

Negotiating Difference: Ideology and Reconciliation

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1. Voices

In post-Colonial Australia, different voices speak the past. Paul Kelly's land rights anthem, 'From Little Things Big Things Grow', has introduced a generation of Australians to the famous 1966 walk-off by Aboriginal workers at Wave Hill station – which he summarizes in the notes to the lyrics of his CD as follows:

“From Little Things Big Things Grow” is dedicated to Vincent Lingiari, the Gurindji stockmen and their families who walked off Lord Vestey's cattle station in 1966 thus initiating a land claim that lasted eight years. The Whitlam government handed back much of the Gurindji country in 1974, Gough Whitlam himself pouring dirt into Vincent Lingiari's cupped hands in a ceremony symbolizing the legal restoration of their lands. From this simple action of walking off in 1966 many consequences flowed. [Kelly 1991]

Writing 34 years after the event, Patrick Dodson discusses the relevance of the walk-off to contemporary politics of reconciliation.

Vincent Lingiari would not have taken such a cumbersome path. He and his people went on strike not only for wages and conditions, but also for their right to be Gurindji; to have their land back under their responsibility and the capacity to enjoy the benefits flowing from the ancient law and custom of the Gurindji. The exploitative employment conditions, the sexual abuse, the inhumane living conditions, and the stripping of their dignity provided no other path than to stand up to the Cudeba, and to tell him they would no longer be treated as dogs. It was time to stand up for what was rightfully theirs. There was no further deprivations and indignity to be experienced from the Cudeba. He did not stand alone, he had mates and bosses.

In 1966, the Gurindji leader had meetings with the Aboriginal organizer for the North Australian Workers Union, Dexter Daniels in Darwin, while he was recovering there from being kicked by a donkey. They had talked about how best to deal with conditions on Wave Hill. Dexter talked about the delay in equal wages for the Gurindji. No Aboriginal stockmen were called to give evidence in the union case beginning in 1965. This enabled the Conciliation and Arbitration Commission to scope their ruling in March 1966 to the government's policy of assimilation, and to accept the assertions of the pastoralists that the Aboriginal workers had no real appreciation of the meaning of work because of 'tribal and cultural reasons' and therefore should not be paid the same wages as the white stockmen. ... (Dodson 2000: 266–267)

And soon after the walk-off, Vincent Lingiari, the leader of the strike, gave his version of what went on.

I am Vincent Lingiari from Wave Hill. That's my proper aboriginal name. Tom Pisher and that Bestey mob called me Tommy Vincent. My people are Gurindji. Who live in Wave Hill area. That we country. They live here longa time before Cudeba. I have had Gunabida ceremony. Gunabida is the mother of all the Gurindji people, and the corroboree dances tell the story of a man and him son spewed up by the rainbow snake near Wattie Creek in the Dreamtime. I am Kadijeri man of Gurindji people. But Bestey mob don't understand 'bout that.

The manager of Wave Hill was Tom Pisher. Bestey man, Tom Pisher. Always when big plant start to go out from station when mustering start, they go out two, maybe three month. Aboriginal men out in bush all time. White ringers come back to station every Friday night. That not right. I think to myself about that longa time. And think them Bestey mob don't treat Aboriginal native people right way. Some them white fellas play bloody hell with black gin women, leave Aborigine natives out in bush for that. When Aborigine stockmen come back they have to pack up and go away again. That not right. ... (Hardy 1968: 71–74)

Kelly is an Irish Australian whitefella, who wrote his song with Kev Carmody, an Indigenous musician and had the song recorded and distributed by Mushroom Records (1991). Dodson is a well-educated Indigenous leader, whose essay appears in a collection edited by Michelle Gratton called *Reconciliation: essays on Australian reconciliation* (2000). Lingiari was a Gurindji elder, whose story was recorded by Frank Hardy, an Anglo-Australian left-wing writer and

journalist, and included in his well-known account of the walk-off, *The Unlucky Australians* (1968). The critical point here is that without whitefellas (Kelly, Gratton, Hardy) we would probably not have heard from blackfellas (Carmody, Dodson and Lingiari). Overwhelmingly the mainstream voice projects the 'other', as a condition of it being heard. This makes the semiotics of voicing a central concern for critical discourse analysis, whether we deploy it to deconstruct hegemony or to explore healing processes of reconciliation which are the focus of my inquiry here (Martin 2002c, in press a).

2. Scribing

As linguists, we are of course familiar with grammatical resources for introducing voices into discourse. Halliday (1994) refers to these as projection, and uses the term 'quoting' for direct speech and 'reporting' for indirect speech (projecting process in italics below, projections underlined):

quoting

Tommy Vincent told Lord Vestey: "You can keep your gold. We just want our land back." (Rose 1991: 229)

reporting

...European officials telling striking Aborigines that they must return to dependence on Europeans because they will not be able to get along without European goods... the very goods he is told he cannot do without are those which have been denied for so many decades. (Rose 1991: 228)

Quoting constructs the projected voice as more 'authentic' than reporting, since it fashions what is projected as an exact wording; reporting on the other hand simply takes responsibility for the gist of the meaning, not the wording per se – and in this sense it subsumes the voice of the other to some degree.

Another strategy for introducing voices operates at the level of discourse. Here a piece of discourse is named, nominally (*conversation, story, words*) or verbally (*refusing*), and then presented in a kind

of opposition to these metasemiotic lexical items. As with quoting above, graphology is also involved here, with formatting and layout deployed to foreground one voice against the other (special font, indentation, line breaks). This discourse and graphology strategy is favored for longer 'quotations', and is well known in academic discourse. Rose (1991) regularly incorporates Indigenous voices in her text using these resources as exemplified below.

Hobbles told of a *conversation* at Daguragu between Tommy Vincent Lingiari (usually styled the leader of the strike), Vestey's representatives and Welfare Officers. For an Aboriginal audience in the Victoria River country, this *story* is a delicious unmasking of hypocrisy – European officials telling striking Aborigines that they must return to dependence on Europeans because they will not be able to get along without European goods. In *refuting*, Tommy Vincent invokes remembrance as the key to independence. His *words* are laden with sarcasm; the very goods he is told he cannot do without are those which have been denied for so many decades:

Lotta Vestey mob and Welfare came up, trying to get them (...) back.
 'You can get your money'. (...)
 'No, we don't worry for money.' (...)
 'How you going to get a feed?'
 'Lotta feed in the bush.'
 (...)
 'Don't live here. This the one (...) for Vestey.'
 'Vestey only got cattle, horse, but not land. That's mine.
 Might be Vestey had me one time, but not now.'
 (...)

