 24 J: Yeah  
 25 D: An' they- an' they 'ad one more bowl left  
 26 J: Yeah  
 27 D: An' then he hit it  
 28 an' it went past the fulla who touched the ball  
 29 J: Really, god  
 30 D: Jus', jus' near the fence  
 31 and it jus'- just rolled  
 32 an' touched the fence  
 33 and got a four  
 34 J: [Oh, oh oh,]

35 It must have been an exciting game though  
 36 [Everyone must a been cheering]  
 37 D: [Yeah  
 38 an' after that  
 39 we had a big- we had a big feed  
 40 J: Did you? Yeah  
 41 D: Pizza, cool drink, everything.

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\*P40 Sick of Fish  
 \*(lines 505-517 Girrawheen #096)  
 \*'David' with Jackie Nell

1 J: Hm did you like Broome?  
 2 D: It was all right  
 3 I like fishing  
 4 'cause my Dad 'e never caught anythink  
 5 an I caught about-  
 6 I didn't even know I had any fish  
 7 I jus' threw the line out  
 8 an' I pulled it in  
 9 an' there was fish on there  
 10 J: Yeah [fish must be good]  
 11 D: [But I never ate it good]  
 12 J: Didn't you?  
 13 Why not?  
 14 D: 'Cause I'd eat 'em  
 15 an I wouldn't wanna eat 'em  
 16 when I was down 'ere  
 17 I wish I had fish  
 18 J: Yeah  
 19 D: Up there you get sick of fish  
 20 'cause all they have in their feed  
 21 J: Everywhere  
 22 D: in their fridge is fish  
 23 J: But fish is nice  
 24 it's good for you

+++++

\*P41 Diving

\*(lines 518-532 Girrawheen #096)

\*'David' and Jackie Nell

1 D: And when we come back  
2 when we goin' to um Port Hedland (phone rings)...  
3 before we went to Broome  
4 J: Yeah  
5 D: We um went to Port Hedland to see my uncle  
6 and we went like 'es name is Uncle Alick  
7 First day we got there  
8 we went straight to the pool  
9 and um the pool is deep  
10 an they got this um  
11 one of them jumping things  
12 what are they called?  
13 diving boards?  
14 J: Yeah  
15 D: An' we jumped off there  
16 an' this boy could do this things  
17 like that they do in the Olympics  
18 J: Like turns an' dives, special dives, special dive.  
19 D: Yeah like e'd jump an' turn like that there  
20 An' I tried to do it  
21 J: Did you?  
22 What happened?  
23 D: I nearly drowned  
24 an' my cousin  
25 we took 'im along too  
26 an' 'e doin' it as well  
27 'e hit his head on the thing (laughing)  
28 J: Ohwa  
29 is he okay  
30 D: But 'e was laughin'  
31 so went- so went along

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\*P42 Kangaroo Dog

\*(lines 532-541; continuation of P41 Girrawheen #096)

\*'David' and Jackie Nell

1 D: an' that day we went  
2 that night we went  
3 night when we were gonna go  
4 we went huntin'  
5 and um we got about four kangaroos  
6 an oh 'cause we've a dog named Sam  
7 who was chasin' the kangaroo  
8 an' 'e was in front of the car  
9 J: The dog was?  
10 D: Yeah  
11 in front of the car racin'  
12 but it was long in front of the car  
13 an' like- but if the kangaroo wasn't shot  
14 it would of flew  
15 I think tha's why the dog-- kangaroo did a..'ere  
(phone rings)  
16 J: Yeah, sorry mate  
17 D: Um an' then Sam was in-  
18 Sammy xx-  
19 Sam would be in front of the car  
20 an' 'cause it jumped out of the truck  
21 'cause it was tied up  
22 but it got undone  
23 J: Ohwa

+++++

\*P43 Playing/Hunting

\*(lines 542-578; continuation of P42 Girrawheen #096)

\*'David' and Jackie Nell

1 D: Like before that  
2 all us kids we 'as all went to sleep in the back of  
the car..  
3 na- but when we- cos like at the start  
4 when we were drivin' the car  
5 all us kids was runnin' right up there  
6 an' we were pickin' up cow poop

7 an' throwin' at each other  
 8 and um but it's dry  
 9 J: Yeah  
 10 D: And so they said  
 11 'Don't go too far'  
 12 an we were like a long mile away from them  
 13 an' we said we all race back  
 14 an' we- we was all runnin' back  
 15 and they go-  
 16 and one fulla said  
 17 'Watch out somebody comin' '  
 18 an we all ran at 'em  
 19 My cousin Gordon  
 20 he's slow  
 21 an' 'e ran past us all  
 22 'cause e's frightened  
 23 he ran past us all  
 24 J: Ar he beat you all  
 25 D: Yeah  
 26 an' whe-  
 27 as we jus' about to aim at this kangaroo,  
 28 like Gordon  
 29 'cause he think  
 30 'e- 'e knew things all the time  
 31 an' like 'e thought 'e heard something in the bush  
 32 so 'e jumped right in the middle of us  
 33 an' my uncle just about to shoot it  
 34 but missed it  
 35 J: Oh no  
 36 D: An' it was right up close  
 37 'cause 'e bumped 'im  
 38 'G O R D O N!'  
 39 an' 'e goes  
 40 'I'm sorry'  
 41 an' that kid jus' followed in the bushes  
 42 nothin' now  
 43 'ang back  
 44 shot the kangaroo  
 45 hit the part up there  
 46 an' straight through the heart  
 47 J: Really. Gosh  
 48 D: An' then we

49 an' we went  
 50 an' we went camping  
 51 J: Did- did you-  
 52 sorry  
 53 did you eat the kangaroo?  
 54 like did-  
 55 D: Na but we saved 'im for going 'ome  
 56 J: Ahh  
 57 D: And we sat down at this place  
 58 'cause they was aimin' at-  
 59 like aiming' at the can  
 60 like puttin' the can in the tree  
 61 an' aimin' at it  
 62 an' like-  
 63 an they cuttin' the kangaroo up the same time as  
 well  
 64 an' my uncle 'e cut off the kangaroo's balls  
 65 an we chucked it in the fire (laughing)  
 66 J: Oh no what happened?  
 67 D: Ah well we um  
 68 J: Did it explode?  
 69 D: Nah  
 70 J: No jus' burnt, did it?  
 71 D: We didn't know 'cause we went  
 72 see after they tried to get that kangaroo up in the  
 thing.

+++++

\*P44 Staying Awake

\*(lines 580-589 Girrawheen #096) 'David' and Jackie Nell

1 D: I was the first one to go to sleep.  
 2 'Cause um cause if I was like  
 3 if you was the last kid to go to sleep  
 4 you git more fun  
 5 like I was tryin' to stay awake like this 'ere  
 6 an' all them other kids there (puffing)  
 7 'Well I'm gonna stay out.  
 8 What about you?'  
 9 an' I'm like  
 10 'yeah, yeah my eyes are jus' sore.'  
 11 I'm sittin' there still

12 an' I woke up  
13 like when they go an' chuck all them kids in the red  
car  
14 so they- they got-  
15 I got up  
16 an' I jumped straight in  
17 an' um the youngest- the oldest one- like no- the  
youngest one Shane  
18 like 'e jumped out of the car  
19 and went to like-  
20 we 'as all ready to go  
21 'e jumped put of the red ca-  
22 jumped out of the blue car  
23 to git in the red car  
24 and 'is mum was lucky us kids seen on the spotty  
25 or we- 'e would a been there stuck  
26 J: (laughing) Poor Shane  
27 D: An' we climbed  
28 wait wait wait for me...

+++++

\*P45 Stupid Kangaroo/Stupid Truck  
\*(lines 589-616; continuation from P44 Girrawheen #096)  
\*'David' and Jackie Nell

1 D: an' den- we- an' like this kangaroo like could-  
couldn't- couldn't-  
2 'cause we they was all drinkin' water from it  
3 there was big mob of 'em  
4 an' um we ran over this little one  
5 an' we came back to look for it  
6 but it wasn't there  
7 an' um we went right along the water hole  
8 lookin' for this one little one  
9 an' then went under the car each time  
10 we tried to run it over  
11 so they- as they ran over the next one  
12 they ran over one of the fences with the clipper  
things in sharp  
things  
13 and the tyre went flat  
14 J: Oh no

15 D: An' den my uncle grabbed it  
16 an' said 'You stupid Kangaroo!'  
17 boot his head off  
18 he sittin' there  
19 boosh boosh  
20 put about ten bullets in his head  
21 J: So he got really angry at the Kangaroo  
22 D: And then we said  
23 'ahh we stuck 'ere'  
24 an' 'e started swearin'  
25 J: So how'd you get out?  
26 D: An' then they said  
27 'na na 'ere- 'ere spare tyre'  
28 an' they put on a different tyre  
29 and the car was like (making flat tyre noise)  
30 cause it buckled  
31 an' we still like-  
32 we were going (making flat tyre noise)  
33 so I jumped in the um blue car  
34 an' we went flyin' through this like little track  
35 and as we got to the end of it  
36 the' was a highway  
37 'cause we goin' back home  
38 and there was about forty-four kangaroos there  
39 and um my uncle went  
40 'ay ay look there'  
41 and a big truck came...  
42 and must of frightened them  
43 and we sit there  
44 'you stupid truck'  
45 my Uncle Jack-  
46 'cause he's an idiot  
47 an' 'e if you like  
48 'cause e's aving a Kangaroo  
49 an' you bump im  
50 'e'll go- e'll- e'll swear at you  
51 J: Yeah  
52 D: So 'e chased after this truck (laughing)  
53 an' 'e made the truck there  
54 an' the truck 'e (?) pulled out over  
55 an' Daniel jumped out  
56 'C'mon. I'll fight you'

57 so 'e 'it (?)  
58 my uncle was like  
59 'you idiot  
60 I'm gonna shoot you an' (laughing)  
61 J: Really  
62 D: 'e grabbed the gun  
63 but the truck just- vroom -took off (laughing)  
64 J: Took off, did it?  
65 Ohhh  
66 D: Yeah 'e flew.

