Rezensionen

Leitner, Gerhard, 2004. *Australia's Many Voices: Australian English - The National Language*. **xiii + 396pp. ISBN 3 11 018194 0, Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.**

Leitner, Gerhard, 2004. *Australia's Many Voices: Ethnic Englishes, Indigenous and Migrant Languages, Policy and Education*. **xiv + 341pp. ISBN 3-11-018195-9, Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.**

Reviewed by Arthur Delbridge, Macquarie University, Sydney

Two volumes with the same title but different subtitles! Let's refer to them as *2004a* and *2004b*. Together they come to about 800 pages, too much for any publisher to put into just one volume. But clearly it has been written as one work, and indeed the work of a lifetime: "This study brings to some sort of end my research and teaching done over two decades" (Acknowledgements p.viii) The author claims, justifiably, that his work is unique in the field of Australian language studies in its comprehensiveness, and in its viewing the whole story within the overarching concept of "a transformation of a language habitat". His work, he asserts, "will benefit readers in a wide range of disciplines. Australian Studies, English Studies, descriptive and applied linguistics are, of course, the central ones. A particular target is English Studies with its concern with national varieties of English… But it will also interest social and political scientists who look at the ability of language to create social coherence or conflict... Social psychologists will find information on the role of language in shaping individual or group identities, in making standardization and codification acceptable and in reforming the educational sector". (p.44, 2004a) By his use of the "habitat" concept he "casts a language net onto Australia", claiming that the same concept "provides a model for English everywhere, indeed for other habitats, as in New Zealand, South Africa, the USA or Canada". (p.14)

Such a comprehensive approach calls for a similarly comprehensive preparation. The author is professor in the Institute for English Philology in the Free University of Berlin. He spent nearly one year at the University of Sydney and Macquarie U in 1938-84. In 1995 he was awarded a research prize by the Australian Research Council [the author erred in the preface; the prize came from the Australian Vice-Chancellors' Committee, GL], and this led to many visits to Australia and close contact with university departments throughout Australia, with politicians, broadcasting authorities, journalists, publishers, etc. He has attended many linguistics conferences in Australia, and is a familiar figure in the academy. Over the years he has published about twenty academic papers on the languages of Australia, especially Australian English. His reading in this field has been wide and he is one of a trio of scholars who undertook the preparation of a first bibliography of language in Australia and New Zealand, 1788-2001, now published in CD-ROM form (2005, Mouton de Gruyter). The two books in this review present critical accounts of almost every major study in their respective fields, and many minor ones.

Clearly this has been an ambitious and (partly because of its adopted integrative approach) a complex study. Recognising its complexity the author wonders "Can one do more…than present it in a fairly lucid way?" *(p.8, 2004b)* The presentation is certainly comprehensive and the critical judgments are acute, but the achievement of lucidity is another question. The text could certainly have done with an editor, and there are signs of both haste and fatigue in the writing. Although the style is broadly that expected in an academic treatise, this author has chosen often to take the reader into his confidence about his difficulties in arranging the treatments of inter-related themes. This doesn't always help, especially since references to later passages are always given as chapter, section and subsection, never as page numbers. Since even subsections may be many pages in length, the search for them can become tedious. In books as closely presented and argued as these two, such minor distractions, however well-intentioned, seem to cloud the lucidity the writer tried so hard to preserve for his very complex subject.

The first volume takes Australian English as its theme, with chapters on its British English heritage, its contact with indigenous languages, its internal stratification, its standards, and the attitudes it inspires. But it is not intended to be a history of Australian English. Indeed there has so far been no serious attempt to write such a history, and perhaps there never will be one, for lack of direct evidence. The term "Australian English" is comparatively new, with virtually no usage until the 1940s. Up to that time most Australians believed (and were constantly told) that this local variety of English was an awful distortion of 'standard English', the King's English, Oxford English – called by whatever name this form of British English was still the admired but inaccessible fountainhead which we Australians had sullied in our careless treatment of it. Before 1940 there had been only two serious studies of the English commonly used in Australia. One was a phonetic characterisation by Samuel McBurney in 1877, which showed that by that time a vowel shift had taken the speech of Australians away from any particular British dialect, though to him Cockney was perhaps the source of the shift. The other early study was an Oxford-type dictionary by Edward E. Morris containing "all the new words and new uses of words that have been added to the English language by reason of the fact that those who speak English have taken up their abode in Australia, Tasmania, and New Zealand". Subsequent attempts to characterise English in Australia from the evidence of events and movements in the early stages of settlement - the convict system, internal migration, exploration, political and social change, education, and a developing literature - all these have produced only suggestions of a broad linguistic development away from the speech and language of the unhappy first settlers towards what Leitner is now calling "mainstream Australian English".

The most recent attempts to assign and evaluate the steps by which current Australian speech evolved have assumed a division into three varieties: Broad, General, and Cultivated, perhaps developing in that order and certainly all in use throughout Australia now. This tripartite division was itself derived from an extensive sociolinguistic survey of the speech of some 9000 adolescents from all types of secondary schools in all the states of Australia (Mitchell and Delbridge, 1965). All

the participating students were 17years or so in age, all in one of their last years of secondary schooling. Each student had a relaxed conversation with one of their teachers, and this was recorded as the primary research material, together with sociological data for each student. The aim was to characterise the speech sounds of the subjects, and to assess the range of variation, especially geographical and sociological. Broadly, the conclusions reached in this study were that there was only one dialect of Australian English, but that there was a range of speech quality, mainly in the vowels, showing substantial but by no means clear-cut differences in the pronunciation of the pupils surveyed. (This study is fully described in Leitner's 2004a, with additional comments on subsequent work and the influence of a changing population due especially to the recent history of immigration from virtually all parts of the world.) The statistics of the study revealed a bell-shaped curve which supported the notion of "a single phonemic segmental structure with a wide range of diaphonic variations that are socially meaningful throughout the continent". (p.87, Mitchell and Delbridge) Within the cline three varieties were identifiable, and their sociological correlates assessed. The conclusions were presented as a sort of snapshot of reasonably well-educated English in Australia in 1965, the year of publication.

But if these varieties existed in 1965, they must have had a period of development up till then. Could it be that this tripartite division of a bell-shaped curve was vital in any attempt to produce a historical account of the stages of development of (if we accept Leitner's name for it) 'mainstream Australian English'? There have recently been a number of such attempts, and Leitner presents one such in his summing up of what he believes happened in the formation of current Australian English. His particular interest is in how and when the Cultivated variety emerged. Granting that Broad came first among the new settlers, not long into the Nineteenth Century, and that General grew out of it, all under the influence of mass migration, he makes a new case for Cultivated having developed not just from individual or group choices, but especially from the influence of a new wave of well-educated, socially conscious immigrants mainly coming from London in the final decades of the 19th century. Following Milroy he argues a case for the acceptance of RP as a world-wide phenomenon, with growing prestige. "Without such an accent in Britain, there could hardly have been a similar one in Australia". (p.320) Education in British-type Public Schools, life here in city clubs, wealth in rural and urban occupations, a sense of social stratification - such were the achievements and attitudes of the new wave of migrants from Britain that produced Cultivated Australian as a new variety of Australian English at that time. "As some educated speakers were fully aware of class differentiation at home, they may well have supported the conservative elements around RP, and the rise of the Cultivated as an accent close enough to RP". (p.328) This in a country that likes to think it has no class structure!

So here is an interesting contribution to what is becoming a popular debate among Australian linguists. There are still observed aspects of the Cultivated variety in its current form that suggest that class differentiation is not the distinguishing element in its use. The original survey showed that sex showed a stronger association with

speech variety than any (other) sociological element: the statistics reveal that for every nine girls using the Cultivated variety there was only one boy. Even in the one family, the daughter Cultivated, the son General or even Broad! There is strong acoustic evidence that the vowels of all varieties of Australian English are more like each other than any of them is like RP. These are arguments for endo- rather than Leitner's preferred exo-normatism. But the ongoing debate will certainly find his view an important contribution to it.

There follow interesting chapters retracing the steps by which in modern times Australian English established itself and was finally accepted by its users as the national language of Australia. In the end there was a political decision. But it came only on the back of decades of (mainly) academic formalising by means of dictionaries, grammars and usage manuals, and also by the rather tardy admission by theatrical producers and by broadcasting managers that it would not be improper to allow Australian actors and broadcasters to use Australian accents in roles that did not positively demand the use of British, American or other dialects. The national decision was announced by the federal Labor government late in the 1980's. The Australian Language and Literacy Policy was enacted, in which literacy meant literacy in English, and English meant "the form of English generally used in Australia, Standard Australian English".