In a few *words* Hobbles Danayarrri captured the resistance which had remained covert for so long: 'Tommy Vincent told Lord Vestey: "You can keep your gold. We just want our land back."' (Rose *Hidden Histories* 1991: 228–229 [abridged])

hear the Vestey's, rich people, they were rich people who made a lot of dollar, some of them were very sad, couldn't hear.
 I came back from Adelaide to Alice Springs and I stayed in the bush and next day I walked into town. I went to Armoongnam Western Rubuntja, he had a meeting with the people, talk about law things. Talk about land rights. I said, 'That's good. I come down and give a true talk about what has happened by Vestey's.
 These fellas said, 'Okay, we give you this land rights good. We give you this land rights to work for your people. For you living out in the bush.' I said, 'There is something you can do in Alice Springs because you are the nearest place.'
 Not Katharine or Darwin, probably wouldn't listen when the land rights been came. I think everyone been start think when we been watch our mob in Darwin, who came. I think everyone been start think because of something that came from Gundi people. That came from people from welfare and they could not listen.
 I went to Darwin trying to get help from welfare, and they said, 'You are making too much trouble for Vestey's. The welfare and Vestey's, the company, they were together in Darwin, they both had offices in Darwin. They were working together against us we mob.'
 I said, 'That's no good.' I said to welfare, 'What are you here for?' And they said, 'To help Aboriginal people. We are here to help many station manager, station stockman. They give me a different answer. I said, 'What about we. If you are welfare, you help us.' I said, 'I will go through your door and I will forget [you]. I will get help from down south, or maybe Alice Springs.'
 Second time, I got a good letter. 'We probably support you mob.' That was what the Alice Springs people said. 'We probably get this land rights going.'
 When I was in Canberra, Ted Egan come along.
 I said, 'You are going to try and help us.'
 I will', he said, 'but give me the stories of what has happened.
 I told him really bad stories. 'We are good people and the Vestey's did not treat us the same as everybody else. Flour sugar and tea a bit of that – stick of tobacco, maybe in of golden syrup. When we go back [to] work, they tell you [when to] make your holiday. For how long?' For after Christmas. Go bush. Live on the bushucker. Not go back to the station. 'What you reckon. If you want to helping us, I am passing on the information to you.'
 That is what people do – business [people]. They been get rich by the Gundi people and nothing was given back to us. They been treating us very badly.

Figure 1. Image projecting verbiage in Wright (1998: 4–5)

They been get rich by the Gundi people Mr Rangiarri

Photo of Mr Rangiarri

When we started the walk-off from Vestey's, I went around all over Australia to talk to other people about how the Vestey's been treating us for so long. Some of them didn't understand so I said to Vincent, 'Okay, after we get to Darwin, get the Miscellaneous Workers Union to find money, I want to fly around.'
 When we got to Darwin we talked to Parry Cole in the Union office and they said they got the money. The second time they rung back to Kakarngi and said, 'We got money to fly you to wherever you want to go.'
 'Okay, I said, 'I want to fly to Melbourne to talk to the workers [about] what happened with the Vestey's.'
 I went around to the workers at their job and I gave them a speech about the Vestey's. Afterwards, I jumped on a train travelling all the way through to Sydney. I talked to other people there, talked to everyone, to let them know about Vestey's. The Vestey's was treating us so wrong. The work been done for Vestey's. I did a lot of work for Vestey's but nothing was given back to us, nothing paid back. They did not give us the money. They were treating us badly, [paying us] just with a bit of tucker, that's all, bit of tobacco, nothing else. That was really bad.
 I thought that people in Australia got to know how we treated. There was no accommodation. We had a bit of tent. Make an old camp. Just a sort of thing. That's all. No good facility. Nothing was given back to us. We got a bit of tucker, not much, not much. The working people got the tucker, not the rest of the family. That was really bad. I was start thinking. Ah! This is a really bad thing, you know, the way they were treating us. It was not fair. I had to go to Sydney, Melbourne, Adelaide or wherever, to say how they treat Aboriginal people.
 I was not frightened of Vestey's, but I said that we had to do something about it. In Sydney I met my old friend Frank Hardy. He used to live in Melbourne. Get down to his office and sit with him and have a yarn to him very strongly, and so he said, 'I might get down that way.' He came across from Katharine, I said to him someone would drive him in so he could see how people were living.
 But in Adelaide I gave a talk about Vestey's, but some of them people did not like to hear how they treated Aboriginal people. They were very upset. They did not like to

In multimodal discourse, there is the further possibility of projecting by means of an image. This may involve a photo, typically a close shot of the head of the 'speaker' positioned in a top corner at the beginning of the sourced material, as in *Stories from Lajamanu* (1977), or Wright (1998: 4). The 'grammar' of these images positions us in relation to the material they project in important ways which can be analyzed following the techniques outlined in Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) – extending these to incorporate the realization of affect in facial expression. Image analysis of this kind is beyond the scope of this paper, but is as significant in coloring projections as the choice of projecting process or metasemiotic lexical item is in monomodal texts.

Another imagic strategy involves the uses of design motifs signaling the Indigenous sourcing of quoted material. These can be found in margins, or underlying quoted material as a background motif. Compared with photos of individual speakers, these designs foreground the collective identity of the social group the quoted material is sourced to – and thus its representativeness as an illustration of recurrent experience. They also take advantage of the high value placed by mainstream readers on Indigenous art to invite a degree of respect for the voice of the other that its linguistic features would not otherwise attract because of mainstream readers' negative perceptions of spoken and non-standard features. (See Figure 2 next page.)

Whichever strategy is chosen there remains of course the question of how the spoken discourse of Indigenous people is scribed. Where an Indigenous language is involved a translation must be provided, alongside or in place of the Indigenous voice. Non-standard dialects may also require translation, or some degree of glossing and annotation to make them comprehensible. Even comprehensible spoken discourse may involve various degrees of editing to make it look more like the kind of discourse writing systems have enabled over the centuries for mainstream groups (Halliday 1985/9). Hardy (1968) has certainly edited Lingiari along these lines above, as anyone who has ever transcribed actual spoken discourse will immediately recognize.

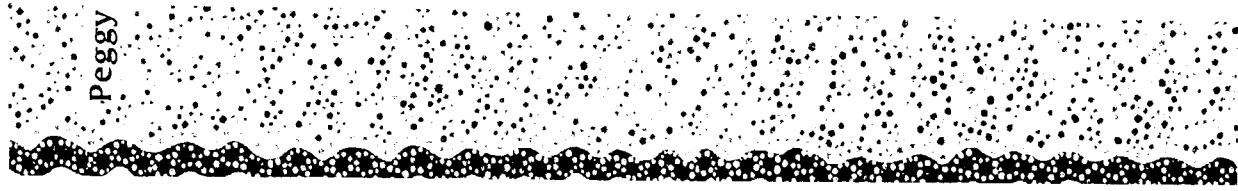


Figure 2. Design projecting verbiage in *Bringing Them Home* (1997: 82)

My family went to Cherbourg. They volunteered to go there during the Depression. So I would have been about 6 months old when grandfather, who was, I mean, he was independent. He had eight kids all birthed out in the trees you know, under the stars. My mother spoke her own language. She had me with the promise to marry my father. And then when the Depression came they talked to the policeman. He said go to Buramba. When things get better come back out again. He was the Protector so he sent them there. The thing is though, when we got there you got caught up in the system. You weren't allowed out anymore.

The decision that my grandfather made at the time, he didn't know that that would split his whole family up.

My Dad was away. He thought we had died. He didn't know what had happened. No-one else seemed to know where we had disappeared to. The whole family went to Cherbourg. Mum said when they got there they were immediately split up. Mum said the superintendent said, 'Agnès, you can't live in the camp with your small baby and you have to go into the dormitory'.