+++++

\*P46 Turkeys, Wild Cats, Goannas

\*(lines 617-643; continuation P45 Girrawheen #096)

\*'David' and Jackie Nell

1 J: So um so what happened after that?  
2 D: Then we went go lookin' for um Turkeys  
3 but they all sleep  
4 and as we went for-  
5 oh yeah  
6 an we seen some wild cats  
7 J: Yeah  
8 D: An' they [went under this tunnel]  
9 J: [Big ones?]  
10 D: Naa baby ones  
11 J: Kittens yeah  
12 D: Mm an' my uncle said  
13 'I'm gonna shoot 'em.  
14 All you guys get back'  
15 cause they was all in the logs  
16 an' 'e made sure-  
17 'e was on a awkward spot  
18 'cause they [bounce in bush]  
19 J: [Bounce back]  
20 D: Yeah  
21 started shootin' 'em  
22 went (shooting noises)  
23 looked in there they- they shot 'em  
24 shot both of 'em  
25 I think then went lookin' for the mother  
26 e didn't worry about i

27 an' my Dad 'e- 'e shot a turkey  
28 shot it right in the eye  
29 J: Oh really  
30 D: But they plucked it  
31 before we got there, see  
32 J: Yeah  
33 D: 'Cause we was a long way away from  
34 [but as we got back]  
35 J: [Did you eat it?]  
36 D: Yeah we ate it there  
37 where it was  
38 an' we seen this goanna  
39 oh b-i-i-g one was goin' to a thing  
40 an' my mum didn't wanna run it over  
41 J: (laughing)  
42 D: She said no  
43 an I said to my Dad  
44 'run it over'  
45 It was a bi-i-ig one, boy  
46 and my dad said  
47 'jus' run it over  
48 don't worry about the xxx  
49 we cut it off when we get up 'ere  
50 cause 'e pulled over  
51 an everyone to my dad goes  
52 'You're an idiot. You lost it.'  
53 J: Ohh so you didn't get it, no? [So it went back  
bush.]  
54 D: We only got little one  
55 but then they started stinking the bonnet out  
56 so we chucked 'em out.

+++++

\*P47 Eating Goanna

\*(lines 644-656 Girrawheen #096)

\*'David' and Jackie Nell (interviewer)

1 J: So d'you like Goanna's d'you like eating it? Yeah  
2 D: Nice xxx  
3 J: What's the best bit in the of the Goanna  
4 D: I'd like I like the tail  
5 J: The tail, yeah



6 D: My Dad likes eating the eggs, eggs  
7 like e's friend right  
8 'e goes like goes hunting for them goannas  
9 an 'e got one...  
10 an' 'e bring one home  
11 it was about- hoh about a ruler  
12 like you know a teacher's ruler a meter one  
13 J: Yeah  
14 D: 'bout that long  
15 an' my Dad said 'how we gonna chuck it in the oven? '  
16 an' we said  
17 'jus' go out the back  
18 make a fire  
19 an' chuck it in the ashes'  
20 so we done that 'e said  
21 an' it just went burrrnt black as ay  
22 but the meat was lovely like  
23 J: Nice inside, yeah.

+++++

\*P48 Bush Food at School  
\*(lines 656-675 Girrawheen #096)  
\*'David' and Jackie Nell

1 J: ...Did you try the um kangaroo tails last year?  
2 no, was it last year?  
3 no, this year  
4 D: Yeah  
5 J: Mr March cooked 'em  
6 D: They were half raw  
7 J: They were raw, weren't they?  
8 they weren't nice at all, yeah  
9 D: Only part wasn't- was cooked- was- would be the onion  
10 J: Mm  
11 D: I was sittin' there tryin' to eat it too.  
12 U- it's sand  
13 too much sand  
14 J: Yeah  
15 D: xxx one little piece was um-  
16 'e should of done it that- that- um in the morning  
early  
17 J: [Morning] yeah early

18 D: But 'e it about ten or something  
19 J: Yeah it's too late  
20 D: 'e should of dug dug the whole day before  
21 an' got that- cook the wood  
22 'cause the wood took a long time  
23 an' they leave the ashes there  
24 that's what they should of done  
25 that's what my Dad said  
26 J: Yeah, he didn't- he- he didn't have enough time  
27 he ran out of time, yeah  
28 D: 'e should of asked for help  
29 me and Frank would of 'elped im  
30 J: Yeah I know  
31 well we had lots of helpers  
32 but they weren't very good at digging pits  
33 so it took a lot longer.  
34 Well maybe next year you can help  
35 hey maybe next year

+++++

\*P49 Getting a Feed  
\*(lines 676-709; continuation of P50 - Girrawheen #096)  
\*'David' and Jackie Nell (non-Aboriginal AEST teacher)

1 D: All the wadjellas  
2 they're- oh man  
3 J: They don't know how to dig a pit, do they?  
4 D: My dad he just goes (making digging sounds) like  
that  
5 two minutes later there's big hole,  
6 ay xxx chuck the wood in there  
7 and then jus' let it bur-rn.  
8 Let it burn all night  
9 then cook the meat.  
10 J: Yeah  
11 D: Like an, an you be sittin' there hungry  
12 as six o'clock in the [morning just allowed to 'ave  
a feed]  
13 J: [Ohh]  
14 D: Gotta get up about two hours later,  
15 can't go to sleep there  
16 still 'ungry

17 an' you only get a little piece for-  
 18 just a little kangaroo you know xxx  
 19 I got up  
 20 sneaked in there  
 21 an' my Dad he chucked two Kangaroo's  
 22 'e sittin' there eatin' the tail (making eating,  
 scoffing sounds)  
 23 J: Ohh was 'e? Yeah  
 24 D: It was about eight o'clock 'e got up  
 25 J: Ohh  
 26 D: 'E ate it,  
 27 I said 'Ohh hey'  
 28 then, then 'e said 'na 'ere you have some.'  
 29 So ate some,  
 30 I ate leg part  
 31 And Dad 'e went to sleep  
 32 'cause um we didn't-  
 33 'cause um there the school 'olidays then  
 34 and um the next night we make- my mum made a damper  
 35 an' the damper didn't cook right  
 36 J: Oh no  
 37 D: Like in the middle it was raw like just the plain  
 flour  
 38 J: Oh really  
 39 D: Yeah an den my mum was goin' 'oh man, this da-'  
 40 I'm so hungry  
 41 I feel hungry  
 42 whipped it up, boy  
 43 'an this this big blurry stuff 'angin' out  
 44 she's going 'oh no'  
 45 she chucked it out  
 46 an' she's cookin' some eggs  
 47 an just she about to crack it  
 48 um it was like little little um red stuff there  
 49 an' she goin' 'oh no'  
 50 J: Oh no  
 51 D: An' she tipped that out too  
 52 An' then she goin'  
 53 'Na, this- it- I'm goin' shop and buyin' feed'  
 54 So she went to Red Rooster  
 55 an' bought a feed  
 56 J: [ xxxx]

57 D: [ She ate it 'erself  
 58 she ate it 'erself] she sat there  
 59 an' jus' looked at us  
 60 eatin'  
 61 I said  
 62 'Mum, give us some money  
 63 so we can go to shops'  
 64 she gave some money  
 65 I bought- I didn't buy xx  
 66 I didn't buy Red Rooster  
 67 bought a big cool drink  
 68 J: Big cool drink instead  
 69 D: Big two litre  
 70 but they was about three dollars ten  
 71 Mum only me five dollars  
 72 so I got a dollar eighty worth of chip

++++++  
 \*P50 Blue Pleated Skirt  
 \*(lines 743-757) Girrawheen #096  
 \*'Rita', 'Kathy', (Y12) and Jackie Nell

1 J: What's- what's the funniest memory  
 2 that you've got about being at high school?  
 3 R: The first day of school  
 4 J: Why what happened?  
 5 K: It was so funny  
 6 she came in like a long skirt sort of thing  
 7 R: Blue pleated skirt  
 8 K: Blue pleated skirt  
 9 a nice little white polo top or something  
 10 an' nice shoes an' socks  
 11 an' we all like in jeans xxx  
 12 R: That's when the school didn't have a dress code so  
 13 J: Oh right  
 14 R: So I started out of place  
 15 K: Such a square  
 16 R: Next day I come in jeans an' a shirt  
 17 K: Bit more relaxed  
 18 J: Did they give you a hard time about it?  
 19 R: Yeah

