

WORK PAPERS OF SIL-AAB

Series A Volume 1

FIVE PAPERS IN AUSTRALIAN PHONOLOGIES

EDITOR: JOYCE HUDSON

Summer Institute of Linguistics

Australian Aborigines Branch

Darwin

October 1977



© SUMMER INSTITUTE OF LINGUISTICS 1977

ISBN 0 86892 164 5

PREFACE

These Workpapers are being produced in two series by the Summer Institute of Linguistics, Australian Aborigines Branch, Inc. in order to make results of SIL research in Australia more widely available. Series A includes technical papers on linguistic or anthropological analysis and description, or on literacy research. Series B contains material suitable for a broader audience, including the lay audience for which it is often designed, such as language learning lessons and dictionaries.

Both series include both reports on current research and on past research projects. Some papers by other than SIL members are included, although most are by SIL field workers. The majority of material concerns linguistic matters, although related fields such as anthropology and education are also included.

Because of the preliminary nature of most of the material to appear in the Workpapers, these volumes are being circulated on a limited basis. It is hoped that their contents will prove of interest to those concerned with linguistics in Australia, and that comment on their contents will be forthcoming from the readers. Papers should not be reproduced without the authors' consent, nor cited without due reference to their preliminary status.

Views expressed by the authors are not necessarily those of SIL.

The publication of this book was facilitated by a grant from the Australian Aborigines Branch Research Fund of the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

To order individual volumes of the Workpapers, or to place a standing order for either series, write:

SIL
P.O. Berrimah
Darwin, N.T. 5788
Australia

INTRODUCTION TO
SERIES A VOLUME I

The papers in this volume are descriptions of aspects of the phonologies of five Australian Aboriginal languages. Some have been written after detailed analysis and published to make data available, e.g. Alyawarra Phonology by Nancy Turtle. Others are the result of shorter periods of field work and analysis. These are being made available in preliminary form here and may be further edited and published more widely in the future.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface	iii
Introduction to Series A Volume I	iv
ALYAWARRA PHONOLOGY, by Nancy Turtle	1
0. Introduction	1
1. Interpretation	1
1.1 Interpretation of Ambivalent Consonant Sequences	1
1.2 Interpretation of Ambivalent Vowel Sequences	15
2. The Phonological Word	19
2.1 The Phonemes	19
2.2 The Syllable and Distribution	38
2.3 The Stress Pattern	48
Abbreviations	51
Footnotes	52
Bibliography	56
A TENTATIVE DESCRIPTION OF THE PHONEMES OF THE NGALKBUN LANGUAGE (INCLUDING A SMALL WORD LIST), by John Sandefur and David Nangan:golod Jentian	 57
0. Introduction	57
1. The Syllable	58
1.1 Distribution of Syllables	58
1.2 Distribution of Phonemes in Syllables	59
1.3 Syllable Contraction	62
2. Stress	6 ²
3. The Phoneme	64
3.1 Consonants	64
3.2 Vowels	69

	Page
4. Interpretation	72
5. Practical Orthography	73
Footnotes	74
Bibliography	75
Appendix	77
NOTES ON RHYTHMIC PATTERNING IN IWAIDJA, by Barbara J. Sayers and Noreen Pym	97
0. Introduction	97
1. Technique	97
2. Speed and Timing	98
3. Pitch and Rhythmic Segmentation	100
4. Tensity of Articulation	102
5. Grammatical Features	102
Texts	105
Bibliography	130
WHAT ARE CONTRASTIVE SYLLABLES? THE WIK-MUNKAN PICTURE, by Barbara J. Sayers	131
1. Contrastive Types	134
1.1 Grounds of Contrast	134
1.2 Features of Contrast	135
2. Allowable Variants	138
3. Distribution	138
4. Discussion	138
4.1 The Unstressed Syllable and the Phonemic Status of Schwa	138
Bibliography	143

	Page
A PHONOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF FITZROY CROSSING CHILDREN'S PIDGIN, by Jill Fraser	145
0. Introduction	145
1. The Development of FXCP	146
2. Basilect Consonants	150
2.1 Consonant Contrasts	150
2.2 Consonant Variation	153
3. Basilect Vowels	155
3.1 Vowel Contrasts	155
3.2 Vowel Variation	157
4. Interpretation of Vowel Glides	159
5. Distribution of Phonemes	161
5.1 Consonant Distribution within the Phonological Word	161
5.2 Vowel Distribution within the Phonological Word	164
6. Syllables of FXCP	166
7. Distribution of Syllables in Words	166
8. Stress of Intonation	168
8.1 Stress in Non-Prepause Environment	168
8.2 Intonation and Stress in Prepause Environment	169
9. Basilect-Acrolect Discussion	170
10. Recommendations	189
10.1 Recommendations Regarding FXCP	189
10.2 Recommendations Regarding APE	198
11. Texts	198
Acknowledgments	201
Footnotes	202
Abbreviations	203
Bibliography	204

A PHONOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF
FITZROY CROSSING CHILDREN'S PIDGIN

Jill Fraser

0. INTRODUCTION

This study of the English-related languages of the people of Fitzroy Crossing and environs (in the Kimberley District of Western Australia) was carried out by the author in October-November 1974 under the auspices of the Australian Aborigines Branch of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL). Misses J. Hudson and E. Richards (SIL) have been working in the dominant language of the area, Walmatjari, since 1967.

The interaction between Australian English and the Aboriginal languages is discussed in Section 1. In 1974 there was some evidence that the young people at Fitzroy Crossing were developing (or had developed) an English-related language or dialect as their first language rather than standard Australian English (as desired by the majority of Europeans over the years of contact) or an Aboriginal language.

The author listened to and talked with a wide range of residents of Fitzroy Crossing in a wide range of situations--in the 'mission' camp; during, before and after church; as host to adults during the day and to school children after school (inside and outside the house); playing, walking and swimming with the children at weekends; and during visits to nearby settlements (e.g. the other reserves at Fitzroy Crossing and Go Go Cattle Station). During this time the author made it clear that she wished to hear and learn how to speak the children's language. The method of phonological analysis and the phonetic alphabet used are based on K. L. Pike's Phonemics: A Technique for Reducing Languages to Writing.

As discussed in Section 1 it quickly became clear that there were at least two English-related languages/dialects spoken--one used by adults without formal schooling and with an Aboriginal first language; and the other as the first language of the children.

Given the time limit on the study, in consultation with Eirlys Richards, it was decided that as close a study and analysis as time permitted of Fitzroy Crossing Children's Pidgin (FXCP hereafter) was of more immediate importance than a study of the Adult's Pidgin, the reason being the status of FXCP as the first language of the speakers and its profound differences from standard Australian English.¹ Hence there appeared to be an urgent need that it be recognised and understood, by educators particularly, in order to curtail the further prejudicing of the speakers' educational and social opportunities (Refer to Section 10 for further discussion of this point).

Although considerable study was done on the grammatical structures of FXCP, this paper includes only the phonological findings.

It is hoped that the findings of this study and the recommendations from it will be used to assist speakers of FXCP socially, educationally and spiritually in fulfilling their own aspirations regarding participation in both the English-speaking majority culture of Australia and their own Aboriginal groups. This goal cannot be attained by repudiating their first language, as occurred with the languages of their parents, but rather by affording it the status and educational application that is its right. The need to also learn standard Australian English (both written and spoken) is not denied. Indeed, this is a felt and expressed need of the Aboriginal community at Fitzroy Crossing, among whom at present there is very little standard Australian English known.

1. THE DEVELOPMENT OF FXCP

Fitzroy Crossing Children's Pidgin is spoken as their first language by at least 300² infant to 30 year-old (who have been to school) residents of Fitzroy Crossing (W.A.) and surrounding cattle stations. This name was chosen for several reasons.

- (a) Although it is suspected that this language (and/or closely related ones) is more widely spoken, in fact, may extend throughout the Kimberley region of Western Australia, the work done for this paper was carried out at Fitzroy Crossing only.
- (b) It is designated 'Children's' (although people up to 30 years speak it) to indicate its distinctiveness from the pidgin spoken by adults who have not been to school (30 years and above approximately).

The Aboriginal languages spoken at and around Fitzroy Crossing are Gunlan and Bunaba of the Bunaban family; Gidja of the Djeragan family; Nyigina of the Nyulnyulan family; and Mangarla, Djiwalin,

Walmatjari, Wangkatjungka, Nyanyany and Djaru of the Pama-Nyungan family. The other language spoken in the area is Australian English, introduced with the first settlers in approximately the last decade of the last century; however, its contact with Aborigines has been by no means uniform since then. Numbers of Aborigines with no prior contact with Australian English have been coming from the desert to the south since the second World War. There are thus Aboriginal families with up to four generations of interaction with Australian English and others with less than one generation.

From the first contact, the pressure was always on the Aborigines to learn to communicate in English, with minimal attempt by Europeans to learn any of the Aboriginal languages. The implication of this approach has been that the Aboriginal languages are of low status compared with Australian English and this approach, together with its reinforcement by the formal education system (introduced approximately 20 years ago) appears to be a significant factor in the development of FXCP. These factors appear to have caused the children's rejection of their parents' language in favour of what was intended to be English.

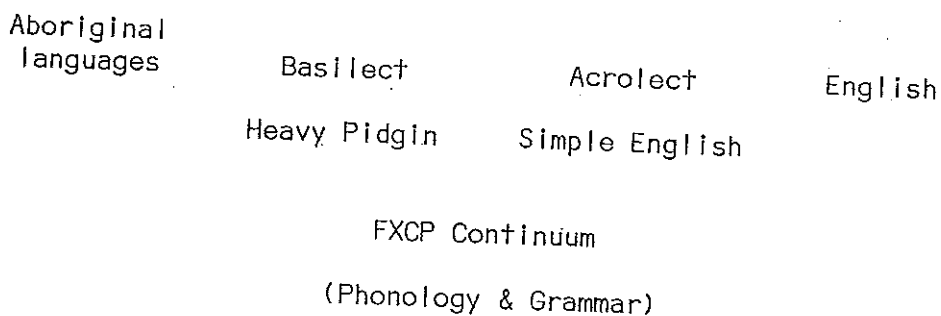
All the Aboriginal languages in the area have no doubt influenced the development of the Pidgin. This study was done with particular reference to Walmatjari, however, since most of the data was collected from children of Walmatjari-speaking parents and there was considerable material available on Walmatjari (e.g., Hudson and Richards, 1969).

In the short time spent on this language it has been observed that FXCP varies both phonologically and grammatically over a continuum from a Heavy Pidgin to Simple English³ (SE hereafter). The phonological continuum is described in Section 9. The outer extremes, outside this continuum, are the Aboriginal languages at one end and English at the other. To denote the extremes within the continuum, the terms basilect for the Aboriginal end (Heavy Pidgin) and acrolect at the English end (Simple English) will be adopted (cf. Platt and Platt 1975:107-109). The focus of this paper will be on the basilect (Heavy Pidgin).

Figure 1 shows a diagrammatic representation of the FXCP language situation.

