passed on terms to the locals, nor the necessary prior exposure to Aborigines in other areas to know the terms for themselves in previously colonised areas. And unlike explorers and the first pastoralists they could go directly to a place, without necessarily engaging with the indigenes in areas en route. Furthermore, they, and other Whites, would have been highly unlikely to employ anything but the standard terms "policeman," "constable," etc. in speaking with, or in the hearing of Aborigines. Whites generally would have been unlikely to have used negatively valued slang terms in the presence of Aborigines, since they depended on the police for their safety, and needed to inculcate fear and respect of them. (And for this reason they might well have avoided Aboriginal terms from other regions, even if they knew them, in case they were negatively charged.)

There are, however, a number of regional terms, which in some cases appear to have gained wider currency in recent years, replacing a former greater diversity of more local, language specific terms. This has happened in the Fitzroy Crossing region, where the Walmajarri term *limba* has come to be the most common term for "policeman" among speakers of Bunuba, Gooniyandi, and Kija, by and large replacing the autochthonous terms *mirdmirdmili, mirnmirdgali*, and *mernmerdkaleny*. It is also, I believe, frequently used by Wangkajunga speakers, instead of their own term *karrpilpayi*, and by speakers of the nearby and closely related Kukatja instead of their term *wayin-watji* (Peile 1997: 121). In the Dampier Land to Derby region, the Nyulnyulan *linyju* has wide currency, including in nearby Pama-Nyungan languages and the Worroran (northern Kimberley) language Unggumi. In Central Australia, Arrernte terms appear to have been extensively borrowed: the only terms listed by Hansen and Hansen (1979) for Pintupi/Luritja are the Arrernte borrowings *yirrkunytji* and *yurrkunytju*; likewise for the most common Western Warlpiri term in use today, *yurrkunyu* (David Nash and Mary Laughren, pers. comm.). In the southwest of Western Australia, the Nyungar term *manatj* is found as far away as Watjarri, traditionally spoken northeast of Geraldton (Douglas 1981).

Section 2 begins the body of the paper, discussing the main processes by which terms for "policeman" are constructed in Australian languages; see Map 1 for approximate locations of the languages referred to. The focus is on formal linguistic (lexical and grammatical) mechanisms. Following this, in section 3 I draw out some of the recurrent semantic themes. Section 4 concludes the paper with some comments on wider issues, terms for items associated with the police, and terms for "police" in languages from elsewhere. But before we begin, a caveat is in order. One must be cautious of presuming attitudinal affect, either positive or negative, simply on the basis of the affective value of the closest English gloss. For instance, to call police "cockatoos" in English would almost certainly convey a negative valuation; but it cannot be presumed that the same would be attached to the term in an Aboriginal language not, at least, without some evidence in terms of speaker's reactions. Nevertheless, as we will see, there are a few terms which are such that a positive or neutral value is improbable (e.g., a term such as "shit-eater" must surely convey negative attitudinal force).

2 Processes of Word Formation

There are three principal processes whereby terms for "policeman" are constructed in Aboriginal languages: (1) by lexical borrowing; (2) by extending the meaning of an existing word; and (3) by coining of a new lexical item, usually through morphological and syntactic processes applied to existing morphemes. We examine these three processes in order in the following subsections. It should be remarked, however, that there are cases for which it has not proved possible to determine the etymology and/or provenance of a term. Especially where only short wordlists are available which do not provide grammatical information it cannot easily be determined whether a form is analysable morphologically, and/or has other meanings as well. In rare cases etymological opacity may be due to the term being a pure invention as in the case of the English number word *googol* (i.e., 10^{100}):[3] hence the term "googol-formation."

2.1 Borrowings

All attested borrowed terms come from either a nearby Aboriginal language or from English. I have encountered no borrowings from other languages, such as Macassarese (the source of *balanda* "white person" and *rrupiya* "money" in Yolŋu

3 The term *googol* is the invention of a nine-year-old boy, nephew of mathematician Dr. Kasner, who coined it in about 1940 on being asked to think of a name for the number 1 with a hundred zeros following it. At the same time he suggested the term *googolplex* for the larger number ten to the googolth power. The term has stuck.