+++++

\*P51 Pie Fight

\*(lines 761-773) Girrawheen #096

\*'Rita', 'Kathy', (Y12) and Jackie Nell

1 J: So what about you Kathy  
2 what's your funniest memory?  
3 K: Oh man, um can't really remember.  
4 I don't know it's  
5 like one time me an' Rita had a fight  
6 J: You two had a fight?  
7 K: And we threw a pie at each other  
8 remember that?  
9 P: Ohh xx that was in year ten ay  
10 K: Yep  
11 J: You threw pies at each other?  
12 K: Yep  
13 R: She threw a pie at me  
14 J: Whereabouts?  
15 K: Um [oh I sort of ditched it at 'er]  
16 R: [Basketball court],  
17 Basketball court...  
18 That was pretty funny  
19 K: Um me and Kristy going troppo,  
20 ping pong games stuff like that

+++++

\*P52 Best Teacher

\*(lines 774-782) Girrawheen #096

\*'Rita', 'Kathy', (Y12) and Jackie Nell

1 J: And, and what- what has been the best teacher do you think  
2 when you've been at school  
3 who- who's been some of the teachers  
4 that of you- you will remember for good or bad maybe?  
5 K: Mister Bennett  
6 J: Mister Bennett?  
7 Why Mister Bennett?  
8 K: 'Cause he's like, really funny  
9 ay I swear he wants to be an Aboriginal  
10 J: Yeah, why?

11 K: I swear it

12 'cause he's a-

13 I remember in my geography class

14 when he said 'goona'

15 an 'e didn't know the meaning

16 I mean people just lost it

17 R: It was so funny

+++++

\*P53 Stuff about me

\*(lines 836-844) - Girrawheen #096

\*'Rita', 'Kathy', (Y12) and Jackie Nell

1 J: Are you just drifting away from one another?

2 R: Yeah, 'cause at Christmas time

3 last Christmas I went away

4 an' um someone said all this stuff about me to everyone

5 an I come back an denied it

6 J: Back stabbed

7 K: ['cause we weren't talking either]

8 R: [Yeah an also when I was going out with um] Tom Edwards

9 as well he like said all this stuff to Tom

10 like saying this stuff about me

11 this bad stuff

12 so we haven't ever really been the same

13 K: Remember when we weren't talking

14 and he said all that to me

15 and then we started talking

16 and then he was like...

17 R: We've had so many fights this year

+++++

\*P54 Little Aun'y

\*(1112-1119) - Girrawheen #096

\*'Pauline' (year 8) with Jackie Nell (and another student present)

1 P: ...I'm gone into town Northbridge everywhere

2 J: So what's in town? What happens in town?

3 P: Or meet up with xxx you know

4 and especially nieces an that  
5 cause I got a niece who's eighteen  
6 J: Oh wow  
7 P: and she calls me 'my little aun'y  
8 she goes 'my little aun'y  
9 I go 'don't call me aun'y in front everyone.'  
10 So I feel shame  
11 when she call me aun'y  
12 an one of my cousin too was fourteen,  
13 um she had a baby,  
14 yeah, she had a little boy.  
15 And that so that . Yeah

+++++

\*P55 She got wild

\*(1177-1186) - Girrawheen #096

\*'Pauline' (year 8) with Jackie Nell (and another student present)

1. P: And so, and then-  
2. because my Nan got married to Pa Robert Groves  
3. um everyone there said like thing to me,  
4. 'You can't do that  
5. you can't do this 'ere'  
6. I go 'yeah man,  
7. yeah man'  
8. J: Do you listen to them?  
9. P: Oh some times  
10. J: Some times  
11. P: Nan- Nan- Nan- Nan-  
12. I was walking over there last night,  
13. an' I walked  
14. Nan- Nan goes to me  
15. 'can you please do the dishes'  
16. an' I go 'yeah Nan'  
17. an I did the dishes  
18. an she asked me to iron the clothes  
19. an I forgot to do 'em  
20. she got wild with me  
21. so cracked me over the head  
22. J: Oh no  
23. P: I went 'oh Nan'

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\*P56 Mum's birthday

\*(1277-1295) - Girrawheen #096

\*'Beryl', 'Eileen', 'Tania', and 'Ann' (Year 12?) with Jackie Nell present

1 B: Guess what  
2 my Mum had her birthday on Friday  
3 an' it was like oh my God so  
4 we took her up Milling an all that  
5 T: Up where?  
6 B: She fifty  
7 she had- she turned fifty-one  
8 an they had the loveliest cake there  
9 oh no they had 'er name on it an all  
10 it cost over a hundred dollars  
11 hundred- over a hundred-an'-fifty  
12 an' aunty- Aunty Gert- Aunty Gert Murray  
13 T: Yeah I know  
14 B: She paid it  
15 she had bickies  
16 she had Aunty Pearl's  
17 and she had Mum's  
18 an they all had their names on it  
19 an it had every single ones  
20 an' it had everyone's names on it  
21 An it had Mum's  
22 boy [Mum was crying  
23 she was too blue]  
24 T: On my Gran's birthday Mum was crying  
25 she was oh nyorn  
26 B: True  
27 T: Oh nyorn  
28 A: Oh nyorn like me  
29 tha's sad unna  
30 B: She was crying budda an all that  
31 [on Friday it her main birthday]  
32 E: [She started getting all hot  
33 when you got caught with the smoke]  
34 she started getting' all hot  
35 she reckon she wanna dob that other girl in, sista  
36 she was goin'- getting all hot

37 when she got caught smoking  
38 T: Yeah I was getting all hot

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\*P57 Aboriginal Play

\*(Lines 1-57) Warriapendi #178

\*A= 'Amy' (Rob's twin); B= 'Paula' (year 7)

1 A: uh I'm Amy.  
2 B: my name's Paula.  
3 We went to a play (laugh)  
4 an Aboriginal play  
5 and it was about how they lived um a long time ago in  
um  
6 it was about a lady, somebody Davis  
7 Forgot her name- Mrs. Davis  
8 She had eleven children  
9 and didn't get any of er family stolen  
10 and Aun'y Marla's niece was in it  
11 her name was um in the film  
12 her name was-- uh not film, uh play  
13 her name was- um  
14 A: we forgot  
15 but her real name is Kylie  
16 B: Farmer [And]  
17 A: [And] one girl in there who's-  
18 not her real name  
19 uh her name was Dot-  
20 and she was really funny  
21 She was the youngest  
22 A: yeah, she was my best actor in it  
23 B: and Patricia, myself, Amy, Tania,  
24 A: Bob and James.  
25 B: and we all went with Miss Clarkson  
26 A: the teachers.  
27 B: we went with- and they were- this lady Kate  
28 A: Miss Clarkson  
29 B: um Miss Brown  
30 A: Miss Jacobs  
31 B: Aun'y Marla  
32 A: yeah  
33 B: and Mrs.- um Mrs. Jacob's friend and her husband

34 A: And it was- and we met a movie star  
35 B: [yeah]  
36 A: [yeah] he um does this thing was thing on some  
waves and all that  
37 B: yeah  
38 A: in the pool some movie-show wave thing  
39 but the best bit I like is where  
40 um she's-- they come back-  
41 like it sort of like they're telling a story  
42 and um she comes back  
43 and um where they grew up and everythink and  
44 B: It's really funny  
45 A: and she said-  
46 they had a look in ol' gaol  
47 and had all these Aboriginals' names carved in  
48 B: and uhm Dot the youngest one  
49 she's standing up and-  
50 A: an' then the oldest one goes-  
51 B: the oldest one goes- 'Look it  
52 they scratched their names in the walls'  
53 an' Dot goes 'Better than scratchin' something else  
(laugh)  
54 A: an' um it was really funny  
55 an' another bit I liked was um  
56 when um there was snake in that little [car thingy]  
57 B: [(laugh)]  
58 A: the ol'- um the oldest one's like  
59 'Dot you gotta kill it'  
60 and it's just like all right gotta a big stick  
61 knocking this thing on the head  
62 B: it was really funny  
63 an it was jumping aroun'  
64 A: it's a bit like 'Is it- is it dead yet?'  
65 and she goes 'I think so'  
66 an hit it on it's head one more time [xxxx  
(laughing)]  
67 B: [(laughing)]  
68 A: it's like poof-  
69 but it was only free people acting  
70 B: and that's it  
71 A: see ya  
72 B: see ya (3.0m)

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\*P58 Goanna and My Uncle

\*(lines 60-66) Warriapendi #178

\*C= 'Billy Bob' (year 7)

1 C: Well, on our way back from Mullewa  
2 we went um- we went-  
3 on the way back from Mullewa  
4 we saw a goanna  
5 and my um uncle he was hitting it on the head with a  
rock  
6 and we caught it  
7 and we ate it up for dinner  
8 and um it taste nice  
9 and we went to Geraldton  
10 and we had lots of fun  
11 and we had goanna for dinner  
12 and my uncle ate most of it  
13 He had to knock it on the head twice  
14 and it was really fun.....  
15 Bye. (4.0m)