Each speaker, except the preschool children who control the basilect almost exclusively, commands a range of the continuum. All control the basilect; the extent of the range from that to the acrolect seems to widen with years spent at school. Although a large percentage of FXCP speakers have only a passive knowledge of their parents' language and resist speaking it, it has been observed among the Walmatjari that school leavers who go to work on surrounding

Figure 1



stations or settle in one of the camps at Fitzroy Crossing have taken up speaking Walmatjari.⁴ (How closely this variety of Walmatjari corresponds to standard Walmatjari remains to be investigated.)

The fact that the author is an English speaking non-Aboriginal may be expected to have adversely prejudiced her chances of hearing basilectal FXCP. The negative attitude generally assumed by the English-speaking community towards it and related lects (i.e. regarding them as "bad English") has led to the tendency of FXCP speakers to keep it "under cover" as much as possible in the presence of members of that English-speaking community. The speakers of FXCP, then, tend to use the acrolect end of their pidgin continuum, i.e. Simple English, as much as they are able in this situation. The younger children (about 6 years and under) who cannot manage an approximation to SE resist talking at all with non-Aborigines. However, the author's association with the SIL linguists (who had gained the confidence and openness of the Aboriginal people with regard to teaching their Aboriginal languages to them) appeared to place her in a different category from the "English-speaking community" in the minds of FXCP speakers, and opened the way to a similar openness by them with regard to teaching her their language, once it was clear to them that this was desired. Thus a number of the older (10-11 years) children were able to provide both ends of their personal language continua for utterances.

The lect used seems to be related to at least three variables:

- (1) the topic being discussed--i.e. areas of experience not naturally included in the non-Aboriginal range (e.g. hunting) are discussed and enacted using basilectal phonology, vocabulary and grammar or close to it. Where introduced concepts (e.g. school, gardening) are being discussed, the language medium moves closer to the acrolect.
- (2) the status (as defined by the speakers of FXCP) and primary language of the addressee.

- (3) the age of the speaker (and consequently the length of direct exposure they have had to English through formal schooling.

As the majority of speakers recorded were female, no indication could be gained as to whether sex is also a variable.

Generally there seems to be little conscious awareness that FXCP is a language distinctive from English. Adults refer to it and to Fitzroy Crossing Adults' Pidgin English (APE hereafter) as English. However, the children themselves are becoming aware that basilect FXCP is not English.

My informants for FXCP were principally Rita Wallaby (11 years) and Rosemary Chuguna (11 years) and to a smaller extent twenty or so other speakers ranging in age from 3 years to 26 years.

Adults generally, with the exception of a few who can speak Simple English, speak APE plus their first language. Many are also able to speak Walmatjari, which has become the prestige language of the area. The Bunabas, however, have generally not learned to speak Walmatjari unless they have intermarried. My informants for APE were Adeline Wanangini (first language Walmatjari), Bandi Brown (second language Walmatjari), David Downs (first language Walmatjari), and half a dozen or so other adults (mainly with first language Walmatjari). For a full analysis of APE to be adequately done a wider range of speakers (with Bunaba and the other Aboriginal languages as their first language) should be consulted.

On superficial perusal it appears that FXCP differs from APE in at least two major ways (the second being evidence for the first). Firstly, FXCP is the main communication medium of the speakers and thus it has become more fully rounded, i.e. has developed or, rather is developing to cope with all the situations that the speakers experience. It may therefore be classified as a "pidgin undergoing creolization". By contrast, APE functions more as an "auxiliary contact language", i.e. a true pidgin, in that it is not the main language of the speakers and is used mainly externally, i.e., with Europeans and with speakers of other Aboriginal languages unknown to the speaker. It is also used in Church and sometimes by adults with their children. It thus has more restricted use than FXCP.

Secondly, FXCP is spoken more quickly and confidently than APE. FXCP evidences a greater degree of modification of English-derived words, grammatical constructions and meaning and is spoken flowingly, with Aboriginal (Walmatjari) stress and intonation patterns. APE, by contrast, is more difficult for the speakers and therefore spoken more slowly. (It is, for that reason, more easily intelligible to English speakers.)

FXCP may now be seen to be taking an important role in the complex language situation at Fitzroy Crossing and environs (and possibly, with dialectal differences, throughout the Kimberleys). Its status in the eyes of non-Aborigines is at present even lower than that of the Aboriginal languages (the status of these has been raised in recent years through the attention given them by field linguists and other Europeans who are attempting to learn to speak them). There is evidence to suggest, however, that in the eyes of the Aboriginal community FXCP, associated as it is with school attendance, is given only slightly lower status than English (in cases in which a distinction between the two has been discerned).

Nevertheless, it is the attitudes of European teachers, nurses, administrators and others which will probably be of primary consequence in the ultimate fate of FXCP and in the encouragement and facilitation (or not) to its speakers to also acquire functional usage of an Aboriginal language and/or English.

The initial ingredient for such acquisition must be the recognition by teachers that FXCP is in fact a language which is not simply poor quality English, but nevertheless is related to English and to the Aboriginal languages (as English is related to French and Italian), i.e. it is a different language, not a deficient one. The approach is then to regard the teaching of English as the teaching of a foreign language not as a compensatory programme, i.e. an attempt to patch up the "bad" English already spoken. Understanding of the relationship of FXCP with English may aid such a programme as long as one-to-one phonological and semantic correspondence between English-derived FXCP roots and the English root is never assumed (refer to Section 10 for further discussion):

2. BASILECT CONSONANTS

The consonant phonemes are displayed in Table 1. Stops are distinguished at six points of articulation: bilabial /p/, interdental /t̪/, apico-alveolar /t/, apico-domal (retroflexed) /ɖ/, laminal /ɗ/ and dorso-velar /k/.⁵ Nasals are bilabial /m/, apico-alveolar /n/, apico-domal /ŋ/, laminal /ɳ/ and dorso-velar /ŋ/. Laterals are apico-alveolar /l/, and apico-domal /ɭ/. The grooved fricative /s/, is apico-alveolar, as is the vibrant /ʁ/. The semi consonants are bilabial /w/, apico-domal /r/ and laminal /y/.

2.1 CONSONANT CONTRASTS

Evidence for contrast between consonant phonemes suspect of being non-contrastive is given.

Table 1
Consonant Phonemes of Basilect FXCP

	Bilabial	Inter- dental	Apico- alveolar.	Apico- domal	Laminal	Dorso- velar
Stop	p	t̪	t	t̠	t̚	k
Nasal	m		n	ɲ	ɳ	ŋ
Grooved Fricative			s			
Lateral			l	!		
Vibrant			ʎ			
Semi Consonant	w			r	y	

Examples of laterals, stops, /ʎ/, /r/ and /s/

Word initially:

["laʎim]	/laʎim/	'to light (trans)'
["raʎim]	/raʎim/	'to ride (trans)'
[t̚andɛ ^l]	/t̚antɛy/	'Sunday'
[taʎki]	/taʎki/	'turkey'
[t̪ ^ə ʎa ^l]	/t̪ ^ə ʎay/	'that way'
[t̪ ^ə ʎu:m]	/t̪ ^ə ʎu:m/	'to throw (trans)'

Word medially as onset of the immediate post-stress syllable:

["kilumbat]	/kilimpat/	'to kill (trans, cont)'
["puʎuman]	/puʎuman/	'cow/cattle'
["atuma ^u t]	/atimawt/	'to put out fire (trans)'
["muʎaka]	/muʎaka/	'car'
["puʎikat]	/puʎikat/	'cat'

["maʔaʔin]	/maʔaʔin/	'medicine'
["ərimpat]	/ərimpat/	'to hear (trans, cont)'
["ñusımbat]	/ñusımpat/	'to use (trans, cont)'

as onset of the third syllable:

["ʔalarum]	/ʔalarum/	'to swallow (trans)'
["makeʔamap]	/makeʔamap/	'to mess up (trans)'

as onset of the immediate post stress syllable:

["tiŋtiŋ]	/tiŋtiŋ/	'sting'
["ʔukʔuk]	/ʔukʔuk/	'hen'
["tiʔt ^h ŋ]	/tiʔt ^h ŋ/	'this thing'

Word finally:

[p ^u l]	/pawl/	'pole/trunk'
["ap ^u l]	/ap ^u l/	'apple'
["ñupriʔ]	/ñupriʔ/	'Fitzroy Crossing (new) Bridge'
[pat]	/pat/	'but'
[i ^u ʔ]	/yaʔ/	'yard'

Examples of nasals

Word initially as onset of the stressed syllable:

["ñusımbat]	/ñusımpat/	'to use (trans, cont)'
["nugut ^u an]	/nukutwan/	'bad one'

Word medially as coda of the stressed syllable:

[wandım]	/wantim/	'to want (trans)'
[paŋdım]	/paŋɨm/	'to find (trans)'

[lonʔam]	/lonʔam/	'a long time ago'
----------	----------	-------------------

as onset of the immediate post stressed syllable:

["kini ^u an]	/kiniwan/	'skinny one'
-------------------------	-----------	--------------

[mɔ ^ʔ ŋɪndam]	/mɔŋintam/	'morning'
--------------------------	------------	-----------

[tʃina ^u t]	/tʃinawt/	'to sing out/call'
------------------------	-----------	--------------------

[miñu]	/miñu/	'we (dual inclusive pronoun)'
--------	--------	-------------------------------

Word finally in:

[tʃan]	/tʃan/	'sun'
--------	--------	-------

[taŋ]	/taŋ/	'thong'
-------	-------	---------

2.2 CONSONANT VARIATION

Though one end of the phonemic continuum between basilect and acrolect of FXCP is being analysed as though it were a 'normal' language the fact that it is part of a continuum between different languages means that there is a far greater range of variation among phones than would be expected for a 'normal' language. It has been observed in focusing on the basilect as part of a continuum, that consonant variation tends to go along the lines of leveling towards the acrolect. Within the basilect itself (if it may be so isolated) the variation of consonant phonemes tends to be similar to that of Walmatjari consonant phonemes.

/p/, /t/ and /k/ have voiced allophones intervocalically and word initial alternating with the voiceless allophones:

[abɪm] ~ [apɪm]	/apim/	'to have (trans)'
-----------------	--------	-------------------

[i:dɪm] ~ [i:tɪm]	/i:tim/	'to eat (trans)'
-------------------	---------	------------------

[tagʌ] ~ [takʌ]	/taka/	'food'
-----------------	--------	--------

[bin] ~ [pin]	/pin/	(past tense auxiliary)
---------------	-------	------------------------

[dangɪ] ~ [tagɪ]	/taŋki/	'donkey'
------------------	---------	----------

[gaʃa] ~ [kaʃa] /kaʃa/ 'with' (future tense auxiliary)

and a voiced allophone word medially following a homorganic nasal:

[tʃambitʃa^u] /tʃampitʃaw/ 'jumpy-jo'

[trandɪm] /trantɪm/ 'to submerge (trans)'

[pɪŋga] /pɪŋka/ 'finger'

/k/ also has an unreleased voiceless allophone word final following a homorganic nasal:

[kultrɪn^k] /kultrɪnk/ 'soft drink'

A voiceless stop allophone occurs elsewhere.