Mum thinks that's just ... She won't talk about it. She's in denial. She said they did it for our good because there was no room in the camp. But I said, 'You lived in Ayumba with your old people when you was outside. Why would it now be different that you didn't want to live with them?'

She said, 'Well, they offered the dormitory to me, so I took you there'. I was 6 months old. Because the dormitory is such a big place and it's made up, you know ... it's split that way [in half] downstairs with your women that side, your girls that side.

I stayed with my Mum for 4 years on that side with the other mothers. The boys went into the boys' home – my grandfather's sons. And he had Mum's younger sister and younger brother – they stayed with the old people. But the rest of them – the boys – were put in a home. Mum was put in the dormitory.

I stayed with her until I was 4 years of age. You slept with your mother because there was basically no room for a cot or anything and for the 4 years you're there living with her.

But when I turned 4, and because I was such an intelligent child, sneaking off to school because all the other kids are going ... matron made the decision that, 'Peggy has to go to school'. And so immediately that decision was made, I was transferred over to this section. I was taken away from her. Separating her from me was a grill. There was chicken wire across there. That was the extent of how far you could go to this [other] side.

Once you were separated from your Mum, you're not to go back to her again. Absolutely no interaction. You have a bed on your own. No contact during the day. I'm out of her control. She is no longer actually my mother type of thing. So you go under the care and control of the Government. That's what happened.

Decisions in this arena have to do with balancing intelligibility, the linguistic prejudices of readers (Eades 1995) and authenticity of speakers – and every decision delimits a readership in specific and partially predictable ways.

3. Writing (history)

Muecke (1992) comments that the “most ‘obvious’ history to write is the one which celebrates the achievements of the powerful, using the language of the powerful” (Benterrak *et al.* 1984: 143) – a practice Rose characterises as a form of denial which “engenders a complicity with all that has gone before... the past is concealed; and the living become accomplices in the continuation of injustice” (1991: 259). Elision of this kind has been a long standing concern in critical discourse analysis, and is pursued in some detail for the discipline of history in Martin and Wodak (2003). Complementing this style of critique, here I will be more concerned with attempts to address this imbalance – to unleash the ‘hidden histories’ of the powerless – focussing on the voice of Indigenous peoples in Australia. I’ll limit the scope of the discussion in this section by concentrating on the walk-off by Aboriginal workers at Wave Hill station in 1966, which is generally taken as the beginning of the land rights movement in Australia; and I’ll be principally concerned with the presentation of Indigenous accounts in Aboriginal English, setting aside translations from the vernacular such as those presented in Hercus and Sutton (1986).

In order to frame this discussion, let’s begin with traditional history discourse – of the kind associated with the grand narratives across the political spectrum. Middleton (1977) for example offers a history of the Australian Aboriginal people which is leftist in orientation and sympathetic to the aspirations of the Gurindji people. But the actual stories told by the Gurindji about the walk-off are left out-side her text, as primary sources. Middleton mentions the Gurindji stories (*italics below*), but then paraphrases them for us; and she uses indirect speech to report what Lily Punai said (*italics below*), rather

than quoting her directly. Thus Middleton tells us what happened in her own words, based on the Gurindji recounts:

The reaction to the Commission decision was immediate and dramatic. On May 1st, Aboriginal pastoral workers from Newcastle Waters station went on strike and most of them left the station with their families. They were followed shortly after by employees from Wave Hill and other Vestey stations. The majority of the strikers were Gurindji people. By the end of the month most of the strikers had moved to a temporary camp on the banks of the Victoria River near the Wave Hill Welfare Settlement. The *story* of the first days is still often *told* by the Gurindji – a column of men, women and children, the older children and adults sharing the burden of carrying the younger ones when they got tired and the babies, their blankets and what little possessions and food they had been able to bring with them; a noisy crowd, excited, some happy, some frightened, some worried, surrounded by their dogs as they walked through mile after mile of rough bush country.

Lily Punai had been doing ironing at Wave Hill homestead where she was employed as a domestic. A white stockman came in and *told* her *that* everyone else had gone and *asked if* she would stay. She *said* she would go. She put the iron away, rolled her swag and at the age of 55 set out alone to walk about 15 miles to join her people. (Middleton 1977: 112–113)

There is no question of denial here; Middleton has focussed on telling non-indigenous Australians what happened to Indigenous peoples. But in the traditional discourses of history there is a degree of silencing, since the Aboriginal voices are not directly heard. Rather they function as evidence – the material basis for higher level interpretations. Middleton’s leftist reading of the walk-off concentrates on the full award wages issue, which she interprets as directly responsible for the strike. In the outline of her argument below I have used indentation to show her progressive movement from this interpretation through to evidence. In linguistic terms this involves a transition from evaluated (*immediate, dramatic*) abstractions (*reaction, decision*) to concrete activity (*she put the iron away, rolled her swag and... set out...*); Martin (2002a) presents a more detailed account of transitions of this kind in history discourse.

In addition the Commissioners decided that payment of the full award wages should not come into operation until nearly three years later...

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Rose (1991), in a book pointedly entitled *Hidden Histories*, addresses this degree of silencing by incorporating Aboriginal voices directly into her account – by including her primary sources as it were. Instead of subsuming Aboriginal voices like Middleton, she quotes extensively from them – indenting her quotations, separating them from her text by skipping a line before and after, and giving them prominence by placing them in a larger font than that used for her own discourse¹.

Hobbles told of a conversation at Daguragu between Tommy Vincent Lingiari (usually styled the leader of the strike), Vestey's representatives and Welfare Officers. For an Aboriginal audience in the Victoria River country, this story is a delicious unmasking of hypocrisy – European officials telling striking Aborigines that they must return to dependence on Europeans because they will not be able to get along without European goods. In refusing, Tommy Vincent invokes remembrance as the key to independence. His words are laden with sarcasm; the very goods he is told he cannot do without are those which have been denied for so many decades:

Lotta Vestey mob and Welfare came up, trying to get them [striking workers] back.
 'You can get your money'. [European speakers]
 'No, we don't worry for money.' [Tommy Vincent]
 'How you going to get a feed?'
 'Lotta feed in the bush.'

... [13 lines elided]

'Don't live here. This the one [land] for Vestey.'

'Vestey only got cattle, horse, but not land. That's mine.

Might be Vestey had me one time, but not now.'

... [16 lines elided]

In a few words Hobbles Danayarrri captured the resistance which had remained covert for so long: 'Tommy Vincent told Lord Vestey: "You can keep your gold. We just want our land back."' (Rose 1991: 228-229)

Like Hardy, Rose appears to have normalized the transcription to some extent while preserving distinctive features of Aboriginal English. In addition she includes in parentheses information she thinks readers might require to follow the Indigenous discourse (e.g. who is speaking in reported dialogue, glosses on distinctive usage, 'missing' words, and explanatory contextual information), reflecting no doubt her sensitivity as an anthropologist to cultural difference and its encoding in Indigenous discourse.

Rhetorically Rose's discourse is not unlike Middleton's in its movement from interpretation to the material basis for her evaluative abstractions. We hear much more from Rose than from Indigenous speakers, both before and after they 'speak'; she interprets, they are primary sources. Rose uses metasemiotic terms (italicized below) to introduce their speech, and often paraphrases it for us before presentation. Using the indenting technique introduced above to display this movement, Rose's discourse unfolds along the following lines:

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European officials *telling* striking Aborigines that they must return to dependence on Europeans because they will not be able to get along without European goods.