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\*P59 Kangaroo Bones

\*(lines 64-78) Warriapendi #178

\*D= 'Rob' (year 7; Amy's twin)

1 D: Um and Amy and I went tracking  
2 went to George's Towers in the bush  
3 and I went riding with all my cousins  
4 and we found some bones  
5 and I found a bit of a tail  
6 so I think it was kangaroo  
7 an' we found like a knee thing cap  
8 and um we found a bit of the arm and um this-  
9 an it's in the bush  
10 and we went um in our tents  
11 and we slept in tents  
12 not xxxx an it's xxx front  
13 we went an' we found all the bones  
14 went back telling our uncle  
15 and um he's sittin there laughing at us

16 but he believed us  
17 because we had to go show him  
18 and my cousin she's like um running  
19 didn't want to look at-  
20 like she had a look  
21 and she's like- she reckon 'Oo-o  
22 they look all gross and all'  
23 and it was so funny  
24 and um my um me and my cousins  
25 we went on this big bush um thing early  
26 went out way in the bush  
27 and it got really hard to get through  
28 but it's like what we had to do was follow the  
arrows  
29 and it was really fun  
30 OK see ya (5.2m)

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\*P60 Football on Saturday

\*(lines 87-92 Warriapendi #178) E= 'Jonathan' (year 2)

1 E: On Saturday I played football at um  
2 and I versed against Noranda Brown  
3 and we won  
4 and we've only lost one game through the whole  
season  
5 and this week it's gonna be our last game  
6 and we're gonna win it

+++++

\*P61 Camp

\*(lines 96-117) Warriapendi #178 A= 'Amy' (year 7; Rob's  
twin)

1 A: An' me again.  
2 An' um I went on a camp Mooditch Culungars  
3 It's for um like kids um Aboriginal kids  
4 an' I went with my sista Cathy, my brother Dave,  
Frank Banes, an' xxx Carter  
5 An' we slept two nights there  
6 an' we met um a movie star  
7 and he did some-he did um played didjerridoo-

8 it was really funny what he did  
9 an' I got my picture taken with him  
10 an' um we went all over  
11 an' it was really fun  
12 an' we went for bush walks  
13 an' learnt how they made tea  
14 like um got tea  
15 an' um we went for this huge walk  
16 when we could have just like crossed the road or  
somethin'  
17 an' it was really fun  
18 an' he told us a ghost story  
19 it was about um some spirits  
20 who live near the river  
21 and there was river not far from us  
22 and we all like uh  
23 oh an' it's like we heard um these noises  
24 in the um ... in the trees an' in the bush there  
25 and when he finished  
26 he made this big noise (7.0)  
27 and um the girl sitting next to me jumped up  
28 and nearly jumped in the fire  
29 it was so funny  
30 and then it wa- an' we had tea and water  
31 and it was nice  
32 really good fun there  
33 and like we- they told us about not to be ashamed  
34 about being Aboriginal or anything  
35 it was like who would be ashamed?  
36 an' um ..they were t-  
37 we went and had-- um um and had a feed  
38 and went swimming  
39 and um they were teachin' us  
40 about our language and everything  
41 they taught us some words  
42 um I can't remember much of 'em  
43 and that's it  
44 an' I had fun (7.7)

+++++  
\*P62 Intermediate Champion Girl  
\*(lines 121-130) Warriapendi #178 F= 'Clarita' (year 7)  
  
1 F: Hi I'm Clarita  
2 and I love running  
3 an' I also play netball  
4 which is pretty good  
5 an' well my favourite thing is sports  
6 I love to run.  
7 last year in year four  
8 I got intermediate champion girl  
9 so did Tina, Michael, and Mark  
10 but of course- Michael and Mark got boy.  
11 and well what I like about sports  
12 it gives me a lot of exercise  
13 and that I could like be the next Cathy Freeman  
14 or some'in' like 'at  
15 which I wanna be famous an' everything  
16 because I wanna be a success  
17 not someone that just sits at home and does nothing  
18 so I jus' wanna-  
19 I want my life to be really good  
20 and I want all my friends' lives to be good too  
21 yeah, bye. (8.9)  
  
+++++  
\*P63 Father's Day  
\*(lines 132-138) Warriapendi #178 G= 'Margarite' (year 7)  
  
1 G: Hi my name is Margarite  
2 an' my favourite thing in life is maths  
3 and spelling  
4 and 'specially art  
5 an' well we done a painting of Aboriginals  
6 and at- on Father's Day-  
7 for this Father's Day  
8 we done a basket goin' up  
9 an' den for Mother's Day  
10 we was goin' to make a card  
11 an' do something

12 but we didn't get to make the card  
13 an' I made one at home. (9.6)  
14 An' that's all, goodbye.

+++++

\*P64 Emu Eggs

\*(lines 175-187) Warriapendi #178

\*L= Louella; H= 'Kevin' (year 2)

1 L: and and what about um huntin'?  
2 d'you go huntin'?  
3 you go huntin' with Mum and Dad an' them?  
4 H: yup- for Easter eggs.  
5 L: Easter eggs? (laughs)  
6 H: an we always eat 'em.  
7 L: [unna]  
8 H: [when we hunt 'em.]  
9 L: oh.  
10 H: an' we throw some away  
11 and hunt 'em again. (11.1)  
12 L: ah o-oh  
13 an' what about emu eggs?  
14 H: O-oo  
15 L: emu eggs  
16 that's what you mean  
17 H: yeah

+++++

\*P65 Twin Witches

\*(line 221-243) Warriapendi #178 H= 'Kevin' (year 2)

1 L: Now tell me-  
2 what about-  
3 did Mum and Dad tell you about any ghost stories?  
4 H: yes  
5 L: You gonna tell me one? (13.5)  
6 Gone  
7 you tell me.  
8 H: a witch was uh a witch turned into a a um a a ghost  
9 and da uda witch turned into a ghost  
10 an' they both turned into a a a monster  
11 L: really.

12 H: an' they both twins  
13 L: mm-m twins m-mm  
14 an' what'd they do?  
15 did they- what did they do?  
16 did they-  
17 were they scarin' all the kids  
18 or they takin' the kids or what?  
19 H: scarin' 'em an' takin' some.  
20 L: takin' some and scarin'-  
21 oh  
22 H: Yeah dey're dey takin' them to their mum  
23 'cause dem kids dat day take are lost  
24 L: oh are they?  
25 they're lost  
26 H: an' dog dey take  
27 L: an' dogs too?  
28 oh  
29 H: not to eat 'em  
30 L: not to eat 'em  
31 oh they're good witches  
32 H: dey take 'em back  
33 L: they're good ghosts, are they?  
34 o-oh ok

+++++

\*P66 Flying Fox

\*(lines 424-439) Warriapendi #178 J= 'Alice' (year 3)

1 L: oh an' now what about-  
2 I thought you hurt yourself in Carnarvon  
3 J: yeah  
4 L: well, tell me  
5 what happened?  
6 J: um I falled-  
7 I falled off the- the Flying Fox  
8 D'you know that real one?  
9 L: the Flying Fox?  
10 you fell off it?  
11 J: yeah  
12 L: that wa-  
13 J: everyone to the big um hospital  
14 an' we-



15 I don't know if we went to the big hospital  
16 or we went to the li'l hospital  
17 you know in um Perth  
18 in- here  
19 L: oh yeah when Mum-  
20 when you came back down  
21 Mum took you to the hospital to get fixed up  
22 J: yeah an' we got these silver teeth when-  
23 when I had lolly-  
24 ate lollies  
25 L: Oh they- caps they put on your teeth  
26 oh yeah I can see 'em

+++++

\*P67 Big Fish

\*(lines 491-511) Warriapendi #178 L= Louella; J= 'Alice'  
(year 3)

1 J: ... an' we went up to the um Carnarvon for holidays  
2 to swim there  
3 an' an' there there's um you know  
4 this big fish was hangin' on the big thing  
5 an' xxx y'know them times how much big they are  
6 L: mm-m  
7 J: an' hangin' on there  
8 L: on scales?  
9 J: yeah-  
10 L: were they-  
11 J: on scales  
12 L: -tellin' ya how big he is  
13 he was [big one]  
14 J: [yeah] yeah  
15 an' they- an' he-  
16 when they bringed it back  
17 it was all yellow  
18 L: was he?  
19 J: yeah-  
20 nah- or-orange  
21 L: mm-m how come he was orange?  
22 J: because- because it had stuff on it  
23 but it was brow- um gray  
24 and then it turned brown

25 because all the- um um all the things ha' orange  
26 L: mm-m ah-h  
27 J: it had all stuff on it

+++++

\*P68 Red Rugby Ball

\*(lines 754-764) Warriapendi #178 E = 'Jonathan' (year 2)