/t/ has a voiced allophone word medially following a homorganic nasal:

[paŋɗɪm] /paŋɗɪm/ 'to find'

A voiced flap retroflexed allophone intervocalically:

[kiʃɪmap] /kiʃɪmap/ 'to lift up (trans)'

and the voiceless stop allophone elsewhere.

/tʃ/ has a voiced allophone intervocalically alternating with the voiceless allophone:

[traɗɪt] ~ [traʃɪt] /traʃɪt/ 'trousers'

a voiceless affricate allophone when preceding /i/:

[kraʃɪm] /kraʃɪm/ 'to scratch (trans)'

and the voiceless stop allophone elsewhere.

/t/ has an unaspirated interdental stop allophone followed by the schwa vowel word initially preceding /r/:

[t̪^oʃa^l] /t̪^oʃay/ 'that way'

and an aspirated alveolar stop allophone elsewhere.

[t^hɪŋ] /t^hɪŋ/ 'thing'

/s/ has the voiced allophone intervocally following /e/:

[mezʌrɪmbat] /mesarɪmpat/ 'to measure (trans, cont)'

and the voiceless allophone elsewhere.

[ñusɪmbat] /ñusɪmpat/ 'to use (trans, cont)'

/l/ has a laminal allophone occurring second in a consonant cluster preceding a mid front vowel:

[p^lɛ^lʌpat] /pleyapat/ 'to play at, pretend (cont)'

and the apico-alveolar allophone elsewhere.

/ʃ/ has the voiced trilled allophone occurring before consonants:

[taʃki] /taʃki/ 'turkey'

and the voiced flap allophone elsewhere.

There may be further variation within the basilect--more study is required to check this.

3. BASILECT VOWELS

There are eight vowel phonemes in basilectal FXCP.

The vowels of basilectal FXCP are displayed in Table 2.

3.1 VOWEL CONTRAST

Vowel contrasts of those phonemes suspect of being non-contrastive are shown as follows:

/u/, /o/ and /u:/ contrast as peak of the stressed syllable

["kultrɪŋ^k] /kultrɪŋk/ 'soft drink'

Table 2

Vowel Phonemes of Basilect of FXCP

	Front		Central		Back	
	Short	Long	Short	Long	Short	Long
High	i	i:			u	u:
Mid	e				o	
Low			a	a:		

["kɔɪtʃɪk] /kɔɪtʃɪk/ 'cold (sickness)'
 ["ku:ɪkɪt] /ku:ɪkɪt/ 'school child/children'

and

[prɒm] /prɒm/ 'from'
 [tu:n] /tu:n/ 'don't'

/i/, /i:/ and /e/ contrast word initially in

[ɪtɪm] /ɪtɪm/ 'to hit (trans)'
 [i:tɪm] /i:tɪm/ 'to eat (trans)'
 [etpæt] /etpæt/ 'head'
 [ɛbən] /ɛpən/ 'emphasiser'

/a/, /o/ and /u/ contrast as peak of stressed syllable

[pæt] /pæt/ 'but'
 [pʊk] /pʊk/ 'book'
 [tɔ^k] /tɔk/ 'to talk/speak'

/i/, /i:/ and /e/ contrast as peak of closed syllable in

[tɪk]	/tɪk/	'stick'
[ti:t]	/fi:t/	'tooth/teeth'

/a/ and /a:/ contrast as peak of a closed stressed syllable in

[ka:n]	/ka:n/	'can't'
[kan]	/kan/	'can'
[^u atraŋ]	/watraŋ/	'why?'
[wa:tmil ^k]	/wa:tmilk/	'milk'

3.2 VOWEL VARIATION

Within basilectal FXCP itself, the variation of vowel phonemes tends to be similar to that of Walmatjari vowel phonemes.

Each of the short vowel phonemes has a retroflexed allophone preceding apico-domal consonants.

["kiʃap]	/kiʃap/	'to get up'
["ərim]	/erim/	'to hear (trans)'
["paŋɖim]	/paŋɖim/	'to find (trans)'
["muʃaka]	/muʃaka/	'car'
["mo [^] ŋindam]	/moŋintam/	'morning'

/i/ has a high front open allophone [ɨ] which occurs contiguous to a velar, unless the /i/ is word final:

["tiŋtiŋ]	/tiŋtiŋ/	'to sting'
[kɨt]	/kit/	'child'

and contiguous to a bilabial, unless the /i/ is peak of the stressed syllable

[apɨm]	/apim/	'to have (trans)'
--------	--------	-------------------

/i/ has the high front close allophone [i] elsewhere.

/e/ has a retroflexed central mid close allophone preceding retroflexed consonants:

["ə̣!ɪpat]	/ẹɪpat/	'early'
[pə̣t]	/pẹt/	'bird'

/e/ has the front low close allophone [æ] preceding a bilabial if a velar precedes it; or preceding a velar:

[kæmp]	/kemp/	'camp'
["kampæk]	/kampek/	'to come back'
["kɛŋgaru]	/kɛŋkaru/	'kangaroo'

/e/ has the front mid open allophone [ɛ] elsewhere.

/a/ has the central mid allophone [ʌ] alternating with central low allophone [a] preceding the apico-domal semi-consonant and the apico-alveolar vibrant:

["kɛŋgʌru] ~ ["kɛŋgaru]	/kenkaru/	'kangaroo'
["tumaʃʌ] ~ ["tumʌʃʌ]	/tumaʃa/	'tomorrow'

/a/ has the central mid open allophone [ʌ] as peak of non-stressed syllables word final except after /pɪ/ word medial except if before /t/ or in a closed final syllable:

["kaʃʌ]	/kaʃa/	(future tense auxiliary)
["na ^u pəʃi]	/nawpaʃi/	'no-one'
["muʃʌka]	/muʃaka/	'car'
["kuk ^u an]	/kukwan/	'ripe one'

/a/ has the central low open allophone [a] elsewhere.

["maʃʌtʃin]	/maʃaʃin/	'medicine'
["puʃiɪpla]	/puʃiɪpla/	'flower'

/u/ has the back high open allophone [u] contiguous to a velar:

["kuk^uan] /kukwan/ 'ripe one'

contiguous to a bilabial unless the /u/ follows /ñ/.

[pɥ! man] /pu!uman/ 'cow/cattle'

/u/ has the high close allophone [u] in other environments.

/o/ has the back low close allophone [ɔ] contiguous to velars:

["lonɔtam] /lonɔtam/ 'long time ago'

contiguous to bilabials:

[pɾom] /prom/ 'from'

and preceding /ʃ/.

[^uɔʃʌ] /woʃa/ 'water'

/o/ has the back mid open allophone [ɔ[^]] in other environments.

4. INTERPRETATION OF VOWEL GLIDES

Because of the increased number of syllable type possibilities in FXCP, due to influence from English, the interpretation of glides in the basilect of FXCP differs in some respects from that for Walmatjari. It is envisaged that further re-interpretations may need be applied along the continuum towards the acrolect.

The vowel [i] is interpreted as a consonant /j/ when it occurs in the on-glides [ⁱu] [ⁱa] and [ⁱɛ] and in the off-glides [uⁱ] [aⁱ] and [ɛⁱ].

The vowel [u] is interpreted as a consonant /w/ when it occurs in the on-glides [^ui] [^ui:], [^uɛ], [^ua], [^uɔ] and off-glide [a^u].

Examples of these on and off glides thus interpreted

On-glides:

[ⁱu] : [ⁱu] /ju/ 'you'

[ⁱa] : [ⁱaɰ] /yaɰ/ 'yard'

[ⁱ ε]	:[["] la ⁱ ɛt]	/layet/	'like that'
[^u ɛ]	:[["] ku ^u ɛn]	/kuwin/	'to go (cont)'
[^u i]	:[^u i]	/wi/	'we (1st person, pl.)'
[^u i:]	:[["] u ⁱ :k an]	/wi:kwan/	'tired/weak one'
[^u a]	:[["] tu ^u a]	/tuwa/	'store'
	[["] uatraŋ]	/watraŋ/	'why'
[^u ɔ]	:[["] u ^u ɔʔʌ]	/woʔa/	'water'
[^u ε]	:[lɔŋ ^u ε ⁱ]	/loŋwey/	'long way away'

Off-glides:

[^u i]	:[pu ⁱ]	/puy/	'boy'
	[nu ⁱ t]	/nuyt/	'noise'
[ε ⁱ]	:[["] p ⁱ ɛ ⁱ ʌpat]	/pleyapat/	'to play (cont)'
	[pε ⁱ n]	/peyn/	'pain'
	[["] lɔŋ ^u ε ⁱ]	/loŋwey/	'long way away'
[a ⁱ]	:[["] pa ⁱ ʌ]	/paya/	'fire'
	[["] pla ⁱ ɛn]	/playin/	'to fly (cont)'
	[na ⁱ p]	/napp/	'knife'
[a ^u]	:[pa ^u n]	/paw/	'bone'
	[["] ʔampitʔa ^u]	/ʔampitʔaw/	'jumpy-jo'

The word initial /i/ /i:/ /u/ and /o/ are interpreted as vowels because the non-suspect /a/ and /e/ occur word initially.

Examples of these word initial vowels thus interpreted

[["] iʔɔl]	/iʔol/	'ear'
[["] i:dɛm]	/i:tim/	'to eat (trans)'

["ubla]	/upla/	'whose?'
[ɔ^lap]	/olap/	'they (3rd plural)'

This interpretation of the off-glides differs from that of Walmatjari because of the frequency of two segment consonant clusters in the coda of a syllable in FXCP. To follow the Walmatjari interpretation would result in, for example:

[na ⁱ p]	/nayip/	'knife'
---------------------	---------	---------

but there is no evidence of the presence of two syllables in these words. It would also neutralise the contrast between:

[na ⁱ p]	/nayip/	'knife'
---------------------	---------	---------

and

["pla ⁱ ɪn]	/playin/	'to fly (cont)'
------------------------	----------	-----------------

5. DISTRIBUTION OF PHONEMES

5.1 CONSONANT DISTRIBUTION WITHIN THE PHONOLOGICAL WORD

A phonological word is defined as a minimal utterance carrying a primary stress and in words of more than three syllables a secondary stress also. This is the same as for Walmatjari.

All single consonants except /t̪/, /ŋ/, /ŋ/, /l̪/, /s/ and /ʃ/ occur word initially. All single consonants except /t̪/, /ŋ̃/, /s/, /ʃ/, /ŋ/ and /r/ occur word finally.

In the data collected there have been heard five two-segment consonant clusters that fill the onset slot of CCV, CCVC or CCVCC syllables. (Walmatjari has no word-initial clusters.) All are of the form: stop + lateral or semi-consonant:

/plat/	'blood'
/prata/	'brother'
/trantim/	'to submerge (trans)'
/kwatinimtan/	'to quieten (trans)'
/kraʃim/	'to scratch (trans)'

All except the cluster /kw/ have been found word medial as onset of a syllable.

