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ABORIGINAL LANGUAGE USE IN THE
NORTHERN TERRITORY: 5 REPORTS

Editor: M.J. Ray

FOREWORD

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TIWI: A LANGUAGE STRUGGLING TO SURVIVE
by Jenny Lee

INTRODUCTION

This is the second volume of language surveys produced by the Summer Institute of Linguistics, Australian Aborigines and Islanders Branch. The first, appearing in WORK PAPERS OF SIL-AAB Series B Volume 11, presented three different types of survey: inherent (or mutual) intelligibility between some Western Desert languages, a preliminary general survey in central Northern Territory, and a sociolinguistic survey focusing on language usage and attitudes in a specific Queensland community. The articles in this volume again represent several types of language survey.

Jean Kirton's article is quite unique in some ways. It is a diachronic study of a linguistic community which is in the process of replacing one language, Yanyuwa, with other languages, particularly Kriol and English.

Phil Graber has focused on a specific language, Kriol. He has built on the earlier survey work of Dave Glasgow in an attempt to determine the extent to which Kriol is used in the Barkly Tableland of the Northern Territory. In contrast to a more general type of survey, this was a type of dialect survey aimed at trying to determine the boundaries of Kriol within the Tableland.

The surveys by Jim Ellis of the Daly River and Wagait regions are of a general sociolinguistic nature. The purpose of these surveys was to determine what languages are spoken in the various communities in this area of the Northern Territory, and the relative strength of each of the languages.

Language survey, especially when trying to evaluate language use and attitudes, is by its very nature an inexact science. The number of factors which influence the findings of any given survey are many. A person's conscious or unconscious attitudes toward his own language and other surrounding Aboriginal languages will affect his response. Attitudes toward researchers will also have a profound effect on responses. The researcher's knowledge of the area and the methods used will affect the findings.

The greatest hurdle that must be overcome in language investigation is that of the researcher's paradox. The ideal context in which to evaluate language use is a natural social setting amongst users of the language. However, it is impossible for the researcher to observe language use without actually being there. With the introduction of a researcher into the community, it is no longer a natural social setting unless that researcher is considered as part of the community. The

researcher is faced with the paradox of trying to observe what happens when he is not there!

In Jean Kirton's situation, this hurdle has been overcome to a large extent. Since she has lived and worked with speakers of Yanyuwa in Borroloola since the mid-1960s, she is in fact a part of the Yanyuwa community.

To minimize the impact of being outsiders in Aboriginal communities, the Kriol survey team comprised several Kriol speakers from Ngukurr. It was these men who carried out a great deal of the actual survey work in the Tableland communities.

In spite of the drawbacks and limitations of any survey, the surveys which are included in this volume help to give us a somewhat clearer understanding of the use of Aboriginal languages in the Northern Territory.

Michael J. Ray
Volume Editor

NOTE: After M. Ray had written this Introduction and departed overseas, an additional paper became available. We are happy to include Jenny Lee's paper on Tiwi language change in this series volume.

KRIOL IN THE BARKLY TABLELAND

Philip L. Graber

0.   INTRODUCTION

Until the publication of Glasgow's (1984) survey report, the availabilty of information on the pidgin/creole situation in the Barkly Tableland was limited to the scattered comments of a few writers. Chadwick (1975) reported that older speakers of Djingili in the Newcastle Waters, Beetaloo, and Elliott areas 'used a kind of Pidgin which is well known in North Australia'.

A pidgin, according to DeCamp (1971:15) is 'a contact vernacular, normally not the native language of any of its speakers. It is used in trading or in any situation requiring commuication between persons who do not speak each other's native languages.' A creole, on the other hand, 'is the native language of most of its speakers'.

Surveys in the Kimberley in Western Australia (Sandefur and Sandefur 1980) and in northwestern Queensland (Sandefur et al. 1982) indicate that this well known Pidgin is in fact Kriol. Kriol, according to Sandefur (1986), is a creole with many variations which developed with influences from several pidgins and is spoken across north Australia from the Fitzroy Valley of Western Australia to northwest Queensland. Sandefur (1982) concluded from these surveys that Kriol must be spoken right through the Barkly Tableland.