Leitner gives full accounts of the influential language policies and practices of the Australian Broadcasting Corporation, and its relevant committee, the Standing Committee on Spoken English. This in itself had a codifying influence, but there were others to follow. The Macquarie Dictionary was first published in 1981 and will soon be publishing its fourth edition. Its publisher advertises it as "the national dictionary of Australia", and it is indeed very widely used in the community. Strangely, Leitner makes no mention of the important Australian National Dictionary with a secondary title Australian Words and their Origins (OUP1988), edited by W.S.Ramson, who earlier had been one of the Macquarie editors. Using Oxford historical principles it contains some 6000 Australianisms as main entries, plus subdivisions and copious citations establishing the chronology of each word's use. Also (but too late to be listed in 2004a) was The Cambridge Australian English Style Guide (1995) by Pam Peters, and her subsequent Cambridge Guide to English Usage (2004), which deals with style usage in Britain, America, Canada., South Africa, and Australia, all based on corpus evidence, and judged in review by Sidney Landau to have "an authority unmatched by any other style guide". Such formalising of usage has given extra force to Leitner's closing chapter (2004a) in which he examines the notion of Australia (pace New Zealand?) as "an epicentre in the Asia-Pacific region".

It was unfortunate that the remainder of what clearly had been intended as a single work had to be transferred, apparently as an afterthought of the author, to a second volume, with the same title but a different subtitle. No doubt a single volume of 800 pages would have been too hard to handle. But so, also, was the act of rewriting parts of the text to establish the continuities, including explanations of the basic metaphor of "habitat" which drives the whole agenda. Who could know if all the

purchasers of 2004b would also have bought 2004a? Making the necessary adjustments to the text and the desire to present a camera-ready text to the publisher in these circumstances must have been taxing, and the text is not free of typographical errors.

The second volume turns to Australia's non-English language habitats, starting with those of the indigenous Australians, the Aboriginal people. The continuing relevance of the "habitat" notion is emphasised here by use of the same diagram that appeared in the first volume. There are linguists in Australia who specialise in the study of what are generally called "Australian languages" - the many traditional unwritten languages of the aborigines, their typology, the contact of one language with others and with English, the development of a lingua franca, pidgins and creoles and of Aboriginal English. In Leitner 2004b all of these are presented as aspects of the invasion of an existing language habitat. Leitner gives excellent accounts of the major fields of study, and at the same time touchingly reveals his own determination, while visiting Australia, to speak with Aboriginal people in an attempt to discern their attitudes to their own languages, and the effects on them of contact with English and other Australian languages. His coverage of this topic in 150 pages is full and lively, based on close reading of most of the major scholars in the field, as well as his own contact with Aboriginal people.

Chapter Three deals with the languages of Australians of non-Anglophone background, that is, languages other than English brought into Australia by immigrants, from the colonial period to the present day. More than 100 languages represented in Australia today are of migrant origin (known as LOTEs , or "languages other than English"). Leitner tells the fascinating story of their introduction, growth, attrition, and (for many) loss. Much has been made in Australia of its multilingual, indeed multicultural, ways, and of the space that has been provided in the public domain, and especially in the business sector, but as Leitner comments "there has always been that other side to migration that is crucial to the living in a foreign country, one's new home, viz. the need to know English so that one may participate in public life." (p.102, 2004b) Language maintenance is variable here, and Leitner discusses the factors that promote or hinder it, with particular attention to Asian languages, that are prioritised, especially in education, for economic reasons.

The final chapter of the second volume calls for "a unifying approach to come to grips with the ups and downs of diversity and the dynamics of the nation." (p.273, 2004b) He lists the four main language types as English, indigenous, non-English migrant, and contact languages, and explores the power of the habitat model to underwrite a history of the entire language situation in modern Australia in terms of four periods. Leitner is not the first to conceive the idea of relating language developments with the socio-political history of the continent, but he has done it more extensively than earlier writers like Jupp, Ozolins, Clyne and Mitchell. And he is the first to explore the possibility of treating all the major questions within a single overarching concept. And that makes history!

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Peter Read, 2003. *Haunted Earth*. University of NSW Press. 265 pp., plus notes, index and bibliography. ISBN 0-86840 726 7. A$ 29.90
Reviewed by Adi Wimmer, University of Klagenfurt, Austria

This is a strange book but a good Read. Its author is the co-founder of the organisation "Link-Up", without which Australia might have never had the National Inquiry into the Separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children from their families. He is also the author of such respected studies as *Returning to Nothing: The Meaning of Lost Places* (1996) or the more recent *Belonging: Australians, Place and Aboriginal Ownership (*2000). The latter in particular has done much to establish Read's reputation as a historian with strong affinities towards Aboriginal history and culture who will yet stake out a claim for non-Aboriginal ownership and emotional bonding with the land.

But this is a book in which Aboriginal myths and beliefs of the land play a subordinate role. Instead, it focusses on ghosts, apparitions, premonitions, incubi and witches, subjects that a sceptic like me calls New Age manure. In Read's own words, he is going to „explore the singular and often identifiable ghosts, deities, souls and entities that inhabit a place" (35). That sounds pretty heavy and also a tad dogmatic: not for a moment does he contemplate the option that spirits may be the creation of our own minds: for him and most characters in this book, they are as real as a brick house. Typically, the first chapter is set in a graveyard at midnight.

Read claims that three quarters of the world's population believe in spirits: he does not cite a source nor is there likely to be one. Perhaps I am the wrong sort of person to review such a book: I happen *not* to share the fashionable belief in ghosts and spirits, I demand proof of their existence. Mere stories of how people felt at certain "inspirited" locations at certain moments or what dreams they had fail to impress me. There is a childhood memory that has taught me the powers of self-hypnosis. My mother was a stern woman who believed in punishing her offspring. Her most fearsome threat was that she would lock me into the basement, where *Rübezahl*, a 4-meter giant with an appetite for children, would put me into his wicker basket and take me away to his lair. One day (I must have been about five) I was really pushed

behind that basement door, hugging the narrow steps that led into a vaulted cellar where mum kept her eggs and sauerkraut, her apples and lard. And sure enough, I began to hear the rumblings of a giant, I saw a flickering torch behind that corner, and I heard chains being chafed across the ground. I have never again been so terrified in my life. A decade afterwards, I concluded that my mother, to complete her cruel punishment, had climbed into the basement through a small window and had produced the visual effects and sounds that I had clearly perceived. When she was almost 80, I finally confronted her with this evidence of her Nazi pedagogics. She just laughed. What did I think her capable of, was her incredulous comment. And had I considered how tiny that window at ground level was – hardly big enough for a cat!? Of course she was right – in my panic I had hallucinated everything: the light, the sounds of chains, and *Rübezahl' s* growls.

But even for those who are not believers, Read presents an enjoyable panopticon of narratives with a rich eclecticism of perspectives. Having made the claim that three quarters of the global population believe in spirits, Peter Read paradoxically goes on to observe that most Australian do not experience the land as "inspirited." Soon we discover that there are wildly divergent attitudes towards the relation between spirits and place. For Aborigines, who have the "most place-centredness of all the world's religions" (121), spirits are tied to a particular location, their powers fading with distance. In contrast, Hong Kong immigrants believe one can persuade an ancestral spirit to emigrate together with the family. A "Wiccan" (the more traditional term "witch" has apparently been cheapened by overuse) claims that spirits inhabit each molecule of the world, and can be summoned up for healing or punishment by the trained expert wherever s/he chooses. Hmm. But then there are also spirits who can be coaxed into a site and nurtured by humans, can receive given the right growth treatment such as the building of a temple, a shrine, a "stupa." And there are the spirits of the dead, forced to dwell at the site of an accident such as World War I, or the torpedoing of the cruiser Armidale in the Timor Sea in 1942. But then not all of them are confined that way says Read, citing as "proof" the inscription on a headstone of digger killed in Flanders that says the soul of the fallen man has migrated by to Australia. Hmm. He also cites a catholic monk of a Benedictine monastery in the W.A. bush who has lived there for 28 years, but is unmoved by the idea that a place becomes "inspirited" by humans, finding the Aboriginal notion of earth spirits slightly absurd. Read also cites the Hindu belief in thousands of spirits surrounding us, but they are not tied to the land but to objects (such as an urn or a shrine), and they can travel. Likewise Islam, which "conceptualizes the person rather than the place as the seat of divine presence" (241). You cannot blame the author of being one-sided when he piles up example after example that does not fit in with the theory of an "inspirited" earth, but somehow he is unimpressed by his own evidence. Read goes on to tell the stories of three sets of bereaved parents whose children were untimely taken from them, and how they nurture a spiritual presence. Clearly, such parents are haunted, but where is the link to a "haunted earth?" And in the strangest section, he explores how the sinking of the battleship "Armidale" in December 1942 (the ship lies hundreds of miles away from the Australian earth at the bottom of the

Timor sea, together with the majority of its crew) is commemorated by the survivors. So not only the land, but the bottom of the sea, too, can become an "inspirited" site. With a linkage to a plaque in the Darwin harbour. Hmm.