Eight two-segment consonant clusters that fill coda slot of CVCC or CCVCC syllables have been heard. (Walmatjari has only one word-final consonant cluster /ʔp/.) Three are of the form: nasal or lateral + stop:

/kemp/	'camp'
/kultrɪŋk/	'soft drink'
/watmilk/	'milk'

Five are of the form: semi-consonant + nasal or stop:

/peyn/	'pain'
/pawŋ/	'bone'
/nayp/	'knife'
/nuyt/	'noise'
/ʔɪŋawt/	'to call out'

Of the two-segment consonant clusters already mentioned, six also occur across a syllable boundary. They are:

/ap.ri.tam/	'always'
/wat.raŋ/	'why?'
/kuk.wan/	'ripe one'
/ʔam.pi.ʔaw/	'jumpy-jo'
/taŋ.ki/	'donkey'
/pil.ti.map/	'to pile up (trans)'

In addition, 29 other two-segment consonant clusters have been heard across syllable boundaries. Of these, ten have a nasal as the initial consonant and seven have a stop as final consonant.

/el.pim/	'to help (trans)'
/wan.pa.la/	'one person'
/'wan.ɬiŋ/	'one thing'
/'wan.tim/	'to want (trans)'
/tiɬ.kan.wan/	'this type of thing'
/paŋ.ɬim/	'to find (trans)'
/loŋ.pala/	'tall person'
/loŋ.tam/	'long time ago'
/tiŋ.tiŋ/	'to sting'
/loŋ.wei/	'long way away'

Fourteen of these 29 have a stop as initial consonant.

/pap.pap/	'the call for a dog pup'
/pik.map.tam/	'often'
/mat.pala/	'naughty person'
/tat.lat/	'third person plural pers. pronoun'
/wat.milk/	'milk'
/tat.wan/	'that one'
/tiɬ.pa.la/	'this person'
/tiɬ.ɬiŋ/	'this thing'
/tiɬ.kan.wan/	'this type of thing'
/kriɬ.mat/	'Christmas'
/tiɬ.wan/	'this one'
/plak.ɬiŋ/	'black thing'

/t̥uk.t̥uk/ 'hen'

/pik.map/ 'many'

Four of the 29 have a lateral as initial consonant.

/kol.t̥ik/ 'cold (sickness)'

/li.t̥i|.t̥iŋ/ 'little thing'

/ku:l.kit/ 'school child/children'

/ke|.wan/ 'female one'

One has the grooved fricative as initial consonant,

/mis.t̥im.pat/ 'to miss (trans, cont)'

and one has the apico-alveolar vibrant.

/taʔ.ki/ 'turkey'

/ŋ/ is the only consonant that does not occur in a consonant cluster.

/t̥/, /t̥/, and /r/ never occur as the initial consonant in a two-segment consonant cluster.

/y/, /n/, /ŋ/, /ŋ/, /l/ and /ʔ/ do not occur as the final consonant of a two-segment consonant cluster.

There are a few three-segment consonant clusters across syllable boundaries in CC.C and C.CC pattern.

CC.C /kramp.wan/ 'one having a cramp'

C.CC /kul.triŋk/ 'soft drink'

/t̥i.nek.trak/ 'snake track'

/maŋ.krul/ 'dog'

5.2 VOWEL DISTRIBUTION WITHIN THE PHONOLOGICAL WORD

Each vowel except /u:/ and /a:/ has been heard word initially as peak in V or VC syllables. Each vowel except /i:/, /a:/ and /u:/ occurs word finally. The long vowels /i:/, /u:/ and /a:/ occur as peak of word initial syllables. All occur in closed-syllable, one-syllable words.

/ti:t/	'teeth/tooth'
/ku:l/	'school'
/ka:n/	'cannot'
/i:itim/	'to eat (trans)'
/ku:lkɪt/	'school child/children'

In the rare CCVCC syllable type only /i/ and /a/ have been heard as peak.

/kʊl.tɹɪŋk/	'soft drink'
/kramp.wan/	'one having a cramp'

In the rare CCVC syllable, /u/, /o/, /a/, /i/ and /e/ have been heard in the peak position.

/mɑŋ.krʊl/	'dog'
/prom/	'from'
/plak.tɹɪŋ/	'black thing'
/krɪtʃ.mat/	'Christmas'
/krɛŋki.wan/	'cross/grumpy person'

In the CCV syllable /o/, /a/, /i/ and /e/ have been heard in the peak position.

In the CVCC syllable /i/, /a/, /e/ and /u/ have been heard in the peak position.

Any vowel may occur in a CVC syllable as peak.

All vowels except /u:/ and /ɑ:/ may occur in the peak position of the V or CV syllable.

Only /a/, /e/ and /o/ have been heard in peak position of a VC syllable.

/ol/	'all'
/et.paʃ/	'head'

/ap.ri.tam/

'always'

6. SYLLABLES OF FXCP

In Walmatjari there are three syllable types CV, CVC and CVCC, each with a single vowel peak. In basilectal FXCP there are another five syllable types. (See Section 9 for discussion of the development of these.) Three are formed by the addition of a consonant to the onset of the three Walmatjari types thus CCV, CCVC and CCVCC and the others are the V and VC syllables.

V	/a.pim/	'to have (trans)'
VC	/et.paɽ/	'head'
CV	/pi.ki.pi.ki/	'pig'
CVC	/kol.ɟik/	'cold (sickness)'
CVCC	/kemp/	'camp'
CCV	/pla.ŋa/	'belonging to'
CCVC	/plat/	'blood'
CCVCC	/kramp.wan/	'one having a cramp'

7. DISTRIBUTION OF SYLLABLES IN WORDS

Words consist of one to four syllables, the average length of a word being two syllables.

Syllable types CV and CVC may occur in any position of the word, initial, medial and final. However, no more than two CVC syllables have been heard occurring contiguously.

CV	/ɟa/	'they'
	/ɟi.ɟa/	'sister'
	/mu.ɽa.ka/	'car'
	/pi.ki.pi.ki/.	'pig'

CVC	/ʔan/	'thong'
	/ʔuk.ʔuk/	'hen'
	/pu.ʔim.pat/	'to put (trans, cont)'

The other syllables have more restricted occurrence. CCVC and CCV syllable types may occur word initial or final and in one syllable words.

CCVC	/kran/	'ground'
	/ñu.priʔ/	'Fitzroy River Bridge'

(Note: The syllable break in the latter example is made on the basis of hearing a slight pause before the /p/. It may be disputed.)

CCV	/pu.ʔi.pla/	'flower'
	/tra.ʔit/	'trousers'

CVCC syllable has been heard in one syllable words, and in the final syllable position of a two syllable word.

CVCC	/kemp/	'camp'
	/wa:t.milk/	'milk'

CCVCC is extremely rare syllable type and may in fact not properly belong to the basilect but closer to the acrolect end of the continuum. It occurs initial or final position in two syllable words.

CCVCC	/kramp.wan/	'one having a cramp'
	/kul.triŋk/	'cool drink'

V and VC syllable types occur word initially only. Both syllables may occur as a one syllable word.

V	/a/	'I (1st singular)'
	/a.pim/	'to have (trans)'
VC	/im/	'he/him, she/her, it'
	/et.paʔ/	'head'

8. STRESS AND INTONATION

As is the case for Walmatjari, stress in basilectal FXCP is largely predictable, i.e. it "carries very little functional load since primary stress is usually on the first syllable of a phonological word" (Hudson, Richards 1969:183). This situation is in direct contrast with English in which stress is unpredictable and carries considerable functional load.

The main contrastive feature of primary stress (shown as [" before the syllable) is greater loudness. Secondary stress has been rarely noted and then only on four-syllable words. (It is shown as [' before the syllable.) The distinctive feature of secondary stress is slightly higher pitch.

8.1 STRESS IN NON-PREPAUSE ENVIRONMENT

All two-syllable words are stressed on the first syllable:

["tiʃ ^u an]	/tiʃwan/	'this (one)'
["kaʃʌ]	/kaʃa/	'future tense/with'
["taʃki]	/taʃki/	'turkey'
["kultriŋ ^k]	/kultriŋk/	'soft drink'
["traʃit	/tratit/	'trousers'

Stress has only been heard on the first syllable of three-syllable words:

["ikalok]	/ikalok/	'eagle'
["panana]	/panana/	'banana'
["keŋkaru]	/keŋkaru/	'kangaroo'
["liʃiʃ ^u an]	/liʃiʃwan/	'little one'
["kiʃapin]	/kiʃapin/	'to get up (cont)'

On four-syllable words, stress is usually primary on the first syllable and secondary on the third syllable:

["mindu'pala]	/mintupala/	'we (1st dual excl. pronoun)'
["lipa'riŋka]	/lipa'riŋka/	'Liveringa' (place name)

But the stress has also been heard as primary on the first syllable and secondary on the final syllable:

["makeʎa'map]	/makeʎamap/	'to mess up (trans)'
---------------	-------------	----------------------


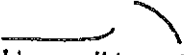
8.2 INTONATION, AND STRESS IN PREPAUSE ENVIRONMENT


Further study needs to be done in this area but the following features have been noticed.





In sequence intonation contour (symbolized by /,/), the primary stress is on the first syllable and the final syllable of the word receives secondary stress (higher pitch).

In emphatic intonation contour (symbolized by /!/) the final syllable receives primary stress, with greater length. The pitch level goes up slightly on this syllable, and then down.

Example of sequence, then emphatic intonation:

		
i pin "ka:mun'tan,	'kamun'ta:n!	'he was coming <u>down</u> ,
'he PAST come:CONT:down (a long way.)	come:CONT: <u>down</u> !	a long <u>way</u> down!'

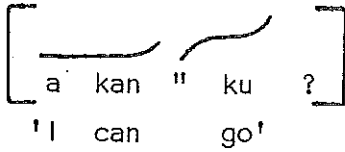
For further emphasis the final syllable receives a guttural gravelly quality (denoted as  under the syllable):

[	"		!]
[	"		!]

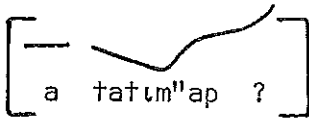
'that (what you are saying) is not true about me!'

'shame!' 6

Question intonation contour (symbolized by /?/), may transform the indicative clauses to make the sense interrogative. Pitch then goes from low on the penultimate syllable to high on the final syllable which receives primary stress.



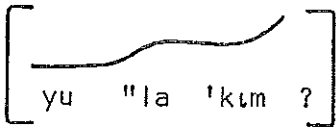
'May I go?'



'Will I make it stop?'

'I shut:up (TRANSITIVE)'

When the final word is two-syllable the high pitch extends over both syllables and the first syllable is stressed with primary stress:



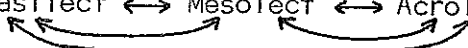
'Do you like it?'

'You like. TRANSITIVE'

9. BASILECT-ACROLECT DISCUSSION

The term 'mesolect' is here introduced to facilitate the following discussion, the reason being that it is becoming unwieldy to use such terms as "further along the continuum", "towards the acrolect", etc.

In this paper FXCP has been treated as a more or less linear continuum, i.e., a delineated basilect levelling towards the acrolect with intervening segment, henceforth referred to as mesolect (cf. Sandefur Section 2.5). This has enabled the selection of data for analysis under various delineated segments and thus led to greater ease of description.