In April and May of 1983, Glasgow surveyed the central Northern Territory in order to determine the main languages used by Aboriginal

people in everyday communication. He found that Kriol is the main Aboriginal language of the Barkly Tableland area, including communities, or 'camps', at Elliott, Newcastle Waters, Beetaloo, Anthony's Lagoon, Brunette Downs, Alexandria, Alroy Downs, Banka Banka, Tennant Creek (except for the Alyawarra people), and Rockhampton Downs (except for the older people). He estimated that at least 2000 people in this area communicate more effectively in Kriol than in any other language. This paper reports on a survey which sought to add to these findings.

The follow-up survey was conducted during the first half of June 1985. Its purpose was to extend work initiated by Glasgow on the extent of Kriol in the Barkly Tableland area, to collect Kriol data, and to determine where, or if, SIL should work with Kriol in the Tableland.

1.   THE SURVEY TEAM

John Sandefur and I were the non-Aboriginal members of the survey team. Sandefur has been involved in the SIL Kriol Bible translation project at Ngukurr (Roper River) over the past 12 years. In addition he has given linguistic input to the Kriol bilingual educational program at Barunga (formerly Bamyili), and conducted various surveys in search of Kriol across north Australia. I have spent time at Ngukurr learning Kriol and have continued analysis of the language begun by Sandefur.

The Aboriginal co-surveyors were all from Ngukurr. These included Wallace Dennis, Ishmael Andrews, and William Hall. Dennis, a pensioner and former stockman, was involved in cattle drives from the north to Alice Springs, right through the Tableland. He speaks no English, and has been involved in previous surveys in the Kimberley and in Queensland. Andrews is one of the translators of the Kriol Bible project, and therefore linguistically sophisticated. He had had no previous contact with the Barkly Region. Hall is the son of a stockman working in the Tableland. He worked as a stockman himself in the MacArthur River area. He is an outgoing person who initiated many conversations during the course of the survey. It was essential to include these Aboriginal men in the survey team in order to overcome the obstacles which present themselves to an 'outsider' trying to hear a creole language.

2.   OVERCOMING OBSTACLES

It is well known (e.g. Sandefur 1982) that there are several obstacles to collecting pidgin or creole language data. The presence of negative attitudes toward a language such as Kriol is common. Where not only whites but Kriol speakers themselves believe that the language is

'rubbish' or 'bastardized English', the chances of recording or even hearing the language are diminished, especially in the presence of whites. Such attitudes cause speakers of a pidgin or creole to deny that they speak it.

Some speakers of Kriol do not realize that what they speak is Kriol. They mistakenly believe that they are using English when they speak Kriol. Many Aborigines who are fluent in both English and Kriol switch between them much as a white Australian might between formal and informal styes of English. They may not be aware that what they speak is a language in its own right and is not 'sub-standard' English.

Finding speakers of Kriol may fail because the name 'Kriol' is not known to them. Unlike the traditional Aboriginal languages, pidgins and creoles do not always have names associated with them, often because they are not thought of as languages. Kriol may be referred to by its speakers as 'Pidgin', 'Pidgin English', 'lingo', and so on. The best way to find out if someone speaks Kriol is to hear them speak it.

We attempted to overcome these obstacles by creating a sociolinguistic context which experience has shown is conducive to hearing Kriol spoken. When we approached an Aboriginal community, Andrews usually drove with Hall occupying the front passenger seat. The two of them did the talking. Every community had been contacted by mail prior to our arrival. In most cases, the letter had been addressed to a specific member of the community. Where possible, the Ngukurr men contacted people who were related to them or to people they knew. Where the contacts were not personal, we went in as salesmen. We carried Kriol books, video and audio cassettes, and T-shirts.

Linguistic data were recorded on cassettes and by writing down personal observations. Hall, Andrews and Dennis sometimes taped their own conversations with local residents. This was most effective with their relatives or previous acquaintances. Sandefur and I were also able to tape some texts when the initial barriers of speaking Kriol to whites were overcome. In no instance was Kriol spoken to whites in an initial contact situation. But some Aborigines switched from English to Kriol after Sandefur spoke to them in Kriol. Some texts were also taped in church services in which we were invited to participate.

3.   COMMUNITIES

We visited Aboriginal communities in nine different places in the Barkly Tableland. All of them fall within the area in which Glasgow reported Kriol to be the main language.

Newcastle Waters

The Aboriginal camp was nearly deserted. The only Aboriginal people around were isolated employees of the station.