In *refusing*, Tommy Vincent invokes remembrance as the key to independence. His words are laden with sarcasm:

the very goods he is *told* he cannot do without are those which have been denied for so many decades:

Lotta Vestey mob and Welfare came up, trying to get them back.

'You can get your money.'

'No, we don't worry for money.'

'How you going to get a feed?'

'Lotta feed in the bush.' ...

In a few words Hobbles Danayarrri captured the resistance which had remained covert for so long:

'Tommy Vincent told Lord Vestey: "You can keep your gold. We just want our land back."' (Rose 1991: 228–229)

Technically speaking Rose's metasemiotic nouns and verbs (*conversion, story, words, letter; told, telling, refusing, told*) project the Indigenous voice, which then ground her interpretation – including both her abstractions (e.g. *remembrance as the key to independence*) and evaluations (e.g. *delicious unmasking of hypocrisy*). Commentary of this kind verges at times on literary criticism, adding value to the Indigenous voice in ways that mainstream readers have been schooled to appreciate. Here are some further examples of Rose's interpretations of quoted material from her chapter on the Wave Hill strike – with 'projecting' nouns and verbs in italics – (see also Figure 3 next page):

Hobbles spoke of Sandy Moray working on behalf of Aborigines, and Riley Young *spoke* of him travelling south and establishing contacts with unions; Riley's *story* appears to date from about 1950: "... " (226)

Riley *told* what Sandy Moray used to tell the unionists.... His aim, as Riley *explains* it, was to enlist union backing for a strike which would radically alter Aboriginal people's lives materially with respect to land. "... " (226)

Big Mick has never gone in for modesty, false or otherwise. He *described* his role in the strike in a *letter* he sent to Bob Hawke and Clyde Holding in 1984: "... " (230)

Jack Doolan was a Welfare Officer before and during the strike. He *described* the VRD mob this way: "... " (233–234)

'Flour and sugar?'
'We don't worry.'
'You must gotta be hungry.'
'I can't [go] hungry here at the river-fish, turtle, roanna. That thing grew me up. I'm not [going to] take my man and going back.'
'Don't live here. This is the on [land] for Vestey.'
'Vestey only got cattle, horse, but not land. That's mine. Might be Vestey had me one time, but not now.'
'Might be you're drunk!'
'How'm I gonna get grog? I don't drink.' [As a ward of the state, he wasn't allowed to drink.] ...
Vestey mob put the story to tell Tommy Vincent to stay there [where he was], to let him cool down and forget [about things]. 'We'll be back' [they said]. They came back and tried again. We all told them all: 'No. We don't listen to you mob. You know how we worked around. No money, dried beef, dry tucker, bar of soap. Order [knock down] the clothes. People worked for many years, [and] never put money in their pocket.
You reckon we should go back? We've been branding, everything—and they got that money, and nothing for Aborigines. We're not going to go back. We're finished right up. We'll find our own—whatever thing we can get. We can live on bush tucker, bush medicine. My people were using it before whitefellows. We don't worry about Vestey.
In a few words Hobbles Danayarrri captured the resistance which had remained covert for so long: 'Tommy Vincent told Lord Vestey: "You can keep your gold. We just want our land back."
Food supplies were made possible out of a fighting fund established by unions and other supporters in the south. Stan Davey, then secretary of FCAATSI and a man whose life is a complete antithesis of Captain Cook's law, assisted people in applying for social security benefits, and by assuming that their entitlements would be paid to them directly rather than through the station management.
Frank Hardy, Daniel Dexter, Tommy Vincent Linjari and Long Johnny Kingam made the first direct overtures to VRD people, visiting Mount Sanford in 1966. The manager there threatened that if they walked off they would never be able to return. They left, although later, in fact, some of them did return.

Figure 3. Verbiage projecting in Rose (1991: 228–229)

Thanks to journalists like Frank Hardy, Christopher Forsythe and Douglas Lockwood, the Gurrindji were finally able to gain some space in the national consciousness. With the unions, particularly Actors Equity, the North Australian Workers Union and the Waters-front Workers Union, they had national backing for a strike which would radically alter Aboriginal people's lives materially with respect to land. "... " (226)
Riley *told* what Sandy Moray used to tell the unionists.... His aim, as Riley *explains* it, was to enlist union backing for a strike which would radically alter Aboriginal people's lives materially with respect to land. "... " (226)
Big Mick has never gone in for modesty, false or otherwise. He *described* his role in the strike in a *letter* he sent to Bob Hawke and Clyde Holding in 1984: "... " (230)
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As we have seen, for long years various government agencies and agents had been assigned responsibility for Aboriginal peoples' well being. The degree of shame that history will assign to them remains an open question. Most of the Aboriginal people with whom I have spoken have not thought well of Welfare, seeing it as another institution of oppression. The fact that some individuals, like Jack Doolan, chose to position themselves on the side of Aborigines serves to emphasise the official Welfare position.
When people went on strike, Welfare Officers were there with them—urging them to go back to work. Hobbles told of a conversation at Daguragu between Tommy Vincent Linjari (usually styled the leader of the strike), Vestey's representatives and Welfare Officers. For an Aboriginal audience in the Victoria River country, this story is a delicious unmasking of hypocrisy—European officials telling striking Aborigines that they must return to dependence on Europeans because they will not be able to get along without European goods. In refusing, Tommy Vincent invokes remembrance as the key to independence. His words are laden with sarcasm; the very goods he is told he cannot do without are those which have been denied for so many decades.
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'You can get your money' [European speakers].
'No, we don't worry for money.' [Tommy Vincent].
'How you going to get a feed?'
'Lotta feed in the bush.'
'Bring back the children for school.'
'We'll find a school.'
'How about medicine?'
'Don't worry about medicine.'
'You might be hungry. You must gotta come back.'
'No. My mind [decision] to stop. Horses, cattle, you can have them. I can't go back.'

For an example of Indigenous voices that take primary responsibility for telling the story of what happened as oppose to simply illustrating it we can turn to Wright (1998), an Indigenous writer whose *Take Power Like this Old Man Here: an anthology of writings celebrating twenty years of land rights in Central Australia 1977-1997* was commissioned by the Central Land Council, an Aboriginal agency based in Alice Springs. Her section on the Wave Hill walk-off does begin with a brief account by Wright contextualizing the texts which follow:

Drawing the line: the Gurindji walk-off and the birth of land rights

... On 22 August 1966, the Grindji people, working as stockmen and station hands in the north-west of Central Australia, walked off Wave Hill Station, then owned by England's Lord Vestey. Soon after, they set up a permanent camp nearby on part of their traditional land at Daguragu, a waterhole on Wattie Creek. A ten-year battle led by Vincent Lingiari followed, which moved from a strike for wages and better working conditions to a political struggle that eventually led to the *Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act 1976*.