It seems, however, that in fact FXCP is not used by the speakers in this delineated fashion, strictly speaking. They tend more to use simultaneously an interwoven Basilect ↔ Mesolect ↔ Acrolect both  phonemically and grammatically, weighted towards either end depending on the hearer and/or subject matter and/or age of speaker. More study is needed to determine the dynamics of this interweaving.

The term 'mesolect' is here used not in the strict sense of being an attestable speech variety or lect, but rather as a sealed levelling segment (cf. Sandefur Section 3.3) fitting in with the linear model used in description thus far.

- (a) Introduced Consonant Phonemes: The two consonant phonemes that do not occur in Walmatjari but do in FXCP basilect are /t̪/ and /s/. They are rare, /t̪/ occurring in only two roots. The [t̪] allophone occurs in only [t̪əʔaɪ] /t̪əʔaɪ/ 'that way', and is an attempt to adapt the voiced interdental fricative [d] (allophone of /d/ from the English /dæt.wɛ/.⁷ This is indisputably a basilect word. [t̪], the other allophone of /t̪/, occurs in the root [t̪hɪŋ] 'thing', and is an attempt to adapt the voiceless interdental fricative [θ] (allophone of /θ/) in the English /θɪŋ/. This root [t̪hɪŋ] /t̪hɪŋ/ is extremely widely used in basilect. /t̪hɪŋ/ not only occurs on its own but also as a nominalizer suffix.

The /s/ phoneme in basilect occurs consistently in only a few words and then only word medially.

["mistɪmbat]	/mistɪmpat/	'to miss (trans, cont)'
["mezʌɪmbat]	/mesarɪmpat/	'to measure (trans, cont)'
["ñusɪmbat]	/ñusɪmpat/	'to use (trans, cont)'

The phone [s] is often heard in FXCP since the Walmatjari phoneme system has no close equivalent. However, it was found that except in the above cases very young basilect-only-speakers make substitutions for /s/, to be discussed below.

- (b) Contrasting Consonant Phoneme Frequency of Occurrence: Two phonemes from the Walmatjari phonemic system occur rarely in the basilect. They are /ñ/, heard only three times, in one case to substitute for the English nasal plus laminal semi-consonant cluster /ny/, in /ñupɪɪ/ '(new) Fitzroy Bridge' for English /nyu·brɪdʒ/ 'new bridge'. In another, /miñu/, it comes from merging of English /n/ + /y/ mi an yu 'me and you' to give /miñu/ 'we (1st dual inclusive)'. In the other case, the nasal is introduced where there is merely the palatal semi-consonant γ in English, i.e. /ñusɪmpat/ 'to use (trans, cont)'' from the English /yu·z ɪt/ 'use it'.

[ɪ] is heard in Walmatjari loan words and once elsewhere in an environment which points to its being an allophone of /i/ rather than a separate phoneme in basilectal FXCP.

It should also be noted that the apico-donals /ŋ/ and /ʃ/ occur much less frequently in basilect than in Walmatjari

as, in English, they do not contrast with the corresponding apico-alveolars. The /t/, however, has quite frequent occurrence in the basilect.

/t/, /p/ and /tʃ/ occur much more frequently in basilectal FXCP than in Walmatjari. The reason for this is that, in basilectal FXCP, /t/ usually substitutes for each of the English single phonemes /t/, /d/, /θ/, /ð/ and word final /s/ and /z/;

/p/ substitutes for each of the English phonemes /p/, /b/, /f/ and /v/; and /tʃ/ substitutes for each of /tʃ/, /dʒ/, word initial and medial /s/, /z/, /ʃ/ and /ʒ/.

(c) Introduced Vowel Phonemes: It is to be noted that there are two more vowel phonemes in the basilect than in Walmatjari, /e/ and /o/. Both of the sounds thus represented occur in Walmatjari but only as allophones of /a/ and /u/ respectively. A new vowel sound /ə/ not occurring in Walmatjari is heard in basilect. It appears at present to be an allophone of /e/ but from evidence at hand, it will become a phoneme not too much further along the continuum towards English.

(d) Contrasting Frequency of Occurrence of Vowels: The long vowels /i:/, /u:/ and /a:/ have infrequent occurrence as with Walmatjari. When they do occur it is sometimes to compensate when a consonant phoneme has been dropped from the English.

e.g. English /sku:l/ becomes basilect /ku:l/, 'school'

English /ka:nt/ becomes basilect /ka:n/, 'can't
(cannot)/may not'

However, along the mesolect the occurrence of long vowels increases considerably and this is usually to substitute for an English vowel glide.

e.g. [trɛ:n] for English /treɪn/ 'train'

/a/ and /u/ are slightly less frequent in basilect of FXCP than in Walmatjari because of the introduction of the new phonemes /e/ and /o/. These latter have low frequency of occurrence in basilect but it increases in the mesolect.

(e) Contrastive Features between Phonemes: Basilect ↔ Mesolect ↔ Acrolect:

(i) Consonant phonemes. In Walmatjari the contrastive features in manner of articulation that differ from English are given.

1. Walmatjari has no phonemic contrast between voiced and voiceless stops, whereas English does. In Walmatjari the voiced stops appear as allophones of the voiceless.
2. Walmatjari has no aspiration of stops whereas English has aspirated stop allophones of its voiceless stops.
3. Walmatjari has no fricatives, grooved fricatives, or affricates whereas English has both voiced and voiceless phonemes of all three.
4. Walmatjari has a vibrant which English does not have.

In Walmatjari, the contrastive features in point of articulation that differ from English are given. For stops, nasals and laterals, Walmatjari has two additional contrasting points of articulation apico-domal (retroflexed) and lamino-alveolar, which English does not have. English uses this latter point of articulation for voiced and voiceless affricates and fricatives and English introduces the interdental and labiodental points of articulation for fricatives as well.

As can be seen Walmatjari uses point of articulation more and manner of articulation less for contrast in consonant phonemes than does English. The basilectal FXCP appears to have used these two phonemic systems in the following ways, in order to develop its own unique phonemic system.

1. Comparing FXCP phonemic system with that of Walmatjari, an additional point of articulation is introduced in the stop series, i.e. interdental (with aspirated apico-alveolar as allophone) to cope with word initial interdental voiced and voiceless fricatives of English (only extremely restricted usage, however). Other word initial interdental fricatives have apico-alveolar /t/ substitute in FXCP basilect.

Occurrence of these English Interdental voiced and voiceless fricatives intervocally is often coped with in the basilect of FXCP by apico-domal stop /t̪/ and sometimes by the apico-alveolar stop /t/.

2. An additional manner of articulation is introduced, grooved fricative at the apico-alveolar point of articulation /s/. In the mesolect this is used extensively to replace all of the English grooved fricatives but in basilect /s/ replaces only a few voiced and voiceless grooved fricatives at the apico-alveolar and lamino-alveolar points of articulation. Basilect uses /t̪/ the voiceless apico-alveolar stop ϕ , or /t̪/ the voiceless laminal stop to replace all other grooved fricative and affricate occurrences (see parts (f)(i) and (g) of this section for details).

- (ii) Vowel phonemes. In Walmatjari the contrastive features that distinguish the vowels are point of articulation and length.

In English, the contrastive features that distinguish the vowels are point of articulation, open and closeness (with greater length) and tongue height.

In the basilectal FXCP, in some cases, the Walmatjari short-long contrast predominates over the English open-close contrast respectively.

e.g. English:	<u>hit</u>	'hit'	FXCP: /it(im)/	'to hit
	(open)		(short)	(trans)'
	<u>i:t</u>	'eat'	/i:t(im)/	'to eat
	(close)		(long)	(trans)'

In addition, contrast according to tongue height is introduced into the basilect with the introduction of the two phonemes /e/ and /o/ into the predominant (Walmatjari) Aboriginal-based vowel system.

- (f) Single Segment Processes: Basilect ↔ Mesolect ↔ Acrolect:
 The following processes have been deduced from the undelineated data which cover the whole continuum. Much more data need to be examined to ensure that all steps along the continuum have been noted.

(i) Consonant single segment processes.

1	2	3	4	5
<u>Basilect</u>	<u>Mesolect</u>	<u>Acrolect</u>	Probable Australian English Derivation	<u>Comments</u>
1. <u>Sibilants</u>				
/ʃan/ 'sun'		<u>san</u>	'sun'	Sibilants of Australian English /s/ and /z/ are replaced word initially and medially in basi- lectal FXCP by /ʃ/ and word finally by /t/.
/riʃap/ 'reserve camp'		"ri.zəb"	'reserve'	
/paʃim/ 'to be bigger than (trans)'			pa.s hɪm 'pass him'	
/traʃit/ 'men's pants'			"trauzez 'trouser'	
2. <u>Fricatives & Affricates & Stops</u>				
(a) /nəpa/ (negative)	"neba"		'never'	Voiced fricatives or affricates of Australian English are replaced in basilectal FXCP by voiceless stops
/prata/ 'brother'	"prada"		'brother'	
/nɪpɪʃ/ '(new) Fitzroy Bridge'	"nɪpɪɾɪʃ"		nyu brɪdʒ 'new bridge'	
(b) /taŋ ki/ 'donkey'	tɔ ki		daŋki 'donkey'	Voiced stops and voiceless frica- tives and affric- ates of Australian
/nəp/ 'knife'	nəp		naɪf 'knife'	

1	2	3	4	5
<u>Basilect</u>	<u>Mesolect</u>	<u>Acrolect</u>	Probable Australian English <u>Derivation</u>	<u>Comments</u>
/tru:m/ 'to throw (trans)'			<u>θrau</u> 'throw'	English are replaced in basilectal FXCP by voiceless stops
/kraʃ im/ 'to scratch (trans)'	<u>"kraʃum</u>		<u>skraʃs</u> 'scratch <u>hum</u> him'	
/ʃa/ 'they (3rd non-sing., nom)'			<u>del</u> 'they'	For 2(a) and (b), point of articula- tion changes from Australian English to basilectal FXCP are from labiodental (f, v) to bilabial (p); from inter- dental + ɛl to laminal; and inter- dental to apico- alveolar elsewhere
(c) /it im/ 'to hit (trans)'			<u>h i t h u m</u> 'hit him'	The /h/ of Austral- ian English is deleted in basi- lectal FXCP
/i/ 'he/she/it'			<u>hi</u> 'he'	

3. Aspiration

/kukwan/ 'ripe one'
 /papi wapi/ 'puppy'
 /taʔki/ 'bush turkey'

k^hukt wʌn 'cooked
 one
 p^hʌ p^hi • 'puppy'
 "t^h • k^hi • 'turkey'

The aspiration of the voiceless stop allophones of Australian English voiceless stops is not heard in FXGP when the stop precedes a vowel. To the Australian English ear, the result may sound like an Australian English voiced stop word initially since Australian English voiced stops have voiceless unaspirated allophones word initially. The aspiration of the voiceless stop allophones in Australian English is the only clue to the identity of the voiceless stop phoneme versus the voiced stop phonemes word initially.