Beetaloo

We were unable to obtain permission to visit the two small communities here. There did not appear to be more than three dozen people in both communities combined. We did see a woman at a distance whose grandmother resides at Ngukurr and whose mother resides at Nutwood, both Kriol-speaking communities.

Elliott

Over 250 Aborigines were living in the two communities at Elliott. The larger community is located on the north side of the town. There we found several people who had been living at Newcastle Waters. The smaller 'Anthony's Camp' is about one kilometre south of town. Our initial contact was at the Aborigines Inland Mission church in town. We then made five visits to the camps over the following three days and a brief visit to the school.

In an oral report, Hall observed that the Aboriginal people in Elliott mixed the traditional vernacular, Kriol, and English in their speech. Like Chadwick, we found that Kriol was used among adults but we were not successful in our attempts to observe Kriol being spoken by children. Text 2 in the Appendix, in which English is used, is typical of our observation of children's speech. We heard some Kriol, but mostly English of varying degrees of fluency. Hall also observed: 'Old people talk Kriol. But those people that have talked to us are mainly from the Roper area. They know our old people.' (translation of oral report) This could reflect actual use, or it could indicate the difficulty of making new contacts on such a short visit. Our observations were enough to establish that Kriol is used but we were not able to establish the extent of its use.

Kalumpulpa Community

There were four families living at this outstation just off of the Stuart Highway about an hour's drive south of Banka Banka. They spoke their traditional language among themselves but had no trouble understanding the Kriol spoken to them. The manager of the community spoke a full range of English-related speech from 'heavy' Kriol (Sandefur 1979) right up to very fluent English. An example of his Kriol is found in Text 3 of the Appendix.

Tennant Creek

Several hundred Aborigines were living in town and in seven different
communities around the edges of the town. Some of the former residents
of Banka Banka were living in one of these communities. As in Elliott,
our initial contact was through the AIM church. In the following four
days we made several follow-up visits to these people. Most of them
lived in town or in the Mulga Camp on the north edge of town. We also
made new contacts in a visit to each of the other communities.

Glasgow's observations of Aborigines living at street addresses in town
were confirmed by our own. Even those with an apparently European
lifestyle spoke Kriol. It was much easier to hear Kriol in Tennant
Creek than in Elliott. The switch from English to Kriol was made quite
readily by people in Tennant Creek who were addressed in Kriol by a
member of our survey team.

Rockhampton Downs

We found only Warumungu people living at this station. Those employed
by the station lived with their families in one community. The others
lived in a separate community known as the 'pensioners' camp'. In all,
half of the 14 houses were occupied. We observed some Warumungu being
spoken among adults here. But among the children, at a gathering of the
two communities, only Kriol was heard. A man that we had contacted in
Tennant Creek had returned to Rockhampton ahead of us. Our association
with him was enough to cause people to speak to us in Kriol from the
start, rather than starting with English and then switching.

Alroy Downs

As with Rockhampton, only Warumungu people were living here. About 35
people lived in one community adjacent to the homestead. The same man
who gave us our initial contact with Rockhampton Downs accompanied us to
Alroy, with a similar result. Texts 7 and 8 in the Appendix are
extracts of a sermon he preached there. Some Warumungu was used among
older adults, but mostly Kriol was observed in the camp. We were told
that very few people resided at Alexandria and Anthony's Lagoon. The
decision was made to bypass these stations.

Brunette Downs

Over 150 Aborigines lived in one large community near the homestead. We
had no contacts in the community, so we went in as salesmen. People
spoke Kriol to us while looking over the Kriol materials that we had to
sell. A group representing a wide range of ages also spoke Kriol while

playing cards near where we were parked. In the very short time there, we heard nothing but Kriol.

4.   SOCIOLINGUISTIC OBSERVATIONS

Many of the Aboriginal people in the survey area seemed to move around frequently, sometimes covering large distances. Several instances of movement within the survey area have already been noted. The people from Newcastle Waters were at Elliott and the people from Banka Banka were at Tennant Creek. In addition, we saw people from Borroloola and Anthony's Lagoon in Anthony's Camp at Elliott. Among the people we spoke to at Tennant Creek, there were people from Lake Nash, near the Queensland border, Ali Curung, and Borroloola. By the time we passed through Borroloola at the conclusion of the survey, the people we had met at Tennant Creek were back home. In addition to them, we saw people at Borroloola from communities ranging from Numbulwar in Arnhem Land all the way to Camoweal in Queensland. We encountered a car-load of people at Daly Waters that we had seen two weeks earlier at Nutwood. They were from Elliott. A cassette that we sold at Brunette Downs was being played when we drove into MacArthur River station a few days later. Populations tended to shift even in the few days that we would stay in one place.