Read has devised an intriguing structure to the book. It starts out with a midnight walk through a Sydney suburb graveyard, whose darkness parallels the disbelief of middle Australia in anything that is not "observable, countable and measurable." This elicits the (unwarranted, I feel) lament "what limitations we western scholars place upon ourselves", limitations that the book sets out to overcome. The next section titled "the darkest hour" presents three accounts by non-indigenous Australians of how they were or are haunted by Aboriginal spirits wishing to punish them for crimes committed by whites in the past. "Piccanniny Daylight" is set at 4 a.m. and presents dark stories of the bereaved parents mentioned above, while "Dawn" is set in an in-between phase, its space filled by the unpretentiously told story of a Bass Strait Aboriginal clan. Like dawn, the story is of an "in-between" kind, containing much suffering but also hope for new beginnings. This section is "vintage Read", one of the best, elucidating present problems with references to historical facts; it also hints at the hopelessly fractured nature of the Aboriginal community of Tasmania and its undignified squabbles.

The two next "a.m." sections have to do with the work of composer Ros Bandt, who picks up sounds from the "inspirited" empty grain silos of dying country towns; and with the teachings of self-styled gurus in Buddhist meditation centres. The narrative tautness of the previous chapters is lost in the cosy morning light. Exhausted, one begins to doze off.

The afternoon heat presents more challenges. "Noon" returns to the creation of aeolian music, created by the wind in suspended wires. But it is the inspirited land that determines the wiry sounds, according to composer Alan Lamb. Hmmm. Greater excitement is offered by the story of Keziah the witch: "standing barefoot upon the earth, she summons and focuses deep energies from the earth to heal the birds of the air above it." Hmmm. In the "late afternoon" section Read encounters resistance from a catholic abbot to his theory of a locally "inspirited" land, admitting he had come to the Benedictines "with false expectations." When "dusk" begins to fall, Read returns to hauntings that are tied to Aboriginal history. He visits farmer Claire Milner on her station in the NSW bush, a lady who embodies "continuity of past and present". She has "witnessed many stange phenomemna" and her sense "of absorption into the life and earth of the farm" is convincingly portrayed. Claire's story of a highly vivid apparition (of some 30 Aboriginal people) when she had just begun to farm forms the counterpoint to the threatening apparitions detailed in the "darkest hour" section, and will very likely draw flak from the politically correct. Why so? The Aborigines in the apparition were not threatening and not reproachful. In her own words: *The Aborigines were saying to me: 'we're here, we're part of it. It's all right* (my emphasis*). It makes it much stronger for me.*' This can be read as an Aboriginal acceptance of white ownership of farming land, and as such will be controversial. In an earlier passage, Read observed that some Aborigines do not *want* whites to have a spiritual connection to the land, which they consider rightly theirs,

and naturally the claim extends to its spiritual properties. They are not going to share *anything* of value any more. Still less do they accept white ownership that is free of guilt. Oh yes, they love non-indigenous guilt so much that they won't let it go away. The final chapter "Towards Midnight" concludes the circular journey and leads us to Burra in South Australia, where the Burra Charter on the "conservation and management of places of cultural significance" was signed in 1979. Is "cultural significance" the same as "inspirited"? Read thinks it by and large is, but cites the example of the Australian Heritage Commission which lists cultural sites (such as a cathedral) only for their architectural qualities, not for their spiritual value. The same applies to some Aboriginal sites: shell middens for example are listed for their archeological value, not for any spiritual properties they may possess. And the present government in its wisdom and sensitivity has recently removed three quarters of the listed entries, sparing only such safe and sugary items as the Sydney Opera House. Howard has thrown Australia's cultural sites overboard, as it were. As for Read, he concludes his book in a far more open style than I at first feared, allowing a great many variations on the theme of how and when and where places attain spiritual significance. Let me close with an extended quotation:

> Sites have held their own inspiritment from the beginning. They may have been energized by humans, or by the whole of the natural world. Energies may have been focused or created by ritual, or they may have accumulated as a by-product of meditation, but every person in this book to write or speak of their inspirited places has identified its specificity, its localness as fundamental to the experience. (…) This book about inspirited places has become a study also of the value and meaning of locality. Locality with which we are physically, emotionally and spiritually familiar offers alternatives to the polarities of encroaching global uniformity and the eroding sovereign national state (255).

What Read has omitted to say is that at the end of the book he is a changed writer. Nothing in his study prepared me for the introduction of "global uniformity" and the "eroding sovereign national state" as enemies of the spiritual. These are important thoughts that considerably mollified my resistance to what I wrongly perceived to be a lapse into superstition and the world of the irrational. And so as the writing of the book changed the writer, its reading has changed, though ever so slightly, this reader.

Jupp, James, 2004. *The English in Australia*. **Cambridge: Cambridge UP. Reviewed by Catherine Schwerin, Universität Hamburg**

The English in Australia is a broad outline of the migrant history of the English as an ethnic group in Australia, a group that has been so taken for granted – even by themselves – that they have virtually been hitherto ignored as a serious subject of observation and interest. And who better to deal with this history than James Jupp, an English-born Australian who is Director of the Centre for Immigration and Multicultural Studies at the Australian National University, a man who has been awarded the Order of Australia for services to multicultural and immigration studies and to recording Australian history.

The previous lack of academic attention paid to the English may seem surprising, considering that they make up the largest overseas-born ethnic group in Australia and that in the 2001 census more than one third of Australia's population professed to have English ancestry (p. 1). However, in Jupp's view, it is the very fact of Australia's 'Englishness' that may account for this. Our English heritage leads to an almost schizophrenic sense of 'English is us' on the one hand and liberty in bantering abuse of all things English, including the English themselves, on the other, with the familiar 'whinging pom' as a prime example. The English – not the Scots or the Welsh or the Irish – are the ones we love to hate. And yet, according to Jupp, what we share with the English, among other things, is a basic belief in democracy and 'fairness', a sense of social responsibility towards the less fortunate, a preference for suburban life, and an underlying xenophobia.

In the relatively brief space of 204 pages, *The English in Australia* leads the reader through over 200 years of English immigration history. The book is divided into eight chapters essentially in chronological order and taking as its launching point the question of who the English were when settlement of Australia began, while providing a historical background of the social and political conditions that prevailed in England immediately prior to the first convict transports setting out for this alien land. Thus, Chapter One looks at the demographics of the earliest arrivals, their religious makeup, and the reasons why the people came. It also deals with the myths of 'Old England' and the notion of the English as being 'insular' and 'ungovernable'.

The following Chapter is entitled "Convicts, Labourers and Servants". Those arriving in Australia in her formative years were for the most part male labourers with little skill and low education, while the few women were either family members or domestic servants with even lower standards of literacy. In general terms, it was poor social conditions and rural unrest that prompted increased arrests leading to transportation, which was obviously the greatest initiator of 'emigration' in the early years. Later waves were generated by state-sponsored activity designed to alleviate rural poverty in the homelands and meet the demand for farm labour in the fledgling colony. Thus it was the penal system on the one hand and the Poor Law on the other that drove and characterised early emigration to Australia.

The focus turns in Chapter Three, 'Farmers, Miners, Artisans and Unionists', to free emigration and assisted passages, which were designed to attract the classes that would establish the infrastructure of the colony. This period saw the issue of land grants and the development of bounty systems to encourage migration. Private charities also played a role in encouraging settlers, some of which particularly encouraged single women to migrate, to counter the imbalance between men and women in the colony. At this time, an increased influx of miners took place, not least because of the gold-rush years of the 1850s and the establishment of coal mining in Australia in the latter half of the 19th century. What is more, once the ban on emigration placed on artisans was lifted after 1824, more artisans and mechanics, who were socially and economically above labourers, moved out to the colony.

Artisans and miners brought trade unionism with them, another English institution which came to shape the character of Australia.