Probable
Australian English
Derivation

Comments

Acrolect

Mesolect

Basilect

4. The Effect of /ə/ and /r/ from Australian English on FXCP Consonants: Retroflexion

The phoneme /ə/ of Australian English is reproduced in FXCP as retroflexion of the adjacent apico-alveolar consonant as well as the retention of the ə (as an allophone of /e/) if it was a single vowel in the stressed syllable in Australian English.

The r of the initial consonant cluster here in Australian English has the effect of retroflexing the following apico-alveolar consonant. The r is then dropped in the FXCP derivative.

ˈmʌʊtəkʰʌ 'motor
car'

mɔːnɪŋ ~ mɔːnɪŋ
taɪm 'morning
time'

bɛːd /bed/ 'bird'

gɛːl /gæl/ wʌn
'girl
one'

prʊtʃiː flauə
'pretty
flower'

(a) /mʊtʌkə/ 'car'

/mɔːnɪŋtʌm/ 'morning'

/pɛt/ 'bird'

/keɪwʌn/ 'female (one)'

(b) /pʊtʃiː plʌ/ 'flower'

- (ii) Vowel single segment processes. Vowels /e/ and /o/ in basilectal FXCP have been introduced from the English end of the continuum. In Walmatjari they occur as allophones of /a/ and /u/ respectively. Hence it was observed that /ɛ/ and /ø/, and /æ/ in an Australian English source word go to /a/ in FXCP more often than to /e/, and /ɔ·/ and /ɔ^/ go to /u/ rather than to /o/.

When /ɛ/, /æ/ and /ø/ do go to /e/ in basilectal FXCP and /ɔ·/, /ɔ^/ goes to /o/ it appears to be in recently introduced expressions or concepts, e.g. /kopikat/ 'to copy (transitive)' k^hɔ[^]p^hi·-k^hæt 'copy cat'. There are certainly exceptions, e.g. the well established /lɔŋtam/ 'long time ago' and /kemp/ 'camp'. The above hypothesis remains intuitive until more historical data on times of introduction of concepts are discovered. Nevertheless, if this is in fact the case, the question then arises as to where /e/ and /o/ should be placed on the continuum and whether the well established words that use /e/ and /o/ in fact do have a closer-to-basilect form. /lɔŋtam/ has on occasion been heard as /laŋtam/.

In the setting out of the following observations this intuitive hypothesis is incorporated.

<u>Basilect</u>	<u>Mesolect</u>	<u>Acrolect</u>	Probable Australian English <u>Derivation</u>	<u>Comments</u>
1. <u>/ɛ/ from Australian English</u>				
/tem/	'them'		dem	In one or two syllable words when the Australian English /ɛ/ is peak of the stressed syllable, the /e/ [ɛ] is retained in basilectal FXCP. In more than two syllable words where the /ɛ/ is in an unstressed syllable the /ɛ/ goes to /a/.
/elpim/	'to help (trans)'		help hɪm	
/pupala/	'poor fella (expression of endearment & sympathy)'		pʰue fɛlɪə 'poor fellow'	
2. <u>/æ/ from Australian English</u>				
/kemp/	'camp'		k'hæmp	When /æ/ of Australian English is between a velar and a bilabial or between two velars, it is retained in FXCP as an allophone of /e/. Elsewhere it is modified to an /a/ [a].
/kenkaru/	'kangaroo'		k'hæŋgɪ'ru	
/kampek/	'to come back'		k'hʌm bæ ^k	
/apu/	'apple'		æpəl or æpɪ	

3. /e/ from Australian English

/eɪpət/ 'early'

/keɪwən/ 'girl'

t̪.ɪ.ə /eɪ.ɪ.ə/ 'early'

g̪.t̪.ɪ /g̪eɪ/ 'girl'

When /e/ of Australian English is peak in the stressed syllable-word initial or in a one syllable word (i.e., when it has the allophone [t̪]) it is retained in FXCP as [e̞] allophone of /e/ (see also f(1) 4b for effect on consonants).

- (g) Consonant Cluster Processes: Word initial consonant clusters in English are of the form "position 1: spirants, i.e. /s/ and /z/ fricatives and affricates; position 2: sounds with oral closure (stops and nasals); position 3: linguals (/r/ and /l/) and semi-vowels (i.e. /w/ and /y/). All clusters follow the order 1 - 2 - 3 though not all positions have to be filled" (Hill 1958:76).

There are no word-initial consonant clusters in Walmatjari. It has been noted that Walmatjari adults, in their attempts (APE) to pronounce Australian English word-initial consonant clusters adjust them as follows:

- (a) cluster of three consonants; delete position 1 consonant, e.g. /s/, and insert a vowel between position 2 and position 3 consonants.
- (b) cluster of two consonants (where the first is a position 1 consonant); either delete the position 1 consonant or substitute a Walmatjari consonant for it, e.g. /ɹ/ for spirants, and then insert a vowel between it and the following consonant.

Thus APE also has no word-initial consonant clusters.

Basilectal FXCP, however, does admit a limited number of consonant clusters. The FXCP speakers attempt to pronounce English word-initial consonant clusters of

- (a) three segments, by deleting position 1 consonant, e.g. /s/, and then pronouncing position 2 and position 3 consonants in cluster. FXCP consonant clusters resulting from this process that have been heard are /tr/ and /kr/ (see below for examples).
- (b) two segments, by following the processes of deletion or replacement (see 1 (a), 2, and 3 below) when /s/ is the initial consonant. When the cluster is of the type C₂C₃ the voicing of the stops and the friction of fricatives and affricates are lost and the point of articulation changes from labiodental to bilabial, apico-alveolar to laminal, and interdental to apico-alveolar (except in one case /t_ɹay/ 'that way').

Post-vocalic, prejunctural consonant clusters in English consist of two consonants (at least 60 examples), three consonants (at least 50 examples) or four consonants (at least 10 examples) of non syllabics. (These do not include those containing r which is a non-Australian phenomenon.) These English final clusters are composed thus (Bloomfield 1935:132).

± (second pre-final consonant)	± (pre-final consonant)	± (main final consonant)	± (post final consonant)
--------------------------------------	----------------------------	--------------------------------	--------------------------------

Walmatjarl has only two post vocalic prejunctural consonant clusters /-ŋp/ and /-rp/. The latter has not been heard word final (Hudson and Richards 1969).

FXCP basilectal post vocalic, prejunctural consonant clusters consist of nine two segment clusters. The adaptation of the Australian English roots to the Basilect may be described thus:

+ pre-final consonant ± main final consonant

The Australian English post final consonant is a suffixing inflection from sets of pluralizers, tense/mood/number clitics on verbs, or verbalizers/adjectivizers. The basilect of FXCP does not show singular/plural distinction on nouns or verbs. No number distinction is made on verbs, and tense/mood distinctions are shown by free verbal auxiliaries not by suffixing inflection on the verb. No adjectives occur in basilectal FXCP and verbalization and nominalization in FXCP involve suffixing of a syllable not a single consonant. Hence there is no place in basilectal FXCP for the post-final consonant of Australian English.

Further data need to be gathered to enable a study of what adaptations are made to the remaining three consonants in the possible four consonant final clusters.

The observed basilectal clusters (apart from those described in rule 4 below) come from either

- (a) English two consonant clusters with no adaptations and are of the form

$$\begin{array}{ccc}
 & \text{pre-final} & \text{final} \\
 + & \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{homorganic nasal /l/} \\ \text{in non-homorganic} \\ \text{combination with the} \\ \text{final consonant} \end{array} \right\} & + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} p \\ k \\ t \end{array} \right\}
 \end{array}$$

or

(b) from non-homorganic combinations of

$$+ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} y \\ w \end{array} \right\} \quad + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} n \\ t \\ p \end{array} \right\}$$

In Australian English these are not recognised as final consonant clusters as the y and w in Australian English are rather the second segment of diphthongs and are therefore designated vowel not consonant. Though interpreted as consonants in basilectal FXCP, it is probable that mesolect to acrolect reinterpretation would yield complex vowel nuclei diphthongs rather than these basilectal consonant clusters.

1	2	3	4	5
<u>Basilect</u>	<u>Mesolect</u>	<u>Acrolect</u>	<u>Probable Australian English Derivation</u>	<u>Comments</u>
(i) <u>Deletion of s or z</u>				
1. (a) <u>Deletion of s from Australian English clusters word initial</u>				
/ku:l/	'school'	<u>sku:l</u>	'school'	Word initially, clusters of the type C ₁ C ₂ (here sk & st) and C ₁ C ₂ C ₃ (here skr) where C ₁ is /s/ in Australian English have C ₁ deleted in FXCP and become respectively C ₂ and C ₂ C ₃ .
/tik/	'stick'	<u>stik</u>	'stick'	
/kraʃim/ 'to scratch (trans)'		<u>skrætʃ him</u>	'scratch him'	
(b) /pitaʃuy/ 'Fitzroy'		<u>fitzrɔʃl</u>	'Fitzroy'	When the prejunctional consonant cluster consists of a stop plus a sibilant (z) and the following syllable has /r/ as its onset in English, the sibilant is dropped, a vowel inserted and the /r/ becomes flapped in FXCP.

1	2	3	4	5
<u>Basilect</u>	<u>Mesolect</u>	<u>Acrolect</u>	Probable <u>Australian English Derivation</u>	<u>Comments</u>
2. <u>Replacement of /s/ from one syllable derivations</u>				
/ʃinektrak/ 'snake track'			<u>sneɪk træk</u> ('snake track')	When the Australian English word from which the FXCP word derives is of one syllable, and the word initial cluster is of the type C ₁ C ₂ (if C ₂ is a nasal) or C ₁ C ₃ (where C ₁ is s) a vowel is inserted between the two con- sonants and the /s/ (C ₁) is replaced by /tʃ/ in FXCP to give /tʃ + vowel +
/ʃilip/ 'to sleep'			<u>slɪ.p</u> ('sleep')	
/ʃuwim/ 'to swim'	<u>ʃwɪm</u>		<u>swɪm</u> 'swim' (one syllable)	
3. <u>Replacement of /s/ from two syllable derivations</u>				
(a) /ʃalarum/	<u>salarum</u> <u>ʃwalarum</u>		<u>'swɑːlɑː</u> 'swallow'	When the Australian English word from which the FXCP word

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} C_3 \text{ or} \\ C_2 \text{ (nasal)} \end{array} \right. \dots /$$

derives is of two syllables and the word initial cluster is of the type C₁C₃ (where C₁ is /s/), C₃ is deleted and the /s/ is replaced by /tʃ/ in FXCP.

For 2 & 3, note the mesolect examples where either the insertion of the vowel or the re- placement of the /s/ is reversed.

(b) /tʃtʃa/	<u>siste</u>	'sister'
4. (a) /antimawt/ 'to hunt (trans)'	<u>hʌnt ɪt aʊt</u>	('hʌnt ɪt aʊt')
/trantim/ 'to sub-merge (trans)'	<u>drʌɪnd hʌm</u>	('drʌɪnd hʌm')

When the cluster /st/ is astride a syllable boundary the second consonant /t/ is dropped and the /s/ re- placed by /tʃ/ in FXCP.

When the Australian English consists of a word with a pre- junctural two-consonant cluster and is suf- fixed in FSCP by a vowel initial suffix, the cluster remains unchanged except for devoicing of stops.