1 L: what about you and your big brother  
2 when he- he-  
3 he must play football with you home?  
4 E: yeah, um 'cause we had football at my aun'y's  
5 uh I kicked it over the fence  
6 L: oh an' but you never got it back  
7 E: no but we're getting it back  
8 that was our red rugby ball  
9 Rita found it on the road-  
10 L: oh yeah  
11 E: cross the road from the park  
12 L: oh  
13 E: 'round the corner

+++++

\*P69 Pussy Fish

\*(lines 763 - 783) Warriapendi #178 E = 'Jonathan' (year  
2)

1 E: I- I go fishin' with my dad sometimes  
2 L: Well, tell me, go on  
3 E: An um we- I went with my mum and my  
4 yeah my mum and my dad  
5 an' um there was crabs all the time  
6 an' we only caught um only these pussy-  
7 uh pussy fish not flowies  
8 L: ah uh bl- blowies  
9 E: blowies  
10 L: yeah a-ah yeah yeah  
11 oh they tormenting things them ay?  
12 E: An' they slip outta my hand  
13 when I grab them  
14 L: o-oh o-oh  
15 an' what about-

16 did you catch any big fish or- ?  
17 E: only little ones (5.1) (051)  
18 L: yeah yeah but did you- ate em up ay later  
19 took em home  
20 and cooked em up xxx  
21 E: nuh we threw 'em  
22 we left em on the rocks  
23 L: yeah 'cause they was-  
24 [no- too- no good]  
25 E: [yeah] too tiny  
26 L: yeah, too tiny-  
27 they're- eat 'em ay m-mm

+++++

\*P70 Went fishin'

\*(lines 784 - 800) Warriapendi #178 E = 'Jonathan' (year 2)

1 L: did you go down for visit someone or anything?  
2 E: Oh this was this year  
3 but it was a while ago  
4 an' we went on a camp  
5 an' then an' we went fishin'  
6 an' we sit  
7 at that time um my mum's friend caught a fish  
8 an' it bit him  
9 an' it was bleeding  
10 an' an' then we went-  
11 then we went back  
12 an' then we came back at dark time-  
13 not us little ones um  
14 cause an' they seen a big seal in the water  
15 L: Oh a seal  
16 it must a been hangin'around for fish, see, ay,  
17 hangin' around for em to pull the fish in  
18 an' grab it off the line ay  
19 E: An' I seen a blowie jump-  
20 it- 'cause I was walkin' ta Mum  
21 and I seen a blowie jump on the thing  
22 and I picked it up  
23 L: Oh you picked it up?  
24 o-oh  
25 E: yeah, an' then one um

26 an' then my cousin picked it up  
27 an' threw it in the water  
28 L: m-mm an' that's how you went fishin'

+++++

\*P71 Room Twen'y-eight

\*(lines 803-822) Warriapendi #178

\*L = Louella; E = 'Jonathan' (year 2); Z= teacher?

1 L: Know any scary stories?  
2 E: Oh uh there- my br- um that camp  
3 um my cousin he to- he said there was three people-  
4 one asked for a- a room  
5 and she said number twen'y-eight  
6 an' he walked- he went up to twen'y-eight,  
7 turned on the light,  
8 he sta- he sat down and read a book,  
9 an' then- an' then he- an' then he went to the  
toilet  
10 an' then- an' then he came back out  
11 an' then he walked out  
12 an' he fell out-  
13 he fell out the window  
14 so a second person came out,  
15 he said- he said,  
16 can I- can I borrow a room,  
17 an' he said um yeah um number twen'y eight  
18 an' so he went up- he turned on the light  
19 he- he made a sandwich  
20 an' then- an' then he- he went into- he went to  
sleep  
21 an' in the morning he woke up  
22 an' he fell out the window,  
23 and the third person he came up  
24 an' he walked up-  
25 he asked for-  
26 can I borrow a room  
27 and she said number twen'y-eight,  
28 an' he said watch out  
29 there's- there's a monkey in there  
30 so he walked up  
31 he turned on the light

32 an' then he- he m- he made him a sandwich  
 33 an' then he sat down,  
 34 turned on the TV  
 35 and the power went off  
 36 an' so he turned on  
 37 an' then it came back on,  
 38 so he turned on the light,  
 39 an' there was a monkey there  
 40 he sang he picked his nose  
 41 and he said  
 42 Now I got you  
 43 now I'm gonna eat yous.  
 44 So he ate it.  
 45 Z: (laugh)  
 46 L: An' they thought it was a charnuk ghost in the room  
 47 they jumped out the window the other two, ay?  
 48 Mm-m Good boy. (8.4) (085)

+++++

\*P72 My sister  
 \*(lines 1086 - 1091) Warriapendi #178 P = 'Melissa' (year 7)

1 P: the um the man across the road  
 2 that lived um across the road  
 3 from my nanna's my dad's mum  
 4 um well um he was blind  
 5 an' my sister goes  
 6 oh why can't you see?  
 7 and he goes 'cause I'm an old blind man-'  
 8 an she goes 'what's blind?'  
 9 and she made me really shame  
 10 an' so I- so I grabbed her-  
 11 she- by the hair  
 12 and I pulled her out (laugh)

+++++

\*P73 Damper/NAIDOC Day  
 \*(lines 1221 - 1227) Warriapendi #178 A = 'Amy' (year 7)

1 A: an' um on NAIDOC Day  
 2 we had to do all these different activities

3 I got to make damper  
 4 an' I forgot to put the flour on my hands  
 5 L: [an it all stuck to ya] yeah  
 6 A: [and it all got stick]  
 7 an' I made little ones  
 8 for my little niece  
 9 who came to school  
 10 L: mm-m  
 11 A: got two of 'em

+++++

\*P74 Tae Kwon Do  
 \*(lines 1266-1282) Warriapendi #178 A = 'Amy' (year 7)

1 A: ...and um last Friday's Tae Kwon Do  
 2 this guy came in there  
 3 an' we were muckin' round  
 4 using the rubber mats  
 5 'cause he was showin' us a move  
 6 what to do if someone comes up to us  
 7 an' this guy come in  
 8 reckons that we were doin' it all wrong  
 9 an' then he reckon,  
 10 um I'll show you my style  
 11 and he wanted to fight the guy  
 12 who was teachin' us  
 13 but he has us on knees (334)  
 14 so he couldn't  
 15 an' then we all had to um  
 16 make the class short  
 17 that was only like ten minutes  
 18 L: mm-m  
 19 A: an' then we all ran out  
 20 L: mm-m  
 21 A: an' then he went into the office  
 22 where Mum was  
 23 L: yeah  
 24 A: an' started complaining  
 25 an'- but Mum didn't have to talk to him  
 26 because there was someone else in there  
 27 an' then he come out  
 28 an' he came all the way around

29 just to get up the path  
30 when he just could have crossed the road

+++++

\*P75 Went off at me

\*(lines 1283-1293) Warriapendi #178 A = 'Amy' (year 7)

1 L: an' where Toby?  
2 he still at school?  
3 A: nuh  
4 L: an he left school now  
5 A: yeah I think he went to work today on a first day  
6 L: ah did he? oh good on him  
7 A: an' he went off at me on the phone  
8 'cause I couldn't find the number  
9 'cause his writing is too messy  
10 an' he kept goin' off at me  
11 until Mum had to get on the phone  
12 L: oh Mum had to get on the phone  
13 an' tell him to behave  
14 A: mm-m  
15 L: mm-mm-m

+++++

\*P76: When they were little

\*(218-228) Dryandra #180 L=Louella; Q= Diana (year 2)

1 Q: [my] um nana she told me um  
2 when my little when my uncle my mum  
3 when they were the little girls  
4 she said um Irene, Aun'y Cindy um my Aun'y Cindy used  
to take the  
bow off my uncle  
5 when he was little  
6 L: like bow and arrows?  
7 Q: yeah  
8 L: yeah  
9 Q: an they usta um always run after 'ch other  
10 L: did they? o-oh they usta always take things off each  
other  
11 an chase one another  
12 Q: [yeah]

13 L: [to get it] back

14 Q: uh-huh

15 L: mm-m...

+++++

\*P77 Wudarchi's comin'

\*(lines 378-391) Dryandra #180

\*T=Kevin (age 13); S= Errol (father) ; X=Karen (sister,  
age 21); L=Lydia (mother)

1 S: Yeah but anyway,  
2 okay Kev- Kev, so ah all he had to do  
3 was tell 'em that wudarchi's comin' for them  
4 and Billy started cryin  
5 T: mm  
6 S: an ah  
7 T: Billy reckon he comin through the -  
8 cos look here, Dad, there was like a big bed there,  
9 and bout three people was layin there  
10 and two people layin on the single bed over here  
11 an we was sayin 'move over this side'  
12 and next we was like muckin around  
13 sayin aw let's run outside an scare him.  
14 'Let's. Let's.'  
15 Then next minute xxx was outside  
16 he heard like a robot kinda motor.  
17 He reckon 'aww no you boys-'  
18 an next minute they all climb down  
19 an jumped on the floor.  
20 We kicked him up the other side  
21 cos there's four layin there  
22 an three on this bed  
23 an Rob got up on the other bed  
24 and he reckon that he started cryin  
25 cos he was cramped up  
26 cos he-  
27 X: cos he musta been scared  
28 L: a-w-w don't- True

+++++

\*P78 Motor bike, cars, an dogs

\*(lines 394-417; continuation of P77) Dryandra #180

\*T=Kevin (age 13); S= Errol (father) ; X=Karen (sister, age 21); L=Lydia (mother)

1 S: But anyway, Kev,

2 so- so so yis heard the- yis heard the bike start up

3 or tryin to get kick over?