Then Prime Minister Gough Whitlam handed over the lease to Daguragu Station in August 1975 by pouring a handful of soil into the hands of Vincent Lingiari and saying the land would belong 'to you and your children forever'. The 3236 square kilometers of land was purchased from Wave Hill Station with money provided by the Aboriginal Land Fund. However, in October 1979 the Northern Territory Government said it would resume the land in twenty-eight days because the traditional landowners had not kept the pastoral lease conditions. The Gurindji prevented the resumption when they demonstrated that not only had the lease conditions been met but the property was well managed. To secure the title to their and the Gurindji lodged a land claim over the property.

Twenty years after the Gurindji walk-off, in April 1986, the Gurindji were given inalienable freehold title to Daguragu under the Land Rights Act.

This is followed by 5 accounts of the walk-off, the first 4 of which are by Indigenous Australians – 2 in Aboriginal English and 2 in Gurindji followed by translations² (the 5th account is by a non-Indigenous Australian involved in the struggle). Wright's introductions to these texts are minimal:

"This is Mr Inverway's story, told in 1996 at the thirtieth anniversary of the Gurindji strike at Wave Hill Station."

[none for Mr. Rangiarri]

The translation³ from Gurindji to English has been done by Kalkaringi Resource and Language Centre.

[none for Ted Egan, whitefella]

Wright's voice thus takes up much less space than that of other speakers. And compared with Rose there is far less interpretation. Wright functions more as an editor than a historian, compiling an anthology of Indigenous and non-Indigenous voices (with Indigenous voices taking precedence over non-Indigenous ones). One might argue that Indigenous voices have taken over history here, although Wright's own discourse would be hard to distinguish from that of Rose or Middleton and it does still ultimately frame the meaning of the oral history scribed by Wright as the Indigenous accounts.

Looking over these initiatives we can see a spectrum of possibilities – Hardy stepping aside now and again to let an Aboriginal person be heard, Middleton speaking as sympathetically as her politics affords⁴ on their behalf, Rose taking pains to explain to us what they mean, and Wright giving her own people the floor. There are various complementarities at issue here. Hardy offers more of an eye-witness account; Middleton, Rose and Wright look back across time. Middleton and Rose offer historical interpretations; Hardy and Wright let the stories speak for themselves. Hardy, Rose and Wright quote directly from Indigenous people; Middleton subsumes their voice into hers. Hardy, Middleton and Rose enclose the Indigenous voice in their own; Wright lets other voices dominate her editorial role.

It is tempting of course to see this in evolutionary terms, with writers making more and more room for Indigenous voices in their texts. And there is some truth to this. Writers *have* struggled self-consciously against silencing the 'other'. And we should not lose sight of role played by female writers here – Hannah Middleton, Deborah Rose and Alexis Wright. Looking over the complementari-

ties reviewed above however it might be just as wise to read developments as an expansion of the discursive terrain, with an ever increasing play of voices replacing the denial and silencing which shrouded Indigenous history in the past. As a note of caution, moderate historians for example might balk at the idea that Lord Vestey was anywhere near Wave Hill Station during the land rights struggle there, even though both Indigenous voices (in Wright's anthology) and non-Indigenous ones (e.g. Kelly 1999⁵) place him there, jousting with Lingiari. For Aboriginal oral historians this is probably not a case of mistaken identity; Rose would probably be quick to explain that figures such as Lord Vestey absorb individuals, especially those they represent, in Aboriginal (and perhaps all) oral history (see Rose 1991: 18 on Captain Cook's invasion of north-western Australia). So the pastoral care given to Indigenous voices in Middleton and Rose has an important role to play, in bridging across cultures and avoiding misunderstandings and discreditations which might derail the fragile Australian reconciliation processes already underway.

4. Prescribing (policy)

Unveiling hidden histories obviously has an important role to play in the formulation of government policy and it has been instrumental in two government reports that have played critical roles in the reconciliation process in Australia. One is the *National Report of the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody* published in 1991, responding to the disproportionate number of Indigenous Australians dying in custody:

The extraordinary range of submissions received and consultations held have also greatly added to the understanding of the underlying issues. The Commissioners published a discussion paper in October 1989 noting the issues which we regarded as significant and upon which we invited comment. Response to that invitation has been very great and, coupled with reports made by Aboriginal Issues Units set up in each jurisdiction, Commissioners were able to plan the framework of this report with some confidence that the proper range and priority of underlying issues had been identified. (*Deaths in Custody*' 1991: xviii)

Most of these submissions were treated in the traditional way in the body of the report – as evidence. As with Middleton's history, the commissioners wrote on behalf of respondents – whose voices are not directly heard. Appendix D (entitled *Too Much Sorry Business*) of the 5 volume report however comprises the full report of the Aboriginal Issues Unit of the Northern Territory, headed by Marcia Langton, an Indigenous academic and spokesperson. Their attitude to Indigenous voices was more like that of Rose:

'Too Much Sorry Business' The Report of the Aboriginal Issues Unit of the Northern Territory [National Report of the Royal Commission into Aboriginal deaths in Custody: Appendix D Sources of Information: D(i)] – Marcia Langton (blackfella), Head of Unit

The Aboriginal Voices

...What people have said to us is not just opinion... These are the sovereign voices of people who know who they are and what they want for the children and grandchildren... This Submission attempts to allow the many individuals who shared their time with us to be heard. We hope that others listen and act to make our lives worth living. [*Deaths in Custody*: 292–293]

The other key document to be considered here is the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission's *Bringing Them Home: National Inquiry into the Separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Children from Their Families* published in 1997, with Ronald Wilson (whitefella) and Mick Dodson (blackfella) as chief Commissioners. This report addresses the forced removal of Indigenous children from their families (Manne 1998, 2001) as practiced by Australian governments through many decades of the 20th century (up until at least the 60s without many non-Indigenous Australians realising what was going on⁶). Like Rose and Langton, the commissioners were keen to let members of the stolen generations speak for themselves.

Testimony

The Inquiry took evidence orally or in writing from 535 Indigenous people throughout Australia concerning their experiences of the removal policies.

In this report we relay as many of those individual stories as possible... Healing and ultimately the reconciliation process require that testimonies continue to be received and recorded. [*Bringing Them Home* 1997: 21] ... The experience... of this Inquiry is that giving testimony, while extraordinarily painful for most, is often the beginning of the healing process. (*Bringing Them Home* 1997: 22)

Like Rose, both *Too Much Sorry Business* (hereafter *TMSB*) and *Bringing Them Home* (hereafter *BTH*) give graphological prominence to Indigenous voices (indented in bold in *TMSB*, unindented bold in *BTM*). By way of contrast, quotations from non-Indigenous voices are indented in all three works (and italicized in *TMSB*). These graphological strategies are outlined in Table 1.

GRAPHOLOGY [skip line before & after]	Rose's <i>Hidden Histories</i>	<i>Too Sorry Business</i>	<i>Much Business</i>	<i>Bringing Them Home</i>	<i>Them</i>
Indigenous voice	larger font, indented	bold, indented		bold, not indented	
non-indigenous voice	- indented	<i>italic</i> , indented	- indented	- indented	

Table 1. Graphological realization of quotations in *Hidden Histories*, *Too Much Sorry Business* and *Bringing Them Home*

TMSB uses some quoting and reporting, as resources for representing Indigenous voices within the sentence ("..."):

It was pointed out by one person that:

Those people who die of lifestyle diseases, those develop over a period of time.