This mobility made it clear how it might be possible for Kriol to be spoken throughout the Barkly Region. The distance and frequecy of travel provides adequate contact with other Kriol speakers to account for the language being known so far south. It also puts a great strain on the ability of Aborigines from distant places to communicate with one another using traditional languages, in spite of their tendency toward multilingualism. The number of languages with which they come in contact is too great. A lingua franca is a necessity if people are to travel those distances and still maintain communication. Kriol is such a lingua franca.

The degree of mobility that we observed considerably complicates the task of sorting out differences which may exist within Kriol, both between the Barkly Tableland and other regions and within the Barkly Region itself. In addition, there are a number of difficulties faced by anyone who tries to collect creole language data on such a short survey. As discussed earlier, creoles tend to be low-prestige, without traditional names, and often not recognized as distinct languages. Direct elicitation of data is not generally possible under these conditions. Indirect gathering of data amounts to writing down what can be heard without elicitation. Such data can be quite valuable. But it often takes considerable time to collect sufficient quantities for a fruitful analysis.

Once creole data has been collected, there are problems in drawing conclusions from it. When a creole is spoken by people who are in frequent contact with speakers of the superstrate language, from which most of its vocabulary is borrowed, it is not always easy to tell which language is being spoken at any given time. This is the case with Kriol and its superstrate, English. Many Kriol speakers are multilingual, English being one of the languages that they control. Not all of them, however, are fully fluent in English. The problem is to determine when such speakers are using Kriol and when they are using English, to the best of their abilities, with an 'Aboriginal accent'.

Even so-called 'monolingual' people engage in a great deal of code-switching. Some vocabulary items, grammatical structures, and even phonological elements may be used only in certain sociolinguistic environments or domains. When the codes for these different domains of usage are distinct languages, they may be quite easy to identify. But most monolingual speakers are not even aware that they speak using several different codes.

Many Kriol speakers switch back and forth between Kriol and English. In the case of a person having a limited knowledge of English, gaps in that knowledge may be filled in by Kriol in his speaking. But between Kriol and English, and any other language that a particular speaker knows, there are codes appropriate to the various domains in which a speaker functions. It may not be possible to isolate something to which we can point and say, 'This is Kriol', or 'That is English'. A simple illustration of the problem is the use of **olabat** and **dei** as third person plural pronouns ('they') by the same speaker in the same sentence. Are they both part of Kriol, or is **dei** 'Aboriginal English'?

5.   LINGUISTIC OBSERVATIONS

It would be quite presumptuous to attempt to describe Kriol in the Barkly Tableland on the basis of a few tape transcriptions. What I can safely do is to point out similarities and differences in the usage of certain vocabulary items between the Kriol speakers which we recorded in the Barkly Tableland and some Kriol speakers in other parts of northern Australia. One obvious area for comparison is personal pronouns.

In unelicited data, personal pronouns are not difficult to find. I was able to find all forms in the data with the exception of the first personal dual inclusive ('you and I') and the first person dual exclusive ('we two, but not you'). These forms, together with a listing of equivalent forms heard in other areas where Kriol is spoken, are listed in Figure 1.

Figure 1. Kriol Personal Pronouns

		Ngukurr	Barunga	Fitzroy Valley	Barkly Tableland
Singular					
	1	ai,mi	ai,mi	ai,mi	ai,mi
	2	yu	yu	yu	yu
	3	im	im	i,im	i,im
Dual					
inclusive		yunmi	yunmi	minyu, mela	?
exclusive	1	mindubala	mindubala	mindubala, mela	?
	2	yundubala	yundubala	yundubala	yundubala
	3	dubala	dubala	dubala	dubala
Plural					
inclusive		wi, minalabat	wi	milat, mela	wi
exclusive	1	melabat, mela	mibala, mela	mela, mipala	milabat
	2	yumob	yubala	yubala	yubala
	3	alabat	olabat	olabat	olabat

The third person singular pronoun heard in southern Arnhem Land is **im**. What we heard in the Tableland was the same as can be heard in the Fitzroy Valley area of Western Australia. **Im** is used in verbless clauses and object positions, and **i** is heard in other subject positions. The first person singular pronouns **mi** and **ai** are also distributed in this way.