4 T: Heard it.

5 We heard it drivin and ridin around the fire an everything

6 S: What!

7 T: xxx

8 S: An what about the car? Ya heard that kick over the xxx. xxx

9 L: wudarchi voice

10 T: We heard that on the side like-

11 I- but I never heard it

12 cos on'y this bloke could hear it spinnin' around

13 but I never

14 S: Okay now tell- but you tell Dad-

15 I- I- don't trust any of them boys.

16 You tell Dad-

17 Tell me what-what the noises ya heard that night,

18 includin' the cars and all the other noises

19 T: Motor an cars

20 S: Motor bike an cars,

21 but you said the dogs was doing something too

22 T: Aw yeah, the dogs were barkin' an stuff an cryin

23 cos there was a dingo out there too

24 S: Is there?

25 T: yeah an I had-

26 X: A dingo?

27 T: Yeah, one dingo.

28 An an when we went inside

29 we we we jus listened y'know

30 next minute these dogs start barkin jus- like (making dog-barking noise)-

31 an then ya heard one at the back of him goin (making barking noise)-

32 like that there.

33 Like you could hear it loud an soft y'know

34 L: mm

35 T: an then we- and then Pop- Pop put a lantern in

36 L: mm

37 T: an whas a name-

38 then then um then next minute we heard a 'oo-oo-oo'

39 like that there then,

40 that's it.

41 That's the end.

+++++

\*P79: Plates rattlin'

\*(lines 441-455) Dryandra #180

\*T=Kevin (age 13); S= Errol (father) ; X=Karen (sister, age 21); L=Lydia (mother)

1 X: ya got anything to tell?

2 Any other stories?

3 T: Ya know the plates?

4 the plates rattlin'

5 L: oh no

6 T: like someone washin' the plates or somethun

7 L: aw nah that's wrong

8 X: here look, you'll always hear strange noises out on a farm.

9 All the time.

10 T: But we heard it two nights in a row.

11 I don't know why

12 S: Both nights yis was there?

13 T: We heard the motor bike the first night.

14 Then we heard the car, the plates, everything

15 S: The what?

16 first the car

17 T: The plates

18 S: yeah

19 L: an the car

20 S: or an the car

21 T: an the car yeah

22 an that's when we all went inside then

+++++

\*P80 Roper River story

\*(lines 510-528) Dryandra #180

\*S= Errol (father) ; T=Kevin (age 13); X=Karen (sister, age 21); L=Lydia (mother)

1 S: I'll tell you a story- Kevin- (strumming the guitar)  
2 this story's about when I was up at Roper River in the Northern Territory.

3 It doesn't involve any spirits or balyits or woodarchies

4 but it does involve one old man Jarrad Williamson.

5 Jarrad Williamson was an old man

6 who took Dad out cutting boomerangs and nulla nullas

7 in swamp country after the wet

8 so the tall grass was still real high

9 and the water was still in the billabong an swamps

10 but anyway he took me out

11 an was cuttin bam- uh cuttin' boomerangs

12 cuttin' nulla nulla's down

13 while pickin' out the right sticks for 'em all

14 the right tree branches and things

15 an um we was about five miles from Roper toward

Madaranka

16 an uh the old fulla saw that I was getting very tired

17 and he said listen, Errol, come here

18 and I'll take you across the road

19 an he walked me across the road

20 and he said 'Listen, you start walking back to the camp

21 and I'll cut a few more things

22 and I'll be uh I'll be long in a minute

23 an he headed off back down in the swamp

24 he's walkin' around cuttin' things

25 in about oh- one minute, two minutes a little car come up

26 a little jeep

27 and the boys was from Roper River

28 so they put me back

29 an we was traveling pretty fast on that dirt an back

30 and by the time I come back there

31 that old man was back at the camp

32 old Jarrad Williamson sittin' up there smilin' at me

33 and uh later on them fullas told me

34 that that ol' man had the power to be able to sing people's feet.

35 so when kids wanted to walk

36 when parents had little babies

37 an they were ready for them to walk

38 they'd take 'em to the ol' man

39 an he'd sing the songs

40 and they'd just get up and start walkin'

41 so he had the power to walk above

42 like walk on air right across

43 an he'd he'd beat me back to to the mission that

day

44 an thas a true story

+++++

\*P81 Didjeridoo

\*(lines 757-775) Dryandra #180 D=Walter; E=Sam (year 7); LE=Louella

1 LE: what was youse do here for NAIDOC?

2 D: um we had a big feed

3 E: uh we um Jake and um Mrs. Simpson an her mum made um damper

4 and cooked up kangaroo an all that for us

5 LE: mm

6 E: for NAIDOC week

7 and we had it under the undercover area

8 D: an we saw some blackfellas dancing

9 they came in shouting

10 LE: mm-m they comin' on dancing at assemble?

11 D: mm at assembly

12 LE: you heard about any artists

13 like m people tryin' to do some artwork with you?

14 D: mm but second term we saw this fella play the didjeridoo

15 LE: was he good?

16 E: yeah it's good

17 LE: ah

18 D: an me and Walter got to stand up there and have a go  
19 E: an Miss Simpson said he might be comin' um to  
homework centre  
20 to teach us how to play it-  
21 play it more better  
22 LE: ah that was good ay?  
23 wh- you'd learn to play that  
24 D: yep

+++++

\*P82 Football comp

\*(lines 888-899) Dryandra #180 G='Rodney' (year 2)

1 LE: ok so you play football ay?  
2 G: yeah  
3 LE: mm what's the name of your team?  
4 G: um Northern Cobras  
5 LE: Northern Cobras  
6 Cobras oh yeah  
7 an an what position do you play?  
8 G: I usually play on full back  
9 LE: You're a full back.  
10 Oh boy ay yeah an um  
11 ok then uh how did you go in the in your comp last  
year-  
12 or this year?  
13 G: uh we we got in-  
14 like we have round robins an like  
15 LE: yeah  
16 G: we we was uh there was three top teams  
17 and we we got in there  
18 and like we only beat one of the teams  
19 that was the Morley Bulldogs  
20 LE: mm-m

+++++

\*P83 Cathy Freeman's race

\*(lines 1080-1082) Dryandra #180 J= Graeme (year 2)

1 LE: uh you tell me somethin' 'bout the Olympics  
2 J: a-ah the Olympics  
3 I watched Cathy Freeman

4 an me an my mum an sister  
5 an we all started to running  
6 and when she finished the race  
7 we all be quiet

+++++

\*P84 Sequel to Dad's Trip (P4)

\*(Tape #182 MVKT4 1977)

\* A is a 6 year old boy and B is his sister; I is the  
non-Aboriginal interviewer (Kaye Thies).

1 I: What did you do in Geraldton?  
2 A: Um I played a game with my friend  
3 I: Yeah.  
4 B: And?  
5 A: We..me and my dad, we went back home  
6 we get my mum.  
7 We went there back together  
8 and my dad went to the pub again  
9 I: Yeah.  
10 B: (giggling)  
11 A: And got me bottle of beer.  
12 B: (laugh)  
13 I: Turn around this way.  
14 I can hear you better then.  
15 Yes, go on.  
16 A: And  
17 B: And  
18 A: me and my dad got drunk.  
19 And that's the end. 073

+++++

\*P85 Photos 082-094

\*(Tape #182 MVKT4 1977. Kaye Thies (non-Aboriginal)  
interviewing a boy aged 6 (A) and his sister (B)). Names  
are pseudonyms.

1 A: Mr. xxxxx photos.  
2 I: Did he?  
3 All: Yeah  
4 A: Of us.  
5 I: Did he?

6 A: I was standing with a yellow car and on the foot.  
 7 I: Ah-h.  
 8 A: Eddy was swinging on there.  
 9 D: Yeah I was swinging on that there.  
 10 I: When did he take the photos?  
 11 A: Before.  
 12 and Eddy was kicking the football over there.  
 13 and I was holding a book over there on the seat.  
 14 I: Yeah.  
 15 D: Yeah, just sat down to read it and...  
 16 A: We we got a a we had- we got cats  
 17 I: Yeah?  
 18 B: Yeah  
 19 and and Mr M\_ took a photo of them  
 20 and I held them photos.  
 21 I: Did he show you?  
 22 B: Yeah.  
 23 A: No. We xxxx  
 24 D: Mrs Mrs xxx xxx down to Mrs C\_ and and  
 25 B: No  
 26 A: I'm in the book  
 27 D: Mrs C\_ couldn't xxx see you  
 28 and I had a look at 'em  
 29 Eddy, Terry, Gary  
 30 A: That's all.  
 31 B: That's all. 094

+++++

\*P86 Vampire Story

\*(Tape #182 MVKT4 Kaye Thies (non-Aboriginal) interviewing a boy aged 6 (A) and his sister (B)).