Another person said:

Alcohol increases health problems. [*TMSB*: 313]

CHAPTER 1

WHITE POISON:

ABORIGINAL ALCOHOL ABUSE

Couldn't sleep last night after listening yesterday. Thinking about how grog is killing people, family problems, culture dying; lost respect. Grog is a form of poison, can make a good man or woman go mad, kill, forget their kids ... Grog is tearing Aboriginal people apart. We don't know how to care for family now. In the old days, we were family, need to look back. There are a lot of good things there ... Before Europeans our life was spot on.

Brother of one of deceased who died in custody in South Australian, speaking at Central Australian Aboriginal Congress, 1986.

1.0 INTRODUCTION

One of the first civil liberties granted to Aboriginal people was the right to drink alcohol. Theoretically we became entitled to the same rights to drink as other Australians.

In 1964, the ordinance prohibiting Aboriginal people in the Northern Territory from buying and consuming alcohol was repealed. Previously, only those Aboriginal people who had gained exemption from the status of Ward of the Commonwealth had been permitted to buy and consume alcohol. However, many Aboriginal people had access to alcohol despite the law. The life story of water colour artist, Albert Namatjira, is one tragic example of those people who had access to alcohol and eventually died from its effects.

The impact of the sudden end of prohibition of alcohol on our people varied considerably in different parts of the Territory.

Prohibition, distance from licensed outlets, access to transport and the racist or other special commercial practices of licensees towards Aborigines were, and still are, the obvious factors which govern access to alcohol, especially in large quantities. In many of our communities today alcohol is again prohibited because in the intervening years since the last prohibition ended, our people have decided that the impact of alcohol on their lives is intolerable.

As little as two decades after fighting for the right to drink, Aboriginal people are fighting to 'Beat the grog', and recognise that 'Grog: it's a killer' (Central Australian Aboriginal Media Association *Beat the Grog* theme song 1987).

Many communities say that the introduction of alcohol consumption on Aboriginal people was disastrous. There was uncontrollable violence, heavy...

Figure 4. Projecting voices in the Deaths in Custody report (1991: 300–301)

For the most part however Rose's discourse strategy is deployed, with projecting metasemiotic nouns and verb elaborated by indented text ("..." '='):

The drain on family and community really hits our people heavily, as these comments from Alice Springs suggest:

Drunks get all the money, what about the community and the families?... (Discussion at Alice Springs) [TMSB 307]

Some drinkers *draw favourable parallels* between their drinking problems and non-Aboriginal people:

We come home like white fellas ... we have house, so it is alright. (Discussion at Marla Marla) [TMSB 305]

Many of our people *acknowledge* the need for "new rules":

Now's the time to get talking about it again - we need to effectively stop drunks ruining our lives. We've got to learn how to get hard with our own families. Start making rules. [TMSB 309]

Sometimes the Indigenous voice simply elaborates the report, which does not itself include projecting nouns or verbs; graphology alone is used to signal the incorporation of quoted material. Compared with indirect speech, this can be interpreted as integrating the Indigenous perspective into the report while at the same time respecting its identity:

The effects of alcohol have physical as well as cultural dimensions:

I went to Births, Deaths and Marriages to see how many of our people had died since 1976, and that list was pages long, friends, relatives, drinking mates. Dying from strokes, cancer. I knew they all died from grog. I cried. We need to know why people are dying from alcohol-related diseases. (Discussion at Alice Springs) [TMSB 308]

In addition, many sections of *TMSB* begin with an Indigenous voice that is neither projected by nor directly elaborated in the report:

CHAPTER 1

WHITE POISON

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Couldn't sleep last night after listening yesterday. thinking about how grog is killing people, family problems, culture dying; lost respect. Grog is a form of poison, can make a good man or woman go mad, kill, forget their kids.... Grog is tearing Aboriginal people apart. We don't know how to care for family now. In the old days, we were family, need to look back. there are a lot of good things there.... Before Europeans our life was spot on. Brother of one of deceased who died in custody in South Australian, speaking at Central Australian Aboriginal Congress, 1986.

One of the first civil liberties granted to Aboriginal people was the right to drink alcohol. Theoretically we became entitled to the same rights to drink as other Australians... [TMSB 301]

Following Halliday's (1994) terminology for types of clause combining, these can be treated as extensions of the report ('+') rather than elaborations ('='):

1.1. GROG – IT'S A KILLER

Every meeting we say "Grog is the number one problem. We know what grog is doing. It's killing our culture, people... we're sick of talking.

Doug Abbott, Grog Forum 1989

When the Aboriginal Issues Unit for the Northern Territory began its work in early July 1989, the Head of the Unit approached a number of organizations in Alice Springs, including Tangentyere Council staff, the Aboriginal Alcoholics Anonymous group and Central Australian Aboriginal Congress to ask them to present their views on the underlying issues leading to the high Aboriginal rate of custody and sometimes to Aboriginal deaths in custody.

Much of the content of the discussions related directly to alcohol problems and how to solve them.

After considering some of the initial views put by staff of Tangentyere Council, members of the Aboriginal Alcoholics Anonymous and others, the Aboriginal Issues Unit decided to focus attention on alcohol abuse as a major area of consultation... [TMSB303]

From the perspective of textual meaning, this strategy gives thematic prominence to the Indigenous voice. Following Halliday (1994) we can interpret first position as establishing the report's angle on its message. In *TMSB* these high level discourse Themes typically color the section they introduce with considerable affectual impact (Martin 2002b, in press b).

TMSB's favored strategy, projected elaborations ("... '=' is occasionally used in *BTH*:

However, all of the witnesses who made these points also expressed their wish that they had not had to make the sacrifices they did.

... even though I had a good education with [adoptive family] and I went to college, there was just this feeling that I did not belong there. The best day of my life was when I met my brothers because I felt like I belonged and I finally had a family.

Confidential submission 384, Tasmania: woman removed in the 1960s and adopted by a non-Indigenous family: no contact with brothers for 35 years. [13]

Usually however, *BTH* makes use of elaboration which is not projected by metadiscursive nouns or verbs. The Indigenous voice simply elaborates the institutional one:

On their removal siblings were often placed separately and had little contact with each other. This occurred even though the Department of Community Welfare Manual 1966 specified that siblings should keep in touch with each other.

I wasn't allowed to go to the same school where my natural siblings were attending school. I knew my siblings names but I didn't know what they looked like. I was told not to contact my natural family ... My foster family and the Welfare Officer said to me that I shouldn't get in touch with my natural family because they were not 'any god'.

Confidential submission 314, Tasmania: woman removed at 18 months with 5 siblings in the 1960s; placed in several foster homes before being adopted

by the last of her foster homes, where she was physically and sexually abused. (97)

In addition, many sections of *BTH* begin with an Indigenous voice that is neither projected nor directly elaborated by the report ('+'), with the same kind of affect laden thematic effect as in *TMSB*:

1 The Inquiry

Our life pattern was created by the government policies and are forever with me, as though an invisible anchor around my neck. The moments that should be shared and rejoiced by a family unit, for [my brother] and mum and I are forever lost. The stolen years that are worth more than any treasure are irrecoverable.