1	2	3	4	5
<u>Basilect</u>	<u>Mesolect</u>	<u>Acrolect</u>	Probable <u>Australian English Derivation</u>	<u>Comments</u>
(b) /kran/ 'ground'			<u>graund</u> ('ground')	When the Australian English derivation of a word with a pre-prajunctural two-consonant cluster is suffixed by a consonant-initial suffix or is not suffixed at all, then the second consonant is deleted.
/kolʃik/ 'a cold'			<u>k^hauld suk</u> 'cold' <u>'sick'</u>	

10. RECOMMENDATIONS

10.1 RECOMMENDATIONS REGARDING FXCP

- I. Given that FXCP is the principal medium of communication among pre-school and school children (at least), it is recommended that all personnel who deal with these children should acquaint themselves with available material on FXCP. These would include kindergarten teachers, school teachers, Sunday-school teachers, hostel staff, medical personnel.
- II. It is recommended that the above personnel use the available information on FXCP in the following ways:
 - (a) The speaking of FXCP should not be "forced underground" by its being ignored or being referred to derogatorily. Rather, it should be recognised by all that FXCP is distinct from both English and the surrounding Aboriginal languages. At present, FXCP is not adequately distinguished from English in the minds of many.
 - (b) The children, from the earliest opportunity, should be encouraged to speak (and eventually to read and write) Walmatjari and English. A trilingual oral programme could be instituted in pre-school and early grades at school. Transition to both Walmatjari and English speaking should be done by using FXCP.
 - (c) Oral transition to English may be profitably conducted by focussing on --
 - (i) the phonemic contrasts that occur in English but not FXCP and teaching the students to hear and produce these contrasts. E.g., allophones [t] and [d] in FXCP are separate phonemes /t/ and /d/ in English, the /t/ having [t^h] as an allophone, i.e. contrastive voicing in English not present in FXCP. (Refer to Section 9 for further examples.)
 - (ii) the stress and intonation contrasts that occur in English but not FXCP. Most important here is the stress which is not phonemic in FXCP but is in English. It has been noted that even when quite acceptable simple English is being spoken by an FXCP speaker the English contrastive stress patterns are not used. FXCP stress is placed almost exclusively on the first syllable of the English root. (For (i) and (ii) cf. Lado 1964:70-78.)

- (iii) grammatical constructions and patterns which contrast in English and not in FXCP, e.g. indication of singular vs. plural in nouns and verbs; and on those that contrast in FXCP and not in English, e.g. inclusive-exclusive distinction in pronouns.
- (iv) semantic shifts from the English derivative to FXCP usage, e.g. kaŋa as part of the verb phrase is heard at first by English hearers as 'got to' obligative mood, whereas it most often functions as future tense indicator in FXCP. Kaŋa is also used as relator 'with' in instrument and accompaniment phrases.

Such situations should be clarified and the meaning difference taught so that the optimum amount of information is getting across without skew.

- III. FXCP is the first language of its speakers. If the findings of the UNESCO meeting to study the use of the vernacular language in teaching (UNESCO, 1953, page 123 et al.) and of subsequent studies are to be taken seriously (the Australian Government has been doing so with regard to Aboriginal languages in the Northern Territory, including Roper Creole, since 1973), urgent consideration should be given to using written FXCP, at least as the medium for initial teaching of reading and writing, with transition to spoken and written English and an Aboriginal language as appropriate in later grades at school. FXCP should be retained, however, to be used for appropriate social situations and subject areas, and should not be wholly replaced by English.
- IV. Should the preceding recommendation be entertained, a suggested practical orthography for FXCP is here included with an English pronunciation key.

This orthography is based largely on the practical orthography for Walmatjari because most of the phonemes of FXCP also occur in Walmatjari. In addition, the orthography for Walmatjari was chosen with English orthography and the need for transition to English very much in mind. The orthography given is that recommended for basilectal FXCP for use in an initial reading and writing programme. However, alternatives for certain consonants and vowels which could aid the learning of written English are also included, to be used should the emphasis of the programme be on transition to English.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
FXCP Phonetic Symbol	FXCP Basilectal Phonemic Symbol	FXCP Basilectal Orthograph Symbol	Possible Mesolect- Acrolect Variations to FXCP Bas. Orthog.	Australian English Orthog. Equiv.	Aust. Eng. Orthog. Equivalents to which FXCP Bas. May Move	Australian English Pronunciation Key
(i) Consonants						
[p]	/p/	p	p ^h , b, f, v in specified environments (see Section 9, (f):(i), parts 2 & 3)	p	p, b, f, v	like /b/ as in [pu ^k] /buk/ 'book'
[b]	/p/	p	b, f, v, as above	b	b, f, v	like /b/ as in /hæb.t/ /hæbt/ 'habit'
[t̥]	/t̥/	th	-----	th	th	none
[t ^h]	/t̥/	th	-----	th	th	like /t/ as in [t ^h æp] /tæp/ 'tap'
[t]	/t/	t	t ^h , s, θ, ð in specified environments (see Section 9, (f):(i), pt 1 and parts 2 & 3)	t	t, d, th(θ&ð), s	like /d/ as in [t ^h k] /dʌk/ 'duck'
[d]	/t/	t	" (but not t ^h)	t	d, th(θ&ð), s	like /d/ as in [æð] /æð/ 'adder'

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
FXCP Phonetic Symbol	FXCP Basilectal Phonemic Symbol	FXCP Basilectal Orthograph Symbol	Possible Mesolect- Acrolect Variations to FXCP Bas. Orthog.	Australian English Orthog. Equiv.	Aust. Eng. Orthog. Equivalents to which FXCP Bas. May Move	Australian English Pronunciation Key
[ʃ]	/ʃ/	j	tš, š, s, d word initially; z, dž word medially & finally (see Section 9, (f):(i), parts 1 & 2)	j	ch, sh, s, j, z, th(ð)	like /tš/ without friction in [tšt·tš] /tšetš/ 'church'
[g]	/g/	j	" and z, dž word initially	j	" & dge	like /dž/ without friction in [džlil] /džlil/ 'Jill'
[tš]	/tš/	j	-----	j	ch, tch	like /tš/ in [tšt·tš] /tšetš/ 'church'
[t]	/t/	rt	t, d following e, a, ç (see Section 9, (f):(i), part 4) if word final	t, d after vowel digraphs or, er, ir, ar, ur	as for column 5	like /d/ retroflexed in [bt'd] /bed/ 'bird'
[tʃ]	/tʃ/	rt	t, d, r intervocalically	t, d		like /d/ retroflexed in [tʃel] /tʃedl/ 'toddler'

[k]	/k/	k	k ^h (see Section 9, (f):(i), part 3)	k	k, g	like /g/ in [kud] /gud/ 'good'
[g]	/k/	k	g (see Section 9, (f):(i), part 2)	k	g	like /g/ in [frige] /frige/ 'trigger'
[k̥]	/k/	k	-----	k	k, g	like /k/ in [p ^h k] /p ^h k/ 'pick'
[m]	/m/	m	-----	m	m	like /m/ in [mam] /mam/ 'mum'
[n]	/n/	n	-----	n	n	like /n/ in [nan] /nan/ 'nun'
[ŋ]	/ŋ/	rn	n following ə, a, ɔ (see Section 9, (f):(i), part 4b)	n after vowel di- graphs or, er, ir, ar, ur	as for column 5	like /n/ retro- flexed in [mɔnɪŋ] /mɔnɪŋ/ 'morning'
[ɲ]	/ɲ/	ny	ny	n	n	like /ny/ in [nyu] /nyu/ 'new'
[ŋ]	/ŋ/	ng	-----	ng	ng	like /ŋ/ in [sɪŋŋ] /sɪŋŋ/ 'singing'
[l]	/l/	l	-----	l	l	like /l/ in [lɔl] /lɔl/ 'low'

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
FXCP Phonetic Symbol	FXCP Basilectal Phonemic Symbol	FXCP Basilectal Orthograph Symbol	Possible Mesolect- Acrolect Variations to FXCP Bas. Orthog.	Australian English Orthog. Equiv.	Aust. Eng. Orthog. Equivalents to which FXCP Bas. May Move	Australian English Pronunciation Key
[ĩ]	/i/	i	i	i	i	like /i/ laminised in [plet] /plet/ 'play'
[i]	/i/	ri	i following e, a, ɔ (see Section 9, (f):(i), part 4b)	i after vowel di- graphs or, er, ur, ar, ir	as for column 5	like /i/ retro- flexed in [k+i] /gəl/ 'girl'
[s]	/s/	s	----	s		like /s/ in [mɪst] /mɪst/ 'missed'
[z]	/s/	s	----	s, z	s, z	like /z/ in [yuz] /yuz/ 'use'
[r]	/r/	r	----	r	r, or, ø	like /r/ in [rʌn] /rʌn/ 'run'
[ʔ]	/ʔ/	rr	r, ø, rɪ or d, inter- vocalically	----	r, ø, d, t after vowel digraph or	like /d/ in [tɔdəl] /tɔdəl/ 'toddle'
[ʔ]	/ʔ/	rr	r	----	r	none

[w]	/w/	w	ϕ	w	w	like /w/ in [wɛd] /wɛd/ 'wed'
[y]	/y/	y	----	y	y	like /y/ in [yʊ] /yʊ/ 'you'

FXCP Phonetic Symbol	FXCP Basilectal Phonemic Symbol	FXCP Basilectal Orthograph Symbol	Possible Mesolect- Acrolect Variations from FXCP Basilect	Australian English Equiv.	Aust. Eng. Orthog. Equivalents to which FXCP Bas. May Move	Australian English Pronunciation Key
[w]	/w/	w				
[y]	/y/	y				

(ii) Vowels

[i]	/i/	i	ɪ	----	i	like /i/ in [hɪt] /hɪt/ 'hit'
[i:]	/i:/	ii	i·	e in open syllable; eCe*,ea,ee; ei,ie;y,ey	ee & y ini- tially; others later	like /i·/ length- ened in [si·t] /si·t/ 'seat'
[ɛ]	/e/	.e	----	e in a closed syllable (ea some- times, e.g. 'measure')	e in closed syllables initially; other later	like /ɛ/ in [hɛd] /hɛd/ 'head'

* 'iC' stands for a consonant here.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
FXCP Phonetic Symbol	FXCP Basilectal Phonemic Symbol	FXCP Basilectal Orthograph Symbol	Possible Mesolect- Acrolect Variations from FXCP Basilect	Australian English Equiv.	Aust. Eng. Orthog. Equivalents to which FXCP Bas. May Move	Australian English Pronunciation Key
[æ]	/e/	e	æ	a in closed syllables	a in closed syllables	like /æ/ in [hæt] /hæt/ 'hat'
[ə]	/e/	e	ɪ, ə	er, ir, ur	er initial- ly; others later	like /ə/ retro- flexed in [bɪd] /bed/ 'bird'
[a:]	/a:/	aa	a:	ar, a	ar initial- ly; a later	like /a:/ in [fa:] /fa:/ 'far'
[a]	/a/	a	ʌ or a	---	" or u in closed syllables	like /a/ short- ened
[ʌ]	/a/	a	ʌ	u in closed syllables	u in closed syllables	like /ʌ/ in [kʰʌp] /kʰp/ 'cup'
[u:]	/u:/	uu	u:	u in open syllables; uCe*, ui, ue; oo as in 'boot'; ew as in 'fyu' / 'few'	ue initial- ly; others later	like /u:/ length- ened in [fyu] /fyu/ 'few'
[u]	/u/	u	u:	"	"	like /u:/ short- ened

[u]	/u/	u	oo as in book	oo	like /u/ in [pu ^k] /buk/ 'book ^r
[ɔ [^]]	/o/	o	o in closed syllables	o in closed syllables	like /ɔ [^] / in [p ^h ɔ [^] t] /pɔ [^] t/ 'pot ^r
[ɔ]	/o/	ɔ	or	or	like /ɔ/ short- ened in [k ^h ɔ ^t] /kɔt/ 'court ^r

 * 'C' stands for a consonant here.