Chapter Four moves on to examine the notion of equality as a movement away from the entrenched class system of Britain. Resentment against the ruling classes, pollution and congested cities, and rural unrest in England contributed towards the appeal that free passage schemes to the colonies held. On the other hand, this period also attracted a large number of middle class settlers who saw Australia as a land of opportunity, while a certain localised elite 'class' formed, for example, around the government houses and their social circles. However, in the new colony the class and social distinctions were much more fluid than in Britain.

The shift in immigration patterns after a century of colonisation and the move towards and beyond Federation become the key themes of Chapter Five. The largest group of immigrants to Australia leading up to Federation had been the English. They came to a society that was dominated by English views, 'English language, English law, English constitutional systems, English élites and rulers, and the need to answer to London and be loyal to … the Empire' (p.110). It is not surprising, then, that the immigrants felt they were coming to an England abroad, but with more opportunities and greater wealth. However, by now not only were there growing numbers of Australians who had been born here and who hoped for an end of the colonial system, but also society had now developed a distinctive character of its own and critical attitudes towards the 'old country' gained ground. This chapter describes the last waves of Empire-building immigrants to come to the colony and child and youth migration in this period, as well as Britain's motivation for encouraging emigration. It also addresses the growing debate at the time about the nature of the Australian character as well as the shift to Commonwealth control.

Federation did not, however, herald the end of organised encouragement of British migration to Australia. Chapter 6, 'Bringing out Britons', follows up with post-war migration, focusing on the continuing importance of assisted passages, which was finally ended for all in 1983. Initially, certain occupational groups were encouraged to migrate, but by the 60's particular skills were no longer required. Most United Kingdom immigrants were urban, and an overwhelming proportion were English. The chapter describes the assistance schemes, looking at the rhetoric of the pamphlets, the costs of passage, visa requirements (for the British, there were none until 1975) and the hostel conditions the new arrivals met with. It also examines the difficulties and disillusionment the immigrants faced, prompting high return rates and tension between the new arrivals, who felt they were doing Australia a favour in coming, and the Australians, who felt they were doing the British a favour in allowing them to come.

Chapter Seven deals with the influences and practices the English brought with them and the shape they gave our institutions and habits. It focuses on politics and key figures in Australia's history who contributed to its development. It also looks at food, drink and sport, posing the question of 'How English is Australia?' The book then concludes with Chapter Eight, 'The English as Foreigners', summarising the

statistics of English migration through the years and picking up the theme of shifting policies and priorities, concluding that the English, as an ethnic group, have to a great extent remained invisible, perhaps largely due to the ambivalence of the historical tension between the English as 'them' and the English as 'us', naturally also coloured by the contribution of other ethnic groups to the shaping of Australia. It points out that the economic reasons that motivated the greater part of English migration to Australia no longer hold, and that it is unlikely that the English will ever again have the same impact on Australian society as in the past.

The English in Australia offers fascinating insights into the motivation for the various waves of English migration, the phenomenon of assisted passage, and the attitudes that accompanied the new arrivals, not to mention the changing tone of their reception in Australia by those established or born here and, seeing themselves as Australians, who eyed the "new chums" defensively. It points out the role of the English in shaping our national institutions and in contributing to our language, mores and social attitudes. The English stocked all professions and all levels of society from miners to ministers, from working class to well-to-do and they influenced our settlement patterns, bringing with them their preference for suburban living. They came for the most part as economic migrants searching for a better life in a place that seemed to share a common heritage. James Jupp has presented his overview of this fascinating topic in an accessible, scholarly style, which is also suitable for those with no prior extensive knowledge of Australia or its historical background. He provides statistics, maps, photos and other illustrations to enhance his discussion, as well as a comprehensive list of further reading for those who wish to follow up the topic. Finally, the subject matter is somehow appropriate as a 'coming-of-age' reflection for a more self-confident Australia, in a sense the child seeing the parent through adult eyes. *The English in Australia* is an illuminating and scholarly read.

Ramson, Bill 2002. *Lexical images. The story of the Australian National dictionary*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press. Pp xvi+255, ISBN 0 19 551577 Reviewed by Gerhard Leitner, Freie Universität Berlin

Lexical images (LexIm) was, Bill Ramson says, at first conceived as a response to claims about the the way the relationship of language and culture manifests itself in Australian English (AusE) by Anna Wierzbicka. Wierzbicka (1997) is an extensive analysis on how words reflect culture and draws untenable conclusions about a very direct link. But Ramson refrains from focusing on her Australian study and changed the focus of the book to a broad history of the *Australian National Dictionary* (AND). The book is now "about the making of a historical dictionary of Australianisms ... and about the 'lexical images' which can be created from an examination of certain combinations of those Australianisms. It seeks to demonstrate that the English language, as it has been used by Australians of European origin ..., and in particular the Australian additions to the vocabulary of English, as these are recorded in the Australian National Dictionary, provide a unique insight into the lives and history of Australians, and create a kaleidoscope of images ... that may in their

turn offer interpretations of Australian attitudes and the Australian way of life." (p xi). The book is written in a very personal style by one of the leading Australian lexicographers and philologists but the claims just quoted suggest a scientific 'bias' Personal style and research create a tension to which I will return at the end of the review.

The history of the dictionary is the main theme of Ch.s One to Four; 'lexical images' are highlighted (from a quasi-theoretical angle) in Ch. Four but mainly in Ch.s Five to Nine. Ch. Ten turns to the cultural lexis of the 20th century and concludes, pessimistically, that AusE has had its day – and is now on the decline as a creative local form of English. Chapter One begins with the "Oxford tradition" in lexicography and the Oxford English dictionary; both provide the intellectual and lexicographic background of the AND. Chapter Two traces the path from the first historical dictionary – Morris's *Austral English dictionary* (1898) - to the AND (1988). The first steps towards an Australian historical dictionary were taken, Ramson explains, at The University of Sydney and (slightly later) the National University of Australia in Canberra in the 1960s. As these initiatives did not get off the ground, the scene shifted to Macquarie University and its foundation professor of linguistics, Arthur Delbridge, who was asked to produce 'an aggressively Australian dictionary'. The *Macquarie dictionary* was not meant to be an historical one but one that was to reflect the contemporary language, emphasizing the colloquial and vulgar end of the spectrum. The *Macquarie* stalled too for a while but was rescued by Macquarie University and a new publisher (cf. Leitner 2004). Three other players came on the scene to help the historical project, i.e. the Humanities Research Centre, the Department of English and the Faculty of Arts at ANU. In 1978 concrete steps could be taken, but ups and downs succeeded each other until the AND was eventually published.

Like many books on language or national vocabularies, LexIm follows a tradition of writing essayistically about its subject matter. However well such recollections are narrated – and they are narrated well – the nostalgic tone may be dear to those involved in the making of the AND but makes LexIm difficult to appreciate as a reader interested in the national lexis of Australia's English. It is a bit absurd to be forced to learn of details like these:

> "She [Joan Hughes] was a prodigious worker, expecting of others what she readily gave herself... Not a very big person, and inclined to become ingrossed in what she was doing that she doesn't notice what else is going on around her…

> We had, in our green and salad days, been a bit lax about this, often going from one cabinet to the next, leaving drawers open and cards sticking up.... But a nine-drawer cabinet ... is far from stable ... and when Joan pulled out another drawer in the top half of the cabinet, it tumbled forward on its face, spilling its contents and pinning her to the floor... But we rescued her ourselves and she ... refiled the spilt cards...." (p 58f)

Instead of such trivia, there could have been a little more analysis. Would it not have been interesting to set the claim that dictionaries and lexicographers such as on AusE

are codifiers of the language against the haphazardness of funding, change of publishers and negotiating partners at the upper echelon, or time constraints? The outcome of a varied history, the AND, has after all become a cornerstone in Australian lexicography. But there are few signs of an analysis of sociolinguistic themes.

Ch. Four, unintentionally, comes close to what a reader would have expected. It compares the *Dictionary of New Zealand English* (1997) with the AND (1988) and makes one clear point: Lexicographers set the rules of data collection and classification, they decide on what words and information goes into the dictionary and, as a result, it is them that decided on the kind of image a dictionary may projects of a national culture:

> "the mere fact that a lexicographer determines what should be included and what excluded entails an exercising of authority on an unprecedented scale, in that it requires a subsequent determination as to what should be included in, and excluded from, a body of knowledge that the preagmatic user of a dictionary would come to regard as 'the foundation of a national language and culture'." (p 84)

The lexicographer's role is of course pre-determined by whatever arrangements have been made with the publisher, the funding bodies etc. on what the dictionary was to be like. The AND, for instance, excludes many of the technical terms of fauna and flora. These domains come up when AusE has coined fanciful words or compounds starting with 'native' as in 'native dog' for dingo or when loan words from indigenous languages are used. There are hundreds of both types. But the resulting cultural image, i.e. of measuring the 'new home' by the standards of the 'old home', gets overemphasized if the technical words are left out. Instead of looking at the theme of potential bias, we learn of Ramson's personal impact: "I fulfilled a 'safety-net' role, or tried to, because, as always, there simply wasn't enough time to do everything I felt necessary." (p 68).