The first person plural inclusive form ('we including you') which we heard is **wi**. This is the same form commonly heard in Barunga (formerly

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Bamyili) and Ngukurr. **Minalabat** is also heard in Ngukurr. In the
Fitzroy area, **wilat** is usually used. First person plural exclusive
milabat ('we, but not you'), which we heard quite often in the
Tableland, is similar to the Ngukurr form **melabat**. **Mela** is used in
Ngukurr, Barunga, and Fitzroy. **Mibala** is also used, except in Ngukurr.

The most common form of the second person pronoun heard in the Barkly
region is **yubala**. This form is also common in Barunga and the
Kimberley. But **yumob** was also occasionally used by the same speakers,
sometimes in the same utterance. This is the form most commonly used at
Ngukurr.

6.   SURVEY CONCLUSIONS

The indications from this survey are that Kriol is spoken by Aboriginal
people throughout the Barkly Tableland, as Glasgow reported. However,
we were not able to determine the extent to which Kriol is spoken in the
region and the role it plays in daily communication. That role does not
appear to be the same in each community throughout the region. Nor do
we have sufficient data to describe adequately what is spoken and how it
relates to variants of Kriol spoken in Arnhem Land and the Kimberley.
Our recommendation to SIL on the basis of this survey was that further
research should be done in the area to fill in these gaps.

APPENDIX

Text 1

This text resulted from an old man in Anthony's Camp, Elliott,
recognizing the name of someone mentioned by one of the men from
Ngukurr.

> **Wal tharran na mai andi. En im mai angkul deya, mai angkul yuno
> tharrei? Tudei oldfela. Dissaid brom Borroloola yuno? Langa, ai
> dono wet det ples. Thets wai yu mait go en siyim pas.**

Free translation:

> Well that one there is my father's sister. And he's my mother's
> brother there, my uncle you know over there? Now he's old. This
> side of Borroloola you know? At, I don't know the [name of that]
> place. So you might go see them.

Text 2

Boys in the top camp at Elliott (excerpts, not continuous
transcription). The first spoke very good standard English. The second
hesitated a great deal, and was prompted in the background in Kriol by a
third. The fourth spoke English, but departed from 'standard' in
noticeable ways, particularly with regard to prepositions. In this
segment, he corrected himself once after omitting a preposition.

>First boy: This morning we went to school. And on Saturday we
>went to picture. And on Saturday after... um Saturday in the
>morning we went to s...language ...school.
>Second boy: I...went...to...
>Third boy (in the background): ...stori weya yu bin go
>
>Fourth boy: My name is Dennis. I go school here. Sometime we go
>church... we go to church. Mr. Scott an' Mormon church. An'
>sometime we go a school play.

Text 3

Outstation manager at Kalumpulpa, south of Banka Banka:

>Dei gaman blanga det dinggo. Bat ai bin luk orla dinggo goin thru
>hiya. Ai bin luk langa New South Wales, huh, orla dinggo bin
>workinabat deya.

Free translation:

>They lied about the dingos [saying there weren't any]. I saw all
>the dingos [when I was] going through here. I saw them in New
>South Wales, huh, all the dingos walking around there.

Text 4

An old man at Mulga Camp in Tennant Creek:

>Imin tayimap wan lenkaunsil men, imin tayimap. Lenkaunsil bin
>telim ol stret, dis nat ples bla yu. Yu gat thet haus deya bat
>thet graun, bobala det rul kaan gibit la yu, ridim det luk yu bin
>girrim shok [said while laughing]. Yu garra fens en det haus. Yu
>gin teigim wat jeya en shiftim bat yu kaan shiftim det graun. Em
>bla jet ples. [more laughter]

Free translation:

> He tied up a land council man. The land council told him plainly,
> 'This isn't your place. You have that house there, but that land,
> the law won't give it to you, judging from the look [on your face],
> you're shocked [said while laughing]. You have a fence and the
> house. You can take what's there and move it, but you can't move
> the land. It belongs there.' [more laughter]

Text 5

A middle-aged woman in the 'Village Camp' in Tennant Creek who
acknowledged having been to Ngukurr, Nutwood etc., speaking to the
Ngukurr men in our truck:

> **Ai bin lukinat that toyota, aftathet yumob bin go pas this moning.
> Yumob turnbek thetwei. Yumob bin go langa natha rod, mi kipon
> tharrei.**

Free translation:

> I saw that 4-wheel drive when you went past this morning. You
> turned around over there. You went down another road, and I
> continued that way.