Confidential submission 338, Victoria.

Grief and loss are the predominant themes of this report. Tenacity and survival are also acknowledged. It is no ordinary report. Much of its subject matter is so personal and intimate that ordinarily it would not be discussed. These matters have only been discussed with the Inquiry with great difficulty and much personal distress. The suffering and the courage of those who have told their stories inspire sensitivity and respect... [BTH 3]

Unlike *TMSB*, *BTH* also makes use of several two-page multimodal introductions to major sections, which feature an image of stolen children (with caption) and accompanying quotations from Indigenous people. The images themselves appear on the left-hand page in thematic position, and embody attitude in such a way as to provoke a more powerful affectual response than the purely verbal extensions discussed above (Martin 2002b). Accompanying quotations may contain apposite metaphors which reinforce this semiotic punch (Martin in press b). A marketing metaphor accompanies a picture of 5 stolen children advertised for adoption in a newspaper ("We was bought like a market. We was all lined up in white dresses, and they'd come round and pick you out like you was for sale." *BTH*: 90); a ranching metaphor accompanies a picture of several dozen stolen children lined up for inspection by a visiting Governor of Western Australia ("I remember all we children being herded up,

like a mob of cattle, and feeling the humiliation of being graded by the colour of our skins for the government records." BTH 186).



We was bought like a market. We was all lined up in white dresses, and they'd come round and pick you out like you was for sale.

Confidential submission 695. New South Wales: woman fostered at 10 years in the 1970s, one of a family of 13 siblings all removed, raped by foster father and forced to have an abortion.

I clearly remember being put in line-ups every fortnight, where prospective foster parents would view all the children. I wasn't quite the child they were looking for.

Confidential evidence 133, Victoria: man removed at 6 months in the 1960s; institutionalised for 3 years before being fostered by a succession of white families.

... there does not appear to be any likelihood in the immediate future for further [voluntary] ... admissions being effective as a method of assimilation of children. Firstly, there appears to be a close bond between children and parents and they are naturally reluctant to let them go (report of child welfare officer to the Director of Child Welfare on the officer's visit to Cape Barren Island in 1961, quoted by Tasmanian Government final submission on page A-28).

Policies and practices

The forcible removal of Indigenous children from their families occurred during two periods in Tasmania. The first commenced with the European occupation of Van Dieman's Land (as Tasmania was called until 1856) in 1803 and lasted until the middle of the nineteenth century. The second commenced in the 1930s with the forcible removal of Indigenous children from Cape Barren Island under general child welfare legislation and continues into the present. However in recent times the Tasmanian Aboriginal Centre has been successful in intervening in potential removal situations to keep Indigenous families together and welfare practice in Tasmania now regards removal as a last resort.

The colonial period

Van Dieman's Land was occupied in 1803 as a penal colony. Bitter conflict ensued. Many Indigenous people were shot and Indigenous children taken to be used for their labour. By 1818 the Aboriginal population had fallen from an estimated 4,000 to somewhere below 2,000 (Ryan 1981 page 79).

In 1814 Governor Davey issued a proclamation expressing his 'utter indignation and abhorrence' about the kidnapping of Aboriginal children (quoted by Reynolds 1995 on page 90) but by 1816 'kidnapping had become widespread' (Ryan 1981 page 78). Governor Sorrell made a similar declaration in 1819 and ordered the Resident Magistrates and District Constables to list all the children and youths held by 'Settlers or Stock-keepers, stating from whom, and in what manner, they were obtained' (quoted by Rowley 1970 on page 44). He ordered that those who had been taken without parental consent were to be sent to Hobart where they would be maintained and educated at government expense.

Removal to Flinders Island

By the late 1820s the conflict between Aboriginal people and the non-Indigenous population had escalated to the 'Black War' as it was known at the time.

Figure 5. Bringing Them Home (1997: 90-91)

A schematic outline of this multimodal strategy for foregrounding the voice of the other is presented as Figure 6 for multimodal texts in which a photograph and quotation/s extend the government report.

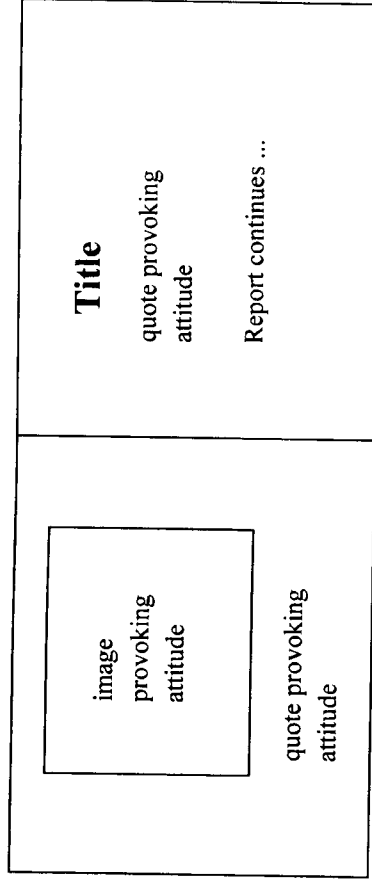


Figure 6. Layout for multimodal voicing in *Bringing Them Home*

5. Othering

As with the history discourses discussed in Section 3, policy discourse does seem to have extended the possibilities for introducing Indigenous voices into institutional reports over time, from the traditional elision in the body of the report into Aboriginal deaths in custody, through the projected elaborations and extensions of *TMSB* and on to the unprojected elaborations and extensions (including multimodal ones) of *BTH*. And as with history, the gender and ethnicity of authors seems to have a role to play (viz Indigenous academic Marcia Langton's groundbreaking work in *TMSB* and Mick Dodson's leadership as Indigenous commissioner for *BTH*).

history: Middleton → Rose → Wright...

policy: Deaths in Custody → *TMSB* → *BTH*...

From a linguistic perspective the various voicing strategies can be analyzed along a number of dimensions. Stratally the ways in which the graphology inscribes a voice has to be considered, alongside

whether projection is managed grammatically inside the sentence or discursively by metasemiotic nouns and verbs. Metafunctionally (Halliday 1994), for ideational meaning we need to examine the complementarity of projection (quoting and reporting) and expansion (elaboration and extension) and the effect of specific lexical selections among semiotic nouns and verbs; for interpersonal meaning there is the role of evaluation in quoted material and its potential embodiment in images; and for textual meaning there is the question of the prominence afforded by initial position for extending quotations (and of final position where a quotation might be used to consolidate the point of projecting material - 'the last word' as it were). Turning to modality, the potential interplay of verbiage (spoken and written) with image, music, dance, display, action and other modalities of communication has to be taken into account.

strata graphology, lexicogrammar, discourse semantics
metafunction ideational, interpersonal, textual
modality verbiage, image, music...