As lexicographers are exerting that influence, the lexical images that a dictionary projects of a culture are bound to be biased. The comparison of the AND with the DNZE is informative. Ramson explains that the AND's policies were much more restrictive than those of the NZE counterpart – so that the impression that NZE would have been more 'productive' is wrong. One cannot compare the two dictionaries 'on the quick' – despite OUP's stringent guidelines. And that is, incidentally, another important factor when one thinks of dictionaries as codifiers of a language (variety), viz. variations in the interpretations of guidelines.

Ch. Four had already begun with a closer look at some of the lexical fields or onomastic domains of AusE. Ch.s Five to Nine add considerable detail, dealing with the language of the landscape and topography, occupational terms, the finding a place as a settler, the words borrowed to refer to indigenous weapons, tools, social practice, to refer to them, etc. Ramson looks at the nature and texture of the lexis and the cultural images they may project on the basis of two methodological principles. The first was chosen in Ch. Four where the NZE dictionary was compared with the AND. Here, Ramson, just 'surfed' the dictionary and picked up what he found interesting. In

Ch.s Five and Six, entitled "Waste Land to Wonderland" and "Good man de Queen", respectively, he uses a thematic grouping of items by chronological stages of some fifty years. That approach highlights, he says, the attitudes of speakers towards the language across time. During the first fifty years (to around 1830) the notion of terra nullius developed and one talked of 'crown land' (1789) and 'waste land' (1804; really an Americanism) as well as, confusingly, of 'waste lands of the Crown' (1826). (The concept of waste land was important, incidentally, when reserves were set up there and when colonial governments created the office of the 'protector' of Aborigines.) These fifty years produced terms for settlement and location, the movement 'up the country', the perception of the landscape, classification of land as 'wood' or as 'bush', etc. The second fifty years (to nearly 1890) creates more words for the exploration of 'the opening up of the country' and occupational terms. The third fifty years (to nearly 1940) cover Federation in 1901 and the years of World War I and those leading to the second war. They (should) cover the early years of Aboriginal activism, but this he sees only in the final fifty years.

An interesting part is Ch. Six on the contributions from Aboriginal languages. Their stock of words is collected in Ramson/Dixon/Thomas (1990) but Ramson expands the concept somewhat when he says that he includes words of English origin "but with meanings specific to an Aboriginal context" (p 129). We learn of names for the 'first' Australians such as *Australian*, applied first to Aborigines (1814), then to whites (1822). Generally speaking, Aborigines were referred to as *natives* (1770-), *blacks*, *blackfellows* and *blackies*, and by other derogatory terms. Americanisms too occur such as '*squaw*' (1837), '*negro*' (1845) or from the Pacific, '*cannibal*' (1838). We learn that names of weapons, of dwellings and domestic tools abound during the first fifty years. The so-called 'caring' or protection period is dealt with in detail. The term 'Protector' is discussed but its racist connotations ignored. I pass over the rich assembly of data here and remaining chapters to come to general points.

One may have theoretical reservations in many cases. Why is 'native' an Australianism, in the first place? Why are 'black' or 'negro'? They certainly are not Aboriginal contributions. Are they then the words of English origin with a specific Australian cognitive, denotative or referential 'meaning'? All of them have been used for the dark-skinned local populations in America, Africa, the Pacific or Australia throughout colonial times. The only justification for treating them as Australianisms one can see is that they 'refer' to Australian Aborigines. But if Ramson means by 'Australian meaning', acts of reference (a pragmatic dimension), would one not have to include as an Australianism the word 'local' in expressions like 'local discussion', used to refer to debates taking place in Australia? The situation is, of course, different with Aboriginal loans, which have an Australian etymology, or words like 'shicer', which is a German loan word with an Australian sense development (it is a name for an 'unproductive gold mine'), etc. Ramson fails to be clear about the concept of Australianism and other terms.

The final chapter, Ch. Ten, concludes on the future of AusE:

> "There is ... every indication that the creativity that attended Australia's discovery and exploration is finished, that the raw material [of the language] will be the same here as elsewhere, that globalisation will prevail, and the the other factors mentioned above will play a role in reducing the annual Australian output of neologisms." (p 243)

> "The *AND* is a monument to a nation at a particular phase of its history. What separates us from that phase is a great gulf which grows ever deeper, and from the other side of which we will never see more clearly than we do now." (p 247)

The tension between localization and globalization is a major problem in and for all varieties of English. Ramson sees that tension but overlooks the fact that it was there for most of Australia's history. The language of the law, of medicine, of mechanical enginieering, etc., has never undergone any level of localization – in Australia, in India, etc. The problem here is that past research has limited itself to the localization of English and ignored the language of these international domains. The common law, the plain English movement have not and do not have local vocabularies – except standard terms like 'condominium' for 'owner-occupied flat', etc. Often research overemphasizes the role of AmE (today) but that language had been international all the time. Leitner (2004) covers some ground regarding the global pressures and the use of 'non-national' forms of English during the 19th century.

A final point regarding the claim that the lexis of the AND and the one discussed in LexIm brings out cultural images of the nation. The choice of headlines is illuminating since Ramson sometimes uses them to suggest dominant images. Thus, "A people who need care" and "a deeper understanding?" (both Ch. Six) are, we are to understand, such images. Do they? The caring period was, as it turned out, a time of extreme racism, killings, exploitation and a policy of segregation. That is not discussed and Ramson fails to highlight the opposing trends in whatever he believes to be images. Headlines like "Weapons and implements" (p 139), "Black gentry" (p 138) or "Occupational terms" (several times) certainly do not project images. They may, if at all, draw attention to a dominant interest of the colonizers in some area. Are we at the end of this book clearer about the relationship between the lexis of a language (variety) and culture than Wierzbicka (1997) has told us?

As I said at the beginning, LexIm is a very personal story of a dictionary. It compares with Arthur Delbridge's article "The making of The Macquarie" (1985), which is, fortunately, one might say, a lot briefer. LexIm is rich in data, but, given its length of 255 pages and its goal of relating language and culture, one cannot avoid the conclusion that it lacks analysis and is uncertain about what images the AND throws up of Australia's culture over the past two hundred years. It is perhaps best read as a personal story and be entertained by the excellence of style, the pace the author is able to create as the AND was moving forward.

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Bowern, Claire, Harold Koch, eds, 2004. *Australian languages. Classification and the comparative method*. **Amsterdam: Benjamins. Pp xii+376+CD-ROM. ISBN 90-272-47617.**
Reviewed by Gerhard Leitner, Freie Universität Berlin

The linguistic study of Australia's Aboriginal languages is something for the specialist and this book addresses issues that almost fall outside the domain of Australian Studies as an interdisciplinary area. However, languages have proven to be crucial elements in our understanding of Aboriginal cultures, social structure, cultural transmission and to an understanding of the settlement and diffusion of people. It is therefore important to know whether they have a single ancestor whose history can, like that of the Indo-European languages, be explained on the basis of a *stammbaum* or family tree model. That model has a long ancestry and goes back to a proposal by William Schmidt's in 1919. It has been refined often and has led to a distinction between Pama-Nyungan and non-Pama-Nyungan languages. The former cover some 80% of the southern part of the continent, Cape York and two coastal languages in east Arnhem Land. The latter cluster in the remaining northern area, extending from close to Cape York, Arnhem Land on to the Kimberley. That claim has been challenged single-handedly, one might say, by R.M.W. Dixon (*see* e.g. review in *GASt Newsletter* 17, 2003), who dismisses it and argues that all that can be found is small clusters of genetically or typologically related languages. Instead of languages dividing into others as a result of separation – such as Europe's Germanic languages – all we have is the diffusion of features through contact or separation through the lack of it. As both hypotheses extend to what we know or would like to know about theories of settlement, cultural diffusion, etc., we can't get a clear picture.

The present volume is a reassessment by the *family tree* model. It contains 14 papers, a language and subject index, a huge bibliography and a CD-ROM with additional data to make the book a bit less technical. Central papers are the introduction by the editors and a methodological history by Koch. Both papers set the scene, provide research background and define the tasks ahead. The other papers provide minute data-based analyses of what we know about Pama-Nyungan languages. At the end of

the book we get a diffuse picture: of course the model is reconfirmed, a lot is learnt about the type of languages investigated – but final proof cannot be given in all cases.