1 B: I've got one.  
 2 I've got one.  
 3 One day um this girl was um a vampire  
 4 and she um um um she bit another girl uh here.  
 5 I: Did she? and what happened?  
 6 A: 'e bit her in the neck. She xxx  
 7 B: Um another lady came along  
 8 and said 'what 'appened?'  
 9 and she said 'There's um a vampire there'  
 10 and um she um she an' the lady put her in bed.

11 I: Oh did she?  
 [190-203 xxx- non-narrative]  
 12 A: I watch a vampire pic-picture  
 13 and this lady stuck her big teeth out  
 14 and she bit this lady on the neck.  
 15 I: Yeah.  
 16 A: A-and n-o-w  
 17 B: And  
 18 A: Now this- this lady- this lady- this vampire lady  
 19 I: yes  
 20 A: Vampire xxx-- well, um this vampire xxx vampire xxx  
 21 B: Vampire xxx  
 22 A: Vampire xxx,  
 23 well, this vampire took this lady outside to her  
 vampire house  
 24 and and and the girl come along and had a room  
 25 and she said 'Help'  
 26 I: Yeah.  
 27 A: And the vampire come along and bit her in the neck.  
 28 I: Mm-m.  
 29 A: And the man came along with a sword  
 30 and and and and this lady-  
 31 B: No  
 32 A: Well she um she is moved (?) -  
 33 this lady vampire lady well, she xxx xxx xxx  
 34 and xxx the vampire lady trying to get this man-  
 girl  
 35 and this lady- this man with the sword  
 36 he had a knife and xxx through to the lady.  
 37 And then he disappeared. 218

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\*P87 Another One

\*Tape #182 MVKT4 1977 Kaye Thies (non-Aboriginal) (I) interviewing a girl aged around 6 (B)

1 B: I got another one.  
 2 D: xxx  
 3 B: I got another one.  
 4 When um this um lady was- we- went out the house  
 5 well a man came an' a man came in an' xxx  
 6 A: xxx



7 I: Ok  
 8 B: xxx when-- when she came back- um when she came back  
 9 well the man got up  
 10 and she and the lady said 'Help' (?)  
 11 and two- um one lady came along and two men.  
 12 A: One lady and two men. That's xxx  
 13 B: An' the man took the thing off.  
 14 I: What thing?  
 15 B: Um I forgot.  
 16 I: Well what happened then?  
 17 B: That- that was the end.

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\*P88 Morning

\*(Tape #182 MVKT4 1977, 248-263. Kaye Thies talking with a boy aged 6 (A) in a group of 4 Aboriginal friends). Names are pseudonyms.

[I: Gavin, what about you? Who gets up first in your house in the morning?]

1 A: Um my xxxx and my poppy- popeye.  
 2 I: And then what happens?  
 3 A: My- my brothe' makes a fire- fire  
 4 and and he makes a fire all the time my mum tellin' 'im.  
 5 My mum- my mum and dad and the little baby well they sleep in bed  
 all the time.  
 6 I: Yeah  
 7 A: When when when when the sun comes- the sun ri- sun come right up  
 8 they get up.  
 9 I: When the sun comes right up.  
 10 A: Yeah.  
 11 I: Yeah.  
 12 A: And my mum- when we go to school  
 13 my mum goes out.  
 14 Sometimes my mum-my dad goes out by hisself  
 15 and my mum stays home.  
 16 I: Yeah.  
 17 C: When they gets xxx

18 A: xxxxxxxx xxx my dad had a bottle of beer in the back.  
 19 It was out of the box.  
 20 And- and he come back home  
 21 and he went out-  
 22 I: Andy I'm wanna ask you in a minute.  
 23 A: He come back home-  
 24 he come back home and he-and he- he come back home  
 25 and he went out again.

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\*P89 Our Own Language

\* Tape #059 recorded at Koongamia Primary School 29.5.97. Interviewer, Louella Eggington is talking with a group of Aboriginal children, ages 9-10.

1 L: mm.. and what about the teachers xx school  
 2 x: ay?  
 3 L: teachers all right?  
 4 x: not really..  
 5 L: ohh  
 6 x: don't like them..  
 7 we're always fightin in class...  
 8 get things confiscated  
 9 L: oh  
 10 x: (laugh) so we always talk in our own language in class here  
 11 L: yeah yeah  
 12 x: she can't understand us  
 13 L: unna?..oh..ohxxxxxxxxxxxxx  
 14 x: she only know one word  
 15 an that's kunyi  
 16 L: xxx?  
 17 x: an she say "kwinyay"  
 18 L: oh... (laughing) an what you when you starts goin your own lingo  
 19 she gets she don't know what youse goin on about?  
 20 x: mm  
 21 L: I bet youse aay I can just xx-  
 22 x: we not alloweda even talk dat any more in class  
 23 L: yeah thas not fair  
 24 aay you should be allowed to do

25 should be allowed to..you know talk your own language  
an that thas xx-  
26 x: she wanted us to write a biography of our..what all  
our language  
stood for  
26 an I said no way...  
27 you wanta know you find out yourself

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\*P90 Plane Was Gonna Crash

\*(Tape #059 recorded at Koongamia Primary School 29.5.97.  
Interviewer, Louella Eggington is talking with "Elaine", an  
Aboriginal girl, aged 9-10). Name is pseudonym

1 E: and our um.. our old best dance teacher  
2 um she reckons  
3 that we was gonna go s to a country  
4 but when they heard about the um plane crashing over  
dere  
5 we wasn't alloweda go..  
6 L: mmmmm  
7 E: cause they thought that plane was gonna crash..  
8 L: unna?  
9 E: when us kids was on there..  
10 so we wasn't (a)lloweda go  
11 but we might be gong somewhere.. else

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\*P91 Play Equipments

\*(Tape #059 recorded at Koongamia Primary School 29.5.97.  
Interviewer, Louella Eggington is talking to "Darren", aged  
9-10). Name is pseudonym.

1 L: d'you like school?  
2 D: yep  
3 L: mm.. d'you like the teachers?  
4 D: yeh.. and um.... Um.... I like it ere....  
5 because.. i's a small school...  
6 because of South Kal school..  
7 L: mm  
8 D: is big..  
9 L: mm

10 D: an dey dey 'ave boundaries  
11 and ... dis one here they don't 'ave fence  
12 dese don't have fence..  
13 and... from Kalgoorlie..  
14 dey don't ave foo- footy goals  
15 and ... dese one do  
16 L: mm  
17 D: an when dey got dey ah play a- play equipments out  
on the.. oval..  
18 we're not alloweda go on em  
19 yes (= just?) because dis..one boy...he wen an..  
broke it..  
20 L: mm  
21 D: an you're not alloweda play with it.. play with  
em..  
22 only when you go ta s- um sports.. n das all

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\*P92 Cross-Country Race

\*(Tape #059 recorded at Koongamia Primary School 29.5.97.  
Interviewer, Louella Eggington is talking with a group of  
children, ages 9-10. The Aboriginal Islander Education  
Worker (K) is also present).

1 x: I know what I I like  
2 the cross-country  
3 x: I like the cross-country race  
4 x: xxxxxx too  
5 L: oh do you ooo dear  
6 x: an you gotta run a right around the oval  
7 L: ohh  
8 x: the school ad a [ sports day  
9 x: [ I like dat  
10 x: I w- I done dat  
11 x: yeah I like dat  
12 L: you did it?  
13 did you run an make it all the way round? Ohhh  
14 x: an dis noise go bang in dat thing  
15 x: a gun  
16 x: gun  
17 L: go near the gun yeah  
18 K: jus xxxxxx

19 x: see this liddle girl cut loose?? ..  
20 cause she .. she's a um.. she sort (thought) i(t)  
was.. a.. noise  
21 x: ...she thought she thought it was a-  
22 she thought it was a real gun  
23 L: oh [xxxxxxxxxxxxx yeah yeah  
24 K: [and it frightened er did it?  
25 x: but it was a flag  
26 dat was in there  
27 x: yeah.. an de flag popped out  
28 L: it popped out of the gun yeah

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\*P93 Too Small

\*(Tape #186 MVD6, recorded at Midvale Primary School by Anne Davidson (I) on 26.11.77. She is speaking to 'Shannon', aged 8. Name is pseudonym).

1 C: Used to have a cat.  
2 I: Did you?  
3 C: And it's got kittens.  
4 We gave it away to our nanna.  
5 I: Oh.  
6 C: Five.  
7 Might die.  
8 Too small.  
9 I: Huh?  
10 C: Too small.  
11 I: Too small to have kittens.  
12 C: Yea- too- the kittens are too small.  
13 I: Oh.  
14 C: When they're too small they die.  
15 Sometimes if they're lucky they don't. (266)

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\*P94 In the Bush

\*Tape #183 MVKT 8 recorded at Midvale Primary School 28.10.77. Kaye Thies is talking with a boy, 'Colin', aged 6 (name is pseudonym).