10.2 RECOMMENDATIONS REGARDING APE

It is probable that further study is warranted on APE (it may be found that there are enough similarities with FXCP to make the necessary amount of extra study on APE small) to aid an oral programme for transition from Walmatjari (or other Aboriginal language) to English for adults. Because APE is regarded by many of the speakers as English, it is imperative that APE differences from English be pointed out to them, so that they may make the necessary adjustments for speaking and later, writing English.

11. TEXTS

The following text is included to illustrate FXCP. It was spoken to the author (an English speaking, non-Aborigine) and some other Aboriginal children after school at Fitzroy Crossing. It is predominantly basilectal FXCP both phonologically and grammatically.

Phonologically the use of the phones from the texts listed below are examples of mesolectal to acrolectal usages rather than basilectal usage.

- f in foks 'fox' and from 'from' rather than the basilectal /p/;
- s in ʃet 'shirt' and "pa:ʃet 'boughshade' rather than the basilectal /tʃ/;
- s word initially alternating with the basilectal /tʃ/ in "safet "tʃatet;
- s word finally in (w)os 'horse/horses', "woʃəs 'horse'; ols 'Halls';
- st as a word-initial consonant cluster in stak 'stuck' rather than the basilectal /t/;
- ks as a word-final consonant cluster in foks 'fox' rather than the basilectal /k/;
- w introduced word initially alternating with silence to replace the English /h/ in (w)os 'horse/horses', "woʃəs horses ...

This illustrates the interweaving of the various lects along the continuum as discussed in Section 9, but it is nevertheless clear that the basilectal phonology predominates here.

Grammatically, the use of the forms listed here are examples of mesolectal to acrolectal grammatical usages in the text.

in rather than in in "playin 'fly (continuous)'

wi 1st non-singular pronoun rather than "mela 1st plural (more than two) exclusive pronoun on one occasion only (sentence 7)

plural form introduced on a noun once in "woṭes 'horses'

TEXT I

The Eagle and the Saddle

By Rita Wallaby

- (1) i pin "playin an tat "ikalok pin "mistim.
it PAST fly and that eagle PAST miss
- (2) an tat tin "kuwin, "playin. (3) an "ikalok
and that thing go fly and eagle
- pin ku "sssst". (4) i pin "mistim. (5) pat tat
PAST go "sssst" it PAST miss but that
- "playin foks pin "(s)treytinte(ya). (6) i pin "kiṭin
flying fox PAST straight:in:there it PAST get:im
- tat pawl . (7) an wi pin
that tree:trunk and we (NON-SINGULAR EXCL) PAST
- "laṭim. (8) an tat "anri from ols kri:k i pin
and that Henry from Halls Creek he PAST
- "laṭim. (9) an "teypit pin "laṭim. (10) "yeya i
and David PAST yes ot
- pin "kamawt ten . (11) an ṭa pin "plakim
PAST come:out then and they PAST stop:from:passing
- kaṛa šet kaṛa "poket. (12) an i pin ku
with shirt with pocket and it PAST go
- "layet . (13) ta pin "takimap aken pat i
like:that they PAST throw:up again but it (shirt)
- pin stak la tat pi:k "pa:šet .
PAST stuck on that big (emphasised) bough shade

- (14) "maga "mela pin "pleyapat "kaŋa "satel.
 girl we (PLURAL, EXCL) PAST play:around with saddle
- (15) "yuna "yanka "satel [(w)os i pin "raŋim].
 you:know that saddle horse it PAST ride
- (16) olta kit pin "raŋimpat. (17) "olta kit
 all:the kids PAST ride all:the kids
- "yaa yaa yaa". (18) mela pin "pleyapat
 "yaa yaa yaa" we (PLURAL, EXCL) PAST play:around
- "tipwan tu - an tat "tadel "plana "woŋes ja
 steep:one too and that saddle POSSESSIVE horses they
- pin "puŋim "plana ta man. (19) pat a pin
 PAST put it:POSSESSIVE the man but I PAST
- "tamp'an an a pin "nili "pult'an "yuna .
 jump:on and I PAST nearly fall:off you know

The Eagle and the Saddle
 (free English translation)

- (1) It [the flying fox] was flying and the eagle missed grabbing it.
 (2) That thing [the flying fox] went on flying. (3) The eagle went
 "ssst". (4) It missed it [the flying fox]. (5) But that flying fox
 went right in there. (6) It got into the tree trunk. (7) We
 _____ . (8) That boy Henry from Halls Creek _____ .
 (9) And David _____ . (10) Then it [the flying fox] came
 out. (11) They stopped it from passing with a shirt with a pocket
 in it. (12) It [the flying fox] went like that (at the shirt which
 was held out as a matador holds out his cape). (13) They threw it
 [the shirt] up again, but it got stuck on that very big bough shade.
- (14) You girl, we were playing around with a saddle. (15) You know
 what a saddle is - what they use for riding horses. (16) All the
 children were playing at riding. (17) All the children were shouting
 "yaa! yaa! yaa!" (18) We were all playing around on that horse
 saddle belonging to the man - they had set it up so that it was high
 off the ground and/or slanted (steep). (19) I climbed on and nearly
 fell off.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Primarily, the author wishes to acknowledge the role of the Fitzroy Crossing Children's Pidgin speakers in the production of this paper. Without their enthusiastic co-operation and considerable patience, it could not have been written. In particular, Rita Wallaby and Rosemary Chuguna must be recognized for their parts. It is the hope of the author that their efforts will bear fruit for them.

In addition, assistance of English and Walmatjari speakers, Eirlys Richards, Ann Cox and Joy Langsford (all with SIL) was invaluable in both introducing the author smoothly into the situation and in directing her attention to helpful areas of enquiry and suggesting possible derivations and current glosses for utterances. Shirley Cox (UAM) also assisted with some insights into the Adult Pidgin English.

The able and patient editorial assistance of Joyce Hudson (SIL) has at last enabled the production of the paper in this form, thus making its findings more widely available than previously.

Finally, the work of typists Ann Cox, Dorothy Mackie, Kay Hughes and Julianne Slater on the first and subsequent drafts must be gratefully acknowledged.

FOOTNOTES

1. There are inherent difficulties in studying and writing up accurately a language spoken predominantly by children, as the extent of language development depends largely on the age of the child. Phonemically, this is not such a problem as children of the age of 4 years, at the latest, have normally mastered all the phonemes and intonation patterns of their language--the basilect of FXCP in this case. Vocabulary and grammatical ability, however, are very much affected by childhood development, e.g. from concrete to abstract ideas and the expression thereof. The grammar studied for this project reflects the ability of up to approximately 12 years-old children.
2. This is purely an unsubstantiated estimate--a survey needs to be done to ascertain the full extent of FXCP speakers.
3. Simple English (SE), i.e. the acrolect of the FXCP continuum, has not been closely analysed. From the analysis completed, however, SE may be helpfully defined in contrast with Australian English. Although most of the English phonemes and all but the most difficult consonant clusters are correctly used, the stress and intonation patterns of English have not been acquired. This makes spoken SE significantly different from Australian English. In addition, the vocabulary in many cases retains basilectal semantic overtones; and constructions used, though acceptable as English, are generally less complex on the clause and sentence level. Paragraph and discourse level display characteristics more similar to those of the Aboriginal languages than to Australian English.
4. Eirlys Richards and Joyce Hudson of SIL, studying Walmatjari language and culture based at Fitzroy Crossing since 1967, have observed this trend.
5. These are the descriptions used by Hudson and Richards (SIL) in "Phonology of Walmatjari" 1969, for Walmatjari phonemes with which the corresponding basilectal FXCP phonemes are identical.
6. The author glossed this as "Horrors!" but requested Mr. Steven Muecke (tutor in Linguistics in Dept. of Anthropology, University of Western Australia) to check during his visit to Fitzroy Crossing

In June 1975. His findings were "...it can be glossed as 'Shame!', e.g. when somebody does something wrong or surprising." (from a letter to the author dated 24/6/1975).

7. The phonemic representations of English utterances for Australian used in this section follow Irwin's description except that the Australian English long vowels /a:/ /i:/ and /u:/ are here shown as /a•/ /i•/ and /u•/ to show their contrast by being about half a segment shorter than the FXCP /a:/ /i:/ and /u:/.

ABBREVIATIONS

trans	transitive
cont	continuous
excl	exclusive

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- BLOOMFIELD, Leonard. Language. George Allen and Unwin, London, 1935.
- HILL, Archibald A. Introduction to Linguistic Structures; From Sound to Sentence in English. Harcourt Brace, New York, 1958.
- HILL, L. A. 'Final Clusters in English', Teaching English as a Second Language. (ed. Harold B. Allen) McGraw-Hill, New York, 1965.
- HUDSON, Joyce & RICHARDS, Eirlys. 'The Phonology of Walmatjari.' Oceanic Linguistics, vol. 8, no. 2, 1969, pp. 171-89.
- HUDSON, Joyce & RICHARDS, Eirlys (with Pompy Siddon, Peter Skipper and others). 'The Walmatjari: An Introduction to the Language and Culture'. Workpapers of SIL-AAB, vol. 1, 1976, pp. 1-109.
- HYMES, Dell H. (ed.). Pidginization and Creolization of Languages. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, England, 1971.
- IRWIN, Barry. A Brief Outline of Australian English Phonemes. Ukarumpa, PNG (SIL), 1974.
- LADO, R. Language Teaching: A Scientific Approach. McGraw-Hill, New York, 1964.
- PIKE, Kenneth L. Phonemics: A Technique for Reducing Languages to Writing. University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, 1947.
- PLATT, John T. & PLATT, Heidi K. The Social Significance of Speech. North Holland Publishing Company, Amsterdam, 1975.
- PRIDE, J. B. & HOLMES, J. (ed.). Sociolinguistics. Penguin, Aylesbury, U.K., 1972.
- SANDEFUR, John R. Roper Creole: An Overview. To be published in Workpapers of SIL-AAB.
- UNESCO. The Use of the Vernacular Languages in Education--Monographs on Fundamental Education. Paris, 1953.
- WURM, S. A. Languages of Australia and Tasmania. Mouton, The Hague, 1972.