The book is written for the theoretical and empirical linguistic specialist. There is no discussion of socio-historical data, such as on migration, which could have bolstered up some of the far-reaching claims. All papers are revised versions of talks given at a conference in 2001. The often peculiar Australian tenor of speech is retained – as in O'Grady and Hale's paper (see p 69) – which is, to say the least, unhelpful to the *mate outside*.

Tryon, Darrell, Jean-Michel Charpentier, 2004. *Pacific pidgins and creoles. Origins, growth and development.* **Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. XX+559. ISBN 3-11-016998-3.**
Rezensiert von Gerhard Leitner, Freie Universität Berlin

Der Pazifik ist eines der interessantesten Regionen in der Geschichte der Kolonisation, der Migration und der wirtschaftlichen und politischen Entwicklung, wenngleich er aus heutiger Sicht politisch peripher ist. Der Pazifik spielt auch für die Entwicklung der australischen Kolonien eine wesentliche wirtschaftliche Rolle. Er war der Ort der Konflikte zwischen den Kolonialmächten Frankreich, Großbritannien und auch Deutschland, zu dem später auch Australien zählte. Das Buch eines Australiers und eines Franzosen ist daher von besonderem Interesse für den Sprachwissenschaftler, der sich mit Sprachkontakt und den sozialgeschichtlichen Hintergründen befasst. Auch Wirtschaftsgeografen, Religionswissenschaftler u. a. werden interessiert sein, denn das Entstehen und die Verbreitung der während der Kolonialzeit entstandenen Kontaktsprachen, wie das Tok Pisin Papua Neu Guineas, das Bislama der Neuen Hebriden und das Pijin der Solomoninseln (um nur drei der heute wichtigsten zu nennen) war durch das Wirken der Missionsgesellschaften (mit ihren wirtschaftlichen Interessen) und die Entwicklung der Kolonialwirtschaft bedingt.

Das Buch befasst sich mit diesen Kontaktsprachen aus der Sicht der Sozial- und der Sprachgeschichte. Es nimmt eine gegenwartsbezogene Perspektive ein, indem Kap. 2 mit den heutigen Kontaktsprachen im Südpazifik und Nordaustralien beginnt. Kap. 3 widmet sich dem forschungsgeschichtlichen Hintergrund in der Region und bahnt den Weg für die detaillierte, historisch strukturierte Darstellung der Entwicklung. Je zwei Kapitel befassen sich mit einer Periode – Kap. 4 und 5 mit der Frühgeschichte von 1788-1863 (dem Beginn der Zwangsarbeiterrekrutierung nach Australien), etc. Das erste setzt sozialgeschichtliche, das zweite sprachwissenschaftlich Schwerpunkte. Auf die recht ungesteuerte Frühgeschichte folgt die Phase der Plantagenausbeutung (1863-1906), die zu einer Reihe von recht stabilen Pidginsprachen führte. Das führt weiter in die Phase der politisch gesteuerten Kolonialzeit (1906-1975), die meist mit der Unabhängigkeit endete (abgesehen vom Fortbestand exterritorialer Besitztümer in französischer und englischer Hand). Kap. 10 befasst sich den sprachlichen Problemen im Erziehungswesen und im öffentlichen politischen Raum in der der Gegenwart.

Das ist ein umfassender Anspruch, der noch größer wäre, wenn das Buch das täte, was der Titel "Pacific …" verspricht. So fehlen alle Kontaktsprachen im Polynesien und Mikronesien (bis auf marginale Anmerkungen in Kap. 2); somit wird auch Neuseeland ausgeschlossen; Kontaktsprachen auf der Basis des Französischen und austronesischer oder ozeanischen Sprachen fehlen völlig. Es geht also (lediglich) um die melanesischen Pidgins, die jedoch für Australianisten von Interesse sind, denn ihre Entstehung und Ausbreitung hat viel mit Sydney und (in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jhdts) mit Queensland zu tun. Auch das Chinesische Pidgin in Australien muss hinzugezogen werden. Es ist hier nicht der Ort, eine Detailanalyse eines Buches mit 560 Seiten zu versuchen. Aber zahlreiche fragwürdige Aussagen sind schon zu erwähnen. So wird behauptet, die britische Regierung hätte eine Assimilationspolitik in der Zeit bis um 1820 verfolgt (S 66). Wie würden die Autoren zur Periode ab etwa 1880 bezeichnen? Nein, es ging damals darum, Aborigines auf einen Zivilisationstand zu bringen, der sie befähigte, für die Kolonien sinnvoll zu werden. Der Aboriginal English wird überaus irreführend verwendet wenn die Autoren meinen, seine "modern-day varieties" wären aus dem Pidgin im Hinterland Queenslands entstanden. Sie meinen Cape York creole, Torres Strait creole, Palm Island Aboriginal English, das Kriol des Nordterritoriums und das Kriol in Fitzroy Valley (S72f). Das Aboriginal bezeichnet heute ein Englisch der Aborigines, das relativ nahe am AusE liegt. Pidgins, Kreolsprachen sind damit nicht gemeint, und die Autoren hätten dies zumindest erwähnen müssen. Auch ist die Darstellung insgesamt fragwürdig. Es wird zurecht behauptet, dass das Aboriginal pidgin, das in Sydney in den 1790er Jahren entstand, über den Kontinent verbreitet wurde, wo es jeweils lokale Eigenschaften annahm, die Kontaktsprachen im Pazifik beeinflusste und von dort auch beeinflusst wurde. Wie das im Detail geschah, bleibt ungeklärt, denn der Handel über den Hafen Sydneys wurde ohne Hilfe der Aborigines bewerkstelligt. Es gibt zahllose Tabellen – etwa S 90-93 über Schiffsbewegungen von Sydney zu den Gesellschaftsinseln – die völlig kontextlos und unausgewertet bleiben. Das gleiche gilt für Beispiellisten des Pidgin, etwa Tabelle 5 (S 100-106). Das gleiche gilt für ein Glossar des *Pacific Pidgin* (S 155-167), zu dem die Autoren sagen, "The glossary abo ve contains a number of important clues with respect to the chronological development and geographical distribution of many of he most characteristic Pacific Pidgin forms." Es folgt zwar eine Art Generalisierung auf den folgenden Seiten, die jedoch den Zusammenhang eben nicht herstellt. Ein solcher Aufwand erfordert also schon die Mühe der Autoren, eine exakte Auswertung vorzulegen.

Von diesen, leider sehr typischen Schwächen abgesehen, ist das Buch eine interessante historische und gegenwartsbezogene Darstellung der Kontaktsprachen Melanesiens. Im Vergleich mit anderen Büchern zum Thema, etwa Wurm et al. (1996) bietet es eine lesenswerte zusammenhängende, kohärente Darstellung. Es ist angereichert durch einen umfangreichen Kartenanhang, eine Bibliographie und einen Index.

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Rezensiert von Gerhard Leitner, Freie Universität Berlin

Der Titel des Buches *Blooming English* drückt, wie könnte es anders sein, ein Wortspiel aus, das Kate Burridge weidlich ausnutzt. *Blooming* 'verflixt' und *blooming* 'blühend' – die Metaphorik des Schimpfens, der das Sachwissen fehlt, und die Metaphorik des blühenden (nicht wild wuchernden) Gartens, der zum Verweilen einlädt. Die anglophonen Länder und auch die Australier haben eine beneidenswerte Schimpfkultur. Sie regen sich gerne über alles, was sich so in der Sprache tut; generell geht es bergab oder es kommt aus Amerika. (Man wünschte, wir Deutsche würden unsere negativen Gefühle auch (nur) an der Sprachentwicklung auslassen und dafür anderswo 'die Ärmel hochkrempeln', wie es die *Aussies* tun!) Kate Burridge, eine Amerikanerin mit einem Lehrstuhl an der Monash Unversity in Melbourne, ist eine sprachgewandte, geistreiche, unterhaltende und informierte Linguistin, die die Gabe hat, Schwieriges in der Sprache 'an die Frau zu bringen'.