1 I: What else can you find in the bush?  
2 C: I've found a bobtail.

3 I: Have you?  
4 C: Yeah in the bush where my uncle live.  
5 I: Mm.  
6 C: A-a-nd they live in water.  
7 I: Bobtails?  
8 C: Yeah.  
9 I: Tell me about it.  
10 C: I caught a bobtail.  
11 I went down the bush.  
12 Snake come along  
13 and bit me in the leg.  
14 I: Oh.  
15 C: Now it's all right.  
16 I: Mm-m. And what can you find to eat in the bush?  
17 C: Um...bobtails...rattlesnake  
18 I: Anything else?  
19 C: Yeah.  
20 I: What?  
21 C: Um...zebras.  
22 I: What?  
23 C: Zebras got meat.  
24 I: What was that?  
25 C: Zebras.  
26 I: What's that?  
27 C: Zebra.  
28 I: Zebras.  
29 C: Yeah  
30 I: Ah yeah.  
31 C: He got meat.  
32 I: Yes.  
33 C: We caught a zebra.  
34 I: You caught a zebra?  
35 C: Yeah we caught one.  
36 We caught a tiny little bubby one.  
37 I: Where?  
38 C: At the bushes.  
39 I: At the where?  
40 C: At the bushes.  
41 I: At the bushes.  
42 Oh, what did it look like?  
43 C: It's green, red and ...  
44 and we caught-we caught mice.

45 My brother- my brother back in the tin.  
46 So the cat might eat it.  
47 My uh my brother went tin  
48 an' jump- an cat jumped over  
49 an' the mice jumped out,  
50 and the cat got it.  
51 I: Uh-huh.  
52 C: The cat at it up..mice up.  
53 I: Huh.

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\*P95 Scary Picture

\*(Tape #183 MVKT 8 recorded at Midvale Primary School  
28.10.77. Interviewer Kaye Thies is talking with 'Colin',  
aged 6. Name is pseudonym).

1 I: That was very scary was it?  
2 C: Yep. I saw a scary picture, green one.  
3 I saw- I saw- I saw a ghost.  
4 I: Tell me.  
5 C: I saw this spinnin little ghost.  
6 I: Tell me about it.  
7 C: Um um he had a garage side o' his house xxx xxx  
8 And he started laughin'.  
9 And um um...He was growlin' come to this town.  
10 He shot a big gun  
11 An' he showin' big eyes.  
12 Big eyes.  
13 I: Yeah.  
14 C: Like my little sister's.  
15 I: Has your little sister got big eyes?  
16 C: Yeah like this...  
17 A- and I saw a owl big eye  
18 and he got the gun  
19 and he saw xxxx saw it was that Indian with big eyes  
shinin'  
20 A- and.. and.. and that's all.

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\*P96 Cowboy and Indian

\*(Tape #183 MVKT8 recorded at Midvale Primary School,  
28.20.77.

Interviewer Kaye Thies is talking with 'Colin' age 6-7).  
Name is pseudonym.

1 I: What do you play at school in the playground?  
2 What games do you play?  
3 C: Cowboy and Indian.  
4 I: Do you? How do you play that?  
5 C: Um some be um Indians  
6 an some be cowboys.  
7 I: Yeah, and then?  
8 C: Um the cowboys they  
9 all the time the Indians attack the cowboys  
10 when the cowboys doesn't attack them.  
11 I: Which do you like to be?  
12 C: Uh cowboy.  
13 I: Why?  
14 C: Nuh Indians 'cos they better (?)  
15 they just kill the cowboys...till there's none  
left.  
16 I: Mm-m.  
17 C: But one um there was a man  
18 he got stabbed in the back  
19 he didn't die.  
20 I: Was that on telly? On the television?  
21 C: Yeah yeah.  
22 And uh one man who got stabbed in the back  
23 he didn't die  
24 he's gonna k- uh shoot one of the Indians.  
25 I: And did he?  
26 C: Nuh.  
27 I: Cos the Indian was lookin' at 'im.  
28 That was the chief.

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\*P97 Brothers and Sisters

\*(Tape #176 MVKT3, recorded 25.10.77. Kaye Thies is talking with 4 boys including two who are Aboriginal: B (aged 9) and N (aged 11). Names are pseudonyms.

1 I: Okay.. now.. you were going to tell me-  
2 you can start by telling me how many brothers and sisters you've got.  
3 B: I got three sisters.. and two brothers..  
4 and I got a mum and dad and deir name is Sally and Gerry ..  
5 and I'm nine years old and I live in (street address), Midvale  
6 I: and your name is Barry  
(background laughter)  
7 B: yes.. and and my middle name is Shane..  
8 and my full name is Barry Shane J\_..  
9 I: Yes.  
10 B: and I got cousin..s in Melbourne.[ . in Willagee and in Midvale  
11 I: [ have you?  
12 I: and you've got cousins in Melbourne?  
13 B: yes  
14 I: that's a long way away  
15 B: an my- [an my uncle li- an my uncle lives in Melbourne too  
16 N: [ I got cousins in-  
17 N: I got cousins in Geraldton  
18 I: have you?  
19 N: [and one in- one in Port Hedland... one in Port Hedland

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\*P98 Friend's Birthday Party

\* Tape #176 MVKT3, 25.10.77. Kaye Thies is talking to a mixed interview group of 4 girls aged about 9. "Janine" and "Doreen" are Aboriginal. Names are pseudonyms.

1 J: NOW um.. this afternoon when I come from .. back from Midland oval  
2 I: yeah

3 J: we- a- we- at four o'clock

4 well me an Doreen are goin to Lena's uh our friend's uh birthday party.

5 I: are you Janine?

6 how old is your friend going to be?

7 D: [six

8 J: [oh six

9 an we can buy er a birthday card

10 if you don't wanna buy er a present

11 you could just buy er a birthday card

12 an you an you if you don't wanna buy a birthday card

13 you could buy er a liddle present.

14 I: oh.. and what are you going to do?

15 J: oh we.. we might buy er a doll

16 but I wanna buy er a p- a p- a liddle doll

17 that one u- up to that shop an it's only 45 cents ... [an it

18 I: oh that's [good and are you going to put in together

19 or are you going to [buy her something each?

20 M: [ I saw those dolls an they're only liddle ones..

21 J: we gonna put it in to- we're not going to -

22 uh she's got a piggy bank..

23 she could .. she could save er own money today

24 I: oh yeah.. so what are you going to do for the birthday Doreen?

25 D: I might buy er um ... one of them tea sets

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\*P99 Trip to Hospital

\*(Tape #059, Koongamia Primary School, 29.5.97. Louella Eggington, with Aboriginal Islander Education Officer (K), speaking with two boys, aged 9-10). Names are pseudonyms.

1 A: My brother

2 L: Mm

3 A: My brother he went to Cue

4 and...e got sick up there

5 caus it's too ot up there  
 6 an when e come back on the airplane  
 7 e was in the ospital  
 8 Alissa an Karl go to ospital  
 9 K: yeah...thas no good.  
 10 L: mmmmmnt's no good  
 11 K: betta now  
 12 A: ...yeah that was year ago  
 13 S: (cough)  
 14 L: What?  
 15 K: Oh wayyy  
 (laughter)  
 16 K: long way...  
 17 I thought you said it was near  
 18 L: An me  
 19 A: he he (laughter)  
 20 S: das what I see  
 21 e jus showin off das all  
 22 L: Did ya like it in the 'ospital...  
 22 were they good to ya  
 23 A: Yep e draw pictures in the 'ospital  
 23 an e watched tv.  
 24 Yeah dat was fun  
 25 An ya get to go in a toy room  
 26 Xxxxxxan we forgot to buy im clothes  
 27 So e was wearin 'ospital clothes.

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\*P100 Emu Eggs

\*(Tape #059, recorded at Koongamia Primary School, 29.5.97.

Louella

Eggington and Aboriginal Islander Education worker (K) are  
 talking with a  
 group of 4 students aged 9-10. J is female and S, A and T  
 are male).

1 K: Did you find any emu eggs?  
 2 J: Yep. Big ones...  
 3 K: Yeah.  
 4 A: But my pop got emu eggs down his place..heaps of em  
 5 an e in e inna grape vines  
 6 K: Yeah umm..

7 A: E buried em by a big long tree.  
 8 J: I seen a red dog up there.  
 9 S: An nanna she can make emu ..emu eggs  
 10 K: Makin em  
 11 L: I think they probably real ones aye  
 12 S: They green  
 13 I'm tellin ya,  
 14 We eat...eat the emu eggs as well  
 15 L: They might likely.. they might've jus.. get the  
 yoke out of it aye  
 16 K: Yeah yeah  
 17 A: I know how they get the yoke out  
 18 L: Ow  
 19 J: This are my new emu eggs  
 20 A: They...make a hole wid it  
 21 an dey .. an they took the straw out  
 22 an you make nice cakes with them...  
 23 K: Listen  
 24 A: with the egg  
 25 L: Mhm.. yeah but your any of your family carve the  
 emu egg?  
 26 A: My dad can.. make cakes an thing.. get money..  
 27 my two uncles trip over like that dere  
 28 K: Yeah.

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