Looking over the data reviewed here, where Middleton and 'Deaths in Custody' subsume the voice of the other, Rose (*Hidden Histories*) and Langton (*TMSB*) foreground the Indigenous voice graphologically (larger font and bold face respectively), indent it and skip a line before and after the quotation. There are mixed signals here. The formatting foregrounds the Indigenous voice against the institutional one; but the layout positions it as evidence for interpretations offer by Rose and Langton (their paraphrases and evaluations). In *BTH* on the other hand bold face is used to foreground the voice of the stolen generations, which is neither indented nor specially separated from the rest of the report (the same line breaks are used between paragraphs of the report itself and between report paragraphs and quotations). This graphological strategy works in conjunction with the fact that *BTH* does not usually project elaborating discourse with metasemiotic nouns and verbs. This coarticulation effects a kind of parallel Indigenous text alongside the mainstream one. In *BTH* the voice of the other is given both graphological prominence and a degree of

semantic independence, where Rose and Langton grant graphological prominence but maintain semantic control.

Beyond this, in general Rose (*Hidden Histories*) and Langton (*TMSB*) seem more concerned than *BTH* commissioners with interpreting Indigenous quotations for a mainstream audience. They build a bridge from spoken to written discourse, and from Indigenous to mainstream culture so that the Indigenous voice will be read in a specific way. The metadiscourse used to introduce the voice of the other creates a range of opportunities for paraphrase and evaluation of this kind:

In refusing, Tommy Vincent invokes remembrance as the key to independence. His words are laden with sarcasm; the very goods he is told he cannot do without are those which have been denied for so many decades:

Lotta Vestey mob and Welfare came up, trying to get them back.

'You can get your money.'

'No, we don't worry for money.'

'How you going to get a feed?'

'Lotta feed in the bush'. ...

(Rose *Hidden Histories* 1991: 228–229)

Both Rose and Langton position themselves as inter-cultural mediators, with particular readings of the other in mind:

Some drinkers draw favourable parallels between their drinking problems and non-Aboriginal people:

We come home like white fellas ... we have house, so it is alright.
(Discussion at Marla Marla) [*TMSB* 305]

BTH does some of this. The shift from abstract institutional English to transcribed spoken English can't help but mediate to some degree, with the highly valued written mode interpreted as somehow explaining the less valued spoken discourse (Martin 1993):

However, all of the witnesses who made these points also expressed their wish that they had not had to make the sacrifices they did.

... even though I had a good education with [adoptive family] and I went to college, there was just this feeling that I did not belong there. The best day of my life was when I met my brothers because I felt like I belonged and I finally had a family. [*BTH* 13]

But more commonly, the stance of *BTH* is simply to introduce the voice of the other as evidence – as exemplification of the general points being made. As noted above, metadiscourse is avoided. The Indigenous voice elaborates the institutional report, which for its part does not evidence such a strong compulsion to interpret what is going on:

On their removal siblings were often placed separately and had little contact with each other. This occurred even though the Department of Community Welfare Manual 1966 specified that siblings should keep in touch with each other.

I wasn't allowed to go to the same school where my natural siblings were attending school. I knew my siblings names but I didn't know what they looked like. I was told not to contact my natural family ... My foster family and the Welfare Officer said to me that I shouldn't get in touch with my natural family because they were not 'any god'. [*BTH* 97]

Generalizing then, we might argue that where Middleton and 'Deaths in Custody' subsume Indigenous discourse, Rose (*Hidden Histories*) and Langton (*TMSB*) mediate it; whereas Wright and *BTH* lean towards letting it speak for itself. Linguistically this correlates with a movement from paraphrasing to reporting (...*that*...) and quoting ("...") inside the sentence, to projecting and elaborating quotation with metadiscursive nouns and verbs ("..."/'='), to elaboration without metadiscourse ('='), to unelaborated verbal extensions ('+') – including multimodal ones:

...that... → "... " → "..."/'=' → '=' → '+' ...

Perhaps a better way to outline any sense we have of 'development' over time is to envisage an extension of possibilities – since texts that report typically involve paraphrase as well, just as quoting accompanies reporting, metadiscourse accompanies quoting and so on. The

voicing repertoire gets bigger as writers explore new ways of giving voice to the indigenous other:

paraphrase
& report
& quote
& metadiscourse
& elaboration
& extension
& multimodal extension

Critically, each strategy shapes readings of the other in specific ways. At first blush, Rose and Langton's mediation apparently belies their concern with sovereignty. But we have to ask who they're writing for. If their target in the reconciliation process is middle class Anglo-Australian liberals, then their mediation is probably spot on. If part of reconciliation involves winning the sympathy of this mainstream community, getting them to feel guilty about the past and do something about it, then some degree of mediation is required. They cannot be expected to read sensitively across modalities (from speaking to writing), across dialects (from standard to Aboriginal English) and across cultures (from invader to Indigenous Australian) on their own. In other contexts this degree of mediation may not be required. Land rights and deaths in custody are arguably more contentious issues than stolen children, and the stories quoted in *BTH* are easier for liberals to understand precisely because they come from Indigenous Australians who had been stolen from their culture and re-socialized to some degree into mainstream norms. In a sense, *BTH* had less mediating to do; the stolen generations context afforded possibilities that land rights and deaths in custody did not. At the same time, commitment made by the *BTH* commissioners to Indigenous voices is a significant one since the report they produced is a novel piece of institutional discourse, which expanded the possibilities of that discourse in exemplary ways.

Ultimately of course, for reconciliation to succeed, we have to turn all of this around and complement the voicing I've been exploring

here with discourse from the other – Indigenous discourse that projects mainstream voices in various ways, for both Indigenous and non-Indigenous readers. For this we need contexts in which Indigenous people design, produce and distribute discourse – the very sites which are now overwhelmingly controlled by mainstream groups (Kress and van Leeuwen 2001). Without a discourse handover of this kind, the reconciliation process as a whole is fraught with problems of paternalism. Whitefellas speak for, scribe for, sing for blackfellas, but not the other way round. The mainstream tells the mainstream what the other means. We need to hear more than this for two-way healing in our jumbled post-colonial world (Rose 1999, Yothu Yindi 1992, Yunupingu 1990, 1999).

Notes

1. I personally found this graphological foregrounding quite disconcerting when first reading *Hidden Histories*, often feeling confused about who was quoting who – which attests in no small part to its ideological significance.
2. As noted above, translated material is beyond the scope of this discussion, but mention should be made here of Hercus and Sutton (1986) which includes two 1975 hand-over speech by Vincent Lingiari, both translated line by line from the Gurindji and annotated by Patrick McConvell. Hercus and Sutton briefly contextualize this material before handing over to the Aboriginal voices.
3. We should keep in mind of course that the transcriptions of Aboriginal English by Hardy, Rose and Wright all involve some degree of 'translation' – across modalities from spoken language to writing, and across dialects from less standard forms to more standard ones; for discussion of Aboriginal English in trial, see Eades (1995), Hill (1999).
4. Writing from a left union-oriented position, Middleton (like Hardy), tends to read what happened at Wave Hill as a strike over wages, as opposed to say a protest concerning land rights and culture.
5. Paul Kelly and Kev Carmody's popular land rights anthem, 'From Little Things Big Things Grow' was released in 1991 and has certainly introduced more Australians to the Gurindji walk-off than any other account; they invent some punchy dialogue for Lingiari, who is presented as an Aussie battler taking on the British Lord (see Martin [2002c] for discussion).
6. The 2002 Australian film *Rabbit Proof Fence* documents one instance of this institutionalized genocide for a general audience.

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