Das Buch umfasst 15 Kapitel, die sich lose mit Themen befassen wie "The complexity of language", "Language change", "Meaning shifts", The nature of exotics", "Bad language", "What is correct English" oder "Dirty words". Einige Kapitel führen in die Tiefen der Linguistik ein, was anhand einer hervorragenden Auswahl von Texten und Esoterika unterhaltsam und sachadäquat ist. Die Themen, die sie dabei aufgreift, lassen tief in das Innenleben der Australier und anderer anglophoner Nationen blicken, etwa wenn sie sich über das so schnöde Auslassen des 'j' in *tune* oder *new* erregen. Neue Wörter – ein Schatz an anregendem: *mosh pit, crowd surfing, breakdancing* oder *headbanging* (S 45). "Dirty words" behandelt das amüsante Thema der Euphemismen, das in der anglophonen Welt (der Muttersprachler) ja eine lange viktorianische und andere Vorgeschichte hat.

Ausgangspunkt des Buches waren Radioprogramme, die Burridge für die Australian Broadcasting Corporation über mehrere Jahre machte sowie Anrufprogramme, wo sich die Leute 'auslassen' konnten. Etwas überarbeitet ist ein Buch entstanden, das sich exzellent list, das auch für Studenten, vor allem in den Anfangssemestern gut geeignet ist und die Langeweile aus dem Unterricht vertreiben mag. Ob es sich ins Deutsche überhaupt übersetzen ließe, bleibt fraglich.

Bieswanger, Markus, 2004. *German influence on Australian English*.
Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter. pp xiv+198. ISBN 3-8253-1598-3.
Rezensiert von Gerhard Leitner, Freie Universität Berlin

Bieswanger's Dissertation befasst sich mit den möglichen Wirkungen, die das Deutsche ggf. auf das Englische in Australien ausgeübt hat. Dazu lagen bislang keine

eigenen Studien vor. Lediglich Michael Clyne hat in zahlreichen Arbeiten auf die doch sehr marginale Wirkung hingewiesen, die zudem nur im Bereich der Lexik vorzufinden wären. Davon zu unterscheiden sind natürlich Einwirkungen auf das Deutsch der deutsch-stämmigen Australier. Hier hat er in der Tat das eine oder andere Merkmale in der dritten Generation in Südaustralien nachweisen können. Aufbauend auf diesen eher mageren Befunden und der generell eher vorsichtigen Einschätzung dessen, was man ggf. suchen und finden könnte, ist man gespannt, was dieses Buch an Neuem bringen könnte.

Bieswanger geht das Thema umfassend an. Kap. 2 behandelt die sozio-historischen Perioden, in denen es zu Sprachkontakt kommen konnte, Kap. 3 geht auf den theoretischen Hintergrund der Fragestellung ein und entwirft eine praktikable Typologie des Sprachtransfers. Kap. 4 ist das zentrale Kapitel, in dem die Lexik des australischen Englisch synchron, diachron und empirisch untersucht wird. Diachron und sychron – anhand der vorhanden Lexika, empirisch – auf der Grundlage einer Befragung ausgewählter Muttersprachler mit einem Fragebogen. Dies ist der vielleicht interessanteste Teil der Arbeit.

Aus der Vielzahl deutscher Lehnwörter im Englischen eliminiert Bieswanger solche, die auch im BrE und AmE geläufig sind. Die Liste umfasst lediglich 35 Wörter. Er analysiert diese unter dem Aspekt ihrer Integration ins AusE (anhand der Lexika) und führt eine empirische Untersuchung mit 250 Muttersprachlern mit dem Ziel durch, die Geläufigkeit der Wörter zu eruieren. Das Word *butcher* für 'Glass Bier' (einer bestimmten Größe) geht auf das D 'Becher' zurück, wie eben auch *clinah* or *cliner* für 'girl'. Während *butcher* landesweit geläufig ist – mit einer starken Bekanntheit in Südaustralien, von wo es herkommt – ist *clinah* heute nur noch ein historischer Begriff. Leider findet sich keine eingehende Behandlung des *waltzing Matilda*, das aus dem Deutschen stammt, das aber zum Zeitpunkt seines Auftretens Ende des 19. Jhdts in keinem deutschen Lexikon in der australischen Bedeutung verzeichnet ist.

Kap. 5 behandelt den evt. Einfluss der deutschen Aussprache auf das AusE und – im Widerspruch zur Behandlung der Lexik – befasst er sich hier mit dem deutschen Ethnolekten in Südaustralien und Victoria. Das Gleiche gilt für seine Behandlung der Grammatik in Kap. 6. Zusammenfassend meint er, dass es praktische keine Einflüsse auf das AusE der Gesamtheit gebe. Kap. 7 befasst sich mit Eigennamen. Es folgt eine Bibliographie sowie eine Reihe von tabellarischen Anhängen zu Einzelfragen.

Insgesamt ist diese Dissertation eine fleißige Arbeit zu einem Randthema, das der Mühe nicht lohnte. Das, was Bieswanger wirklich 'entdeckt' hat, findet leicht in einem kleineren Aufsatz Platz. Man muss sich fragen, ob Bieswanger nicht besser beraten gewesen wäre, wenn er sich mit dem deutschen Ethnolekten befasst hätte.

Dyer, Colin, 2005. *The French Explorers and the Aboriginal Australians 1772 – 1839.* **St Lucia: University of Queensland Press. ISBN 0 7022 3512 1 Reviewed by Catherine Schwerin**

You are familiar, of course, with the saying "Don't judge a book by its cover." Unfortunately, I have a latent tendency to do just that – in the literal sense – so very occasionally I need to give myself a gentle nudge to overcome my prejudice. Such was the case when I picked up Colin Dyer's book *The French Explorers and the Aboriginal Australians 1772 – 1839*. The sober title coupled with the (unacknowledged) cover image of a static historic print in shades of sepia and indigo did little to inspire me, despite my interest in history and in particular Aboriginal history. Sadly, though, my experience is that histories are often couched in an inaccessible and loveless style. Not so this work. The reader who lets his prejudices rule would miss out on a fascinating journey into the revealing perspectives that late 18th and early 19th century French explorers had of Australia, not to mention gaining a view of how the aboriginal inhabitants of the continent responded to the strange and at times alarming behaviour of the visitors. At the same time, the reader encounters a view that is, for a change, not through English eyes.

It is thanks to scholars like Dr Colin Dyer, a research advisor at the University of Queensland, that Australians are beginning to shrug off their Anglocentric view of Australia's historic past. Then for many people Australian history begins with Cook's arrival and "discovery" of the continent in 1770, perhaps with an acknowledging nod towards the occasional and hasty prior visit of Dutch or Portuguese explorers who would otherwise not jog any recollection were it not for eponymous place names. In his book *The French Explorers and the Aboriginal Australians 1772 – 1839*, Dyer opens up for scholars and the general readership alike the first-hand view that French explorers and naturalists had of Australia in the age of the Enlightenment. Dyer's credentials are well suited to the task: he has a doctorate in history from the University of Caen in France, is an accomplished translator, having translated historic journals and logbooks into English, and has written several books and articles in French, as well as a number of works in English.

It is largely due to Dyer's aim, outlined in the preface, of "[endeavouring] to absent [him]self from the text as much as possible, and to allow the participants to speak for themselves" that the work maintains such directness and freshness of vision. He does succeed in remaining relatively unobtrusive, but naturally, the very nature of selection of material for a work of this kind involves making judgements about what to include and assumptions about what will appeal. His choices are systematic, informative and enlightening and represent a broad scope of the attitudes and prejudices – both positive and negative – that the explorers brought with them. He supports his aim of allowing the reader as direct access as possible by also providing direct quotes in French at times, to allow the reader to form his own judgement. He furnishes information about the original French vocabulary used, e.g. he comments of the 18th century usage of 'sauvage' ('savage') and its change in connotation over time to 20th century, as well as usage of 'natifs', 'Australiens', and 'aborigène'. He briefly comments on how the early expeditions were influenced by Rousseau's and Diderot's thinking, i.e. the idea that natural man was superior to civilised man, and later how the image of the 'noble savage' was tarnished by the deaths of Marion Dufresne in New Zealand (1772) and Captain Cook in Hawaii (1779), as well as the

experiences of Lapérouse (1788) and Baudin (1802). The body of the material is prefaced by a brief general description of the ten expeditions concerned and the fate of the explorers involved. Most of the explorers, in fact, never returned home from their journeys, and Dufresne even had the dubious honour of being killed and eaten by the Maoris, thus putting an end to his leadership of the expedition, but not to the expedition itself. However, the writings of these men (and in one case, the wife of one of them, Rose de Freycinet) deliver us with the records that form the basis of the information in this book.