After an interruption, she turned to someone in her camp and spoke:

> **Ai bin lukinat this toyota, maitbi fram tharrei... Thet nat
> blekfela. Thet maitbi munangas toyota ai ben telimbat yu.**

Free translation:

> I saw this 4-wheel drive, possibly from over there... 'That's not
> Aboriginal. That's probably a white person's 4-wheel drive', I was
> telling you.

Text 6

Middle-aged man at Rockhampton Downs:

> **...en ibin stadin to rain. Wal fram deya ibin ren. Moa warra bin
> langa dis ples tharrei, moa warra insaid langa dis ples. Warra i
> go bin git so, O helicopter bin kaman la ten o'clock at night from
> Tennant Creek, kemp hiya teigimbek, teigimbek sikwan tasol naitaim.
> From ailibala bin kardim milabat.**

Free translation:

> Well then it rained. A lot of water covered the place oer there, a
> lot of water in this place. The water got so [bad], Oh a
> helicopter arrived at ten o'clock at night from Tennant Creek, took
> back [the people from] the camp here, took back just the sick at
> night. From early [it] hauled [the rest of] us.

Text 7

This text is from preaching at Alroy by a man who spends a lot of time
between Alroy Downs, Rockhampton Downs, and Tennant Creek. It contains
a good example of a clear switch to English in the context of prayer and
in a situation where the Bible is being quoted. The prayer is a model,
a suggestion of how to address Jesus. The Bible passage is paraphrased,
not read or quoted word for word. It is a common sociolinguistic
phenomenon for people to switch to more formal speech in a 'sacred'
context.

> If wen yu git to heaven, yu garra askim Lord Jisas san blanda im hu
> kamin langa is hat. Yu garra askim im, I want you to be my bos,
> Jisas, yu kamap langa mi. Wandi folurrum yu, na. Yubala askim im
> lagijat. Bikas bipo yu garra girrin lang hebin, yu garra go thru
> langa Lord Jisas langa san blanda im. Imin sei langa dis Baibul, I
> am the truth and the life. No one can ever enter kingdom of
> heaven, only through Lord Jesus san blanda im...

Free translation:

> If you are going to get to heaven, you will ask the Lord Jesus, His
> Son, to come into his [your?] heart. You have to ask him, 'I want
> you to be my boss, Jesus. Còme to me [or 'into me']. [I] want to
> follow you.' You ask him like that. That is, before you will get
> into heaven, you will go through the Lord Jesus His Son. It says
> in this Scripture [passage], 'I am the truth and the life. No one
> can ever enter [the] kingdom of heaven, only through [the] Lord
> Jesus, His Son...'

Text 8

This text is from the same segment of preaching as the previous one. It
contains some particularly interesting Kriol vocabulary.

> Pipul ova deya, norsaid, kilim olabat goinbat olabat lang hospital,
> ol deya mob olabat. En deya blidimbat, yuno, pipul bin bonim
> miselb, blekbalawei. Yuno? Bat grog, ai dal yumob, i gat poison.
> Bikos ai no hau ai bin oldei libum basdam laik det. Yufela ol no

thet ai bin live worse man. Bat ai no what sort of grog is. Im
nogud dijan. Dijan meig wi yuno jis laik sneik baitimbat wi,
insaid. Jat lagijat na. That grog im nogud igin. Blanda
debudebul tharran.

Free translation:

People over there on the north side beat them and send them to the
hospital, all of them over there. And there [they] bleed, you
know, people pointed the bone [i.e. cursed] themselves, the
Aboriginal way. You know? Grog, I tell you, has poison. I know
because I used to live like that before. You all know that I lived
like a very bad man. So I know what sort of [thing] grog is. It's
no good, this one. It makes us, you know, just like a snake has
bitten us, [it makes us like that on the] inside. That's what it's
like. Grog is no good, I tell you. It's demonic, it is.

Text 9

Middle-aged man at Brunette Downs:

Im tharrei langa Elliott. That waif bla im im git kil na. Ka bin
ran ova. Yanggel imin abum yuno.

Free translation:

He's over there at Elliott. His wife got killed. A car ran over
her. A young one he had, you know.

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