The main text is divided into four chapters, each of which (except for Chapter Four) is introduced by a clear, concise and unembellished guide to the information that follows. The author goes on to narrate the encounters much in the eyewitness manner of the journals, interspersing (translated) quotes and brief historical observations and comments for the purposes of orientation. The human aspect of the events and the fears, reflections and responses of the participants are related in an accessible manner. Nevertheless, the scientific aims of the expeditions always remain in view.

Chapter One deals with "Descriptions of the Aboriginal Australians", considering aspects of their clothing, physical descriptions, nutrition, dwellings, fires, canoes, and implements and utensils. The events bear witness to the tolerance and generosity of the Aboriginals who played host to these oddly behaved, peculiar-looking guests. They submit themselves to being measured, scrutinised, followed, and encouraged to "perform" their skills, and yet, for the most part, they retain their patience and sense of hospitality towards the travellers.

The following chapter deals with "Relations between the Aboriginal Australians and the French", focusing on social relations, the French perception of Aboriginal character and language, and their attempts to come to grips with the language(s). In connection with the latter, Dyer has added within this section two appendices on vocabulary, one compiled by Péron in the D'Entrecasteaux Channel and the other by René Lesson in New South Wales. Chapter Two finishes with the Aboriginals' assessments of the explorers themselves.

Of course, one of the major purposes of the scientific expeditions to Australia was to observe the inhabitants from an anthropological viewpoint. Thus, Chapter Three turns to "Relations between the Aboriginal Australian's themselves." Interpersonal, social, intertribal and judicial relations are the subject here. Hence, the reader witnesses, through the eyes of the naturalists, incidents concerning childbirth and mother-child and family relations (mischievous children, patriarchal structures, and the "privilege of the strongest"), relationships between men and women (courtship and marriage, humiliated wives, jealous husbands and the division of labour), hostility and warfare (weapons, "duelling" customs" and battle etiquette) and the delivery of justice (gathering of council and punishments). The final section deals with customs regarding the dead.

Chapter Four then examines "Relations between the Aboriginal Australians and the British" and the reader encounters an interested outsider's view of the early colony. The French explorers were full of praise for the new settlement in and around Port

Jackson, yet were discerning enough to depict in their journals not only the Europeans' gain but also the native inhabitants' loss. Here Dyer includes an extract from Lesson's table showing the growth of population and, far more than in the previous chapters, includes large sections of text translated directly from the journals to lend the explorers a more direct voice. They comment on the unsuccessful British attempts to 'civilise' the native population and predict a pessimistic future for these people. The book concludes with a direct quote from a letter from Baudin to Governor King, which acknowledges the injustice done to the aboriginal inhabitants of the continent with the seizure of their land and the transportation of European crimes and disease to their soil. Dyer allows Baudin to have the final regretful word concerning the future of the Aboriginals among the settlers, before concluding the book with notes, a bibliography and an index: "the hope of seeing them mix with you is lost, and you will presently remain the peaceful possessors of their heritage, as the small number of those surrounding you will not long exist."

The French Explorers and the Aboriginal Australians 1772 – 1839 makes fascinating reading, not only for the view it furnishes of the Aboriginals at early contact, but also for what it reveals about the explorers themselves, the values of their times, and their responses to their encounters with the native inhabitants. It bears witness to the explorers' concern for the natives' well-being and their interest in them as fellow humans, at the same time showing their attempts to interpret how the natives in turn judged them. Some of the descriptions are amusing, some engaging and some shocking. Dyer has, with this book, given a broader readership access to a previously closed source, and thus a refreshing new perspective to early European exploration of Australia – while I have been reminded about books and their covers and not succumbing to hasty impressions.

Cawthorn, Michael, ed., 2004. *Traditions in the midst of change. Communities, cultures and the Strehlow legacy in Central Australia*. [= Proceedings of the Strehlow Conference, Alice Springs, 18-20 September 2002]. Alice Springs: Strehlow Research Centre. ISBN 0-9751706-0-0.
Veit, Walter, ed., 2004. *The struggle for souls and science. Constructing the Fifth Continent: German missionaries and scientists in Australia*. [= Occasional Paper Number 3]. Alice Springs: Strehlow Research Centre. ISSN 1327-9858.
Reviewed by Gerhard Leitner, Berlin

The two publications have several things in common: they deal with the German legacy in Australia and the work and impact of German missionaries in the Centre. The *Strehlow Conference* was held in 2002 to commemorate the work of Theodor Strehlow, one of three sons of Carl Strehlow, in the Arrernte region. It covers a range of fields, such as his non-academic and non-missionary work (which includes a paper on the first translation into English of his teenage diary; several facets of the work for which he is so well known; the Strehlow family and their views of him as a person and missionary; the legacy of German missionaries; and the wider context in which his work was set. But the proceedings begin with a number of Aboriginal statements on Strehlow and the Strehlow Research Centre which acted as the host of

this conference. With its 205 pages, the proceedings are an essential resource for anyone working on the Strehlows, the work of Christian muissionaries in general, and those interested in a critical analysis of scientific and missionary views on Aboriginal cultures.

Struggle for the souls and science, an equally important resource, continues the theme of the conflicts between the (anthropological) scientists and missionary-ethnographers from the end of the 19th century until well into the 20th century. It contains papers on the *Herrnhuter Brüdergemeine* in South Australia, Carl Strhehlow's background and career and the famous controversial debates he had with Walter Spencer and others. It also deals with the missionaries Teichelmann, Schürmann and Friedrich Albrecht and scientists such as Hermann Köler, Georg Balthasar von Neumeyer, Leo Frobenius.

Both books should be available more widely in German and one can only hope that the Strehlow Research Centre takes the initiative to contact relevant bodies such as the Niedersächsiche Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek in Göttingen and others.

Mattern, Sabine, 2005. *Auswandern nach Australien. Viele Tipps und Infos* [etc]. Köln: Hayit Medien. [2. aktualisierte Aufl.]. ISBN 3-87322-082-2. Rezensiert von Gerhard Leitner, Freie Universität Berlin

Ein kleines Taschenbuch, ein Leitfaden fürs Auswandern mit Basisinformation über Land und Leute, die Hürden für den Ausreisewilligen, all das Praktische, das zu bedenken ist, und die Zukunft – die gesuchten Berufe.

Was bei der Aktualisierung vergessen wurde (Kap. III): Australien hatte 2004 über 19 Millionen Einwohner; die Urbanisierung ist weit höher als 50% in den großen Städten; die Rolle der Einwanderung aus Großbritannien und Irland wird überschätzt, die aus Neuseeland, Asien, Afrika oder Südamerika nicht erwähnt; der Anteil der Aborigines liegt heute über 2%; sie kamen nie über eine Landbrücke nach Australien.

Wer die Ausführungen zu den Aborigines liest und auch nur eine gewisse Kenntnis hat, muss entsetzt sein von der Dümmlichkeit der Darstellung; Fakten spielen keine Rolle. Zu einer logischen Darstellung ist die Autorin nicht fähig. So ist die Darstellung der sozialen Merkmale (Gesundheit, Lebensgewohnheiten) konfus, teils falsch; die Aussagen zur Rolle der Missionare basiert auf Unwissen; das gilt auch für "sogenannte Errungenschaften unserer westlichen Zivilisation (Häuser, Arbeit, Geld, usw.) sind für die Aborigines, die andere Wertvorstellungen haben, äußerst fragwürdig" (S 55f). 1976, so sagt die Autorin auf S 56, hätte das Bundesparlament ein Landrechtsgesetz erlassen; das galt jedoch nur für das Nordterritorium, für das die Bundesregierung damals zuständig war. Von Mabo hat sie nichts gehört. Die wesentlichen Richtungen der Kunst der Aborigines "besteht hauptsächlich aus Felsenzeichnungen und –ritzungen, bemalten Waffen und Gebrauchsgegenständen, Malerei auf Baumrinde, aber auch aus Bildern auf der Basis von Wasserfarbe oder Öl. Dargestellt werden meistens Szenen aus der Mythologie, dem Alltag oder der Natur." (S 64). Tja! Etc.

Zugegeben, die Darstellung der Menschen, der Fauna und Flora, der Geschichte u.a.m. muss in einem solchen Buch peripher bleiben, denn Ausreisewillige sollen nicht gewonnen, sondern über wichtige Themen kurz und knapp informiert werden. Dennoch: was das Buch bietet, ist zu wenig. Bei der nächsten Aktualisierung sollte die landeskundliche Information besser und informierter geschrieben werden. Wenn man nachsichtiger urteilen will, dann muss man feststellen, dass es im deutschsprachigen Raum nur wenige Sachbücher mit populär formuliertem Inhalt gibt, auf die Autoren wie Sabine Mattern zurückgreifen können.