



**UNIVERSIDAD DE JAÉN**  
Facultad de Humanidades y Ciencias de la Educación

## Trabajo Fin de Grado

# Inglés australiano como variedad emergente del inglés

**Alumno/a:** Jorge Rivas Benjumea

**Tutor/a:** Prof. D. Ventura Salazar García  
**Dpto.:** Dpto. de Filología Hispánica

**Mayo, 2018**

# **Índice**

1. SUMMARY OF PAPER AND KEY WORDS (SPANISH AND ENGLISH).....	3
2. INTRODUCTION .....	4
3. BODY .....	5
3.1 BRIEF INTRODUCTION .....	5
3.2 PRESENCE OF ENGLISH IN AUSTRALIA .....	6
3.3 VARIETY AND PLURALITY OF ENGLISH.....	7
3.4 MAIN FEATURES OF AUSTRALIAN ENGLISH.....	8
3.4.1 RESOURCES FOR RESEARCH ON AusE (CORPORA).....	8
3.4.2 PHONOLOGICAL FEATURES.....	9
3.4.3 GRAMMATICAL FEATURES.....	17
3.4.4 LEXICON AND SEMANTICS.....	27
3.4.5 PRAGMATICS AND DISCOURSE.....	29
4. CONCLUSIONS.....	32
5. BIBLIOGRAPHY .....	33
6. APPENDIX .....	34

## 1. SUMMARY AND KEY WORDS (SPANISH AND ENGLISH)

<b>Resumen Castellano (máx. 150 palabras)</b>
Este ensayo explica las características más importantes del inglés australiano que lo diferencian de las demás variedades del inglés. Además, se explica el rol del inglés australiano en el mundo, cómo ha sido su evolución y su posible futuro.
<b>Palabras clave (max. 5)</b>
Inglés australiano, variedad, características.
<b>Abstract (max. 150 words)</b>
This paper will explain the main features of Australian English that makes it special from other varieties of English. Moreover, it will be seen the role of Australian English in the world of English, how has been its evolution and its possible future.
<b>Key words (max. 5)</b>
Australian English, variety, features.

## 2. INTRODUCTION

This essay<sup>1</sup> will be dealing with Australian English and its situation in the world of Englishes. We will try to give answers to several questions as what makes AusE special from other forms of English or which are its main features.

The main goal of this paper is to present the key and distinctive features of AusE, dividing them into some categories: phonetic and phonological, grammatical, lexical and semantic, and pragmatic features.

Apart from that, we will see a description of the current Australia and its geography, society and historical factors that have been relevant to AusE.

AusE also will be useful to see the role of English in the world and how it is evolving from a 'national' language from the United Kingdom to the rest of the world in the last decades as a 'global language.'

Finally, as a conclusion, I would like to mention how it seems to be the future of the English language in general, and the role of AusE within the world of Englishes in particular.

---

<sup>1</sup> This paper follows the citation standards of MLA (Modern Language Association) style.

### 3. BODY

#### 3.1 BRIEF INTRODUCTION

English is changing throughout the world and is becoming more and more present in the lives of L2 speakers. David Crystal discusses this aspect in his *English as a global language*. English is losing the right to be only British or American, and it is becoming international. It has become a global language and a *lingua franca* nowadays.

As it was said by John Adams in 1780: ‘English is destined to be in the next and succeeding centuries more generally the language of the world than Latin was in the last or French is in the present age.’ And eventually it is happening, and it is convenient to study why English has become the chosen language and which are the reasons that explain the privileged position that it occupies.

The rising of English is due to geographical-historical and socio-cultural factors. It all started as British imperialism grew since 16<sup>th</sup> century. Then, a series of circumstances made that English were ‘in the right place at the right time’ (Crystal, 2012). Some of these factors were: the growth of British Empire covering nearly a third of the Earth’s surface and its colonization, the terminology in technological advances, becoming an official language for international organizations (The UN, The Commonwealth, etc.). English also was the main medium in the media (the press, advertising, broadcasting, cinema, music), international travel and safety (Seaspeak and Airspeak), education and modern communication as the Internet.

So then, let us find out which role has occupied Australia in the history of English and how has evolved its own variety of English.

### 3.2 PRESENCE OF ENGLISH IN AUSTRALIA

Australia is the smallest continent, but it is the 6<sup>th</sup> bigger country in the world with 24 million inhabitants, where 15 million have English as their first language (L1) and 3,5 million as second language (L2). It is divided into six states and two minor territories (see map below).



Map 1. Political map of Australia

Nowadays, Australia has become a multiethnic society (more than 270 ethnic groups). It was colonized by James Cook in 1770, and from this time onwards, Britain established its first penal colony at Sydney. “By 1850 the population of Australia was about 400,000, and by 1900 nearly 4 million. The British Isles provided the main source of settlers, and thus the main influence on the language.” (Crystal, 2012). Many of them came from London and Ireland and features of Cockney and Irish accents are present today in AusE.

Then, as Collins and Blair (2002) suggest: “it is now common for linguists to distinguish AusE in its several varieties, from Aboriginal English and the other Englishes of Australia.” Leitner (1984) was the first to draw this distinction between AusE, English spoken by people born in Australia, and “English in Australia”, the English of the immigrant settlers and convicts.

“AusE is emerging from a forgotten, colonial variety to a more relevant dialect of English nowadays” (Crystal, 2012).

### 3.3 VARIETY AND PLURALITY OF ENGLISH

English is a plural language, we can find many varieties in the world of Englishes, Crystal (2012) describes as:

“the dialects we all recognize within our own country, except that they are on an international scale, applying to whole countries or regions. Instead of affecting mere thousands of speakers, as is typically the case with rural or urban regional dialects, they apply to millions.”

The case of Australia was not an exception, and the co-existence with other indigenous languages derived in a particular and unique variety of English. Some of its features were summarized by Collins (2014):

“its persistent and pervasive informality, politically incorrect and ironic humour, and its fluid heterogeneity where a range of styles, registers and social varieties merge into its texture.”

Another important factor dealing with plurality is the relationship between AusE and NZE. Both varieties of English have many features in common as some pronunciation and vocabulary (e.g. many hypocoristics forms seem to appear in both dialects). Thus, some scholars disagree in the origin of NZE. Some of them say it is a version of 19<sup>th</sup> century Cockney, other say it is a version of AusE English and other linguists state that is a developed, independent variety of English from the early Anglophone settlers in New Zealand.

Lauri Bauer (University of Wellington) concludes that the origin could be a mixture of the proposes, considering NZE as an independent variety of English, having been influenced by the proximity of AusE, but with its own features that make it one of the main Englishes in the inner circle.

### 3.4 MAIN FEATURES OF AUSTRALIAN ENGLISH

This section contains the main features of AusE and it is the most relevant part of the paper. It will show what are the main peculiarities of this variety of English in contrast with others but mainly, AmE and BrE. First, we will see the resource that has been used to elaborate this paper and different studies that have dealt with AusE in the last decades. Then, we will see the different features of AusE divided into phonology, grammar, lexis and pragmatics.

#### 3.4.1 RESOURCES FOR RESEARCH ON AUSE (CORPORA).

The first computed corpora are dated from the 1980s. The first corpus was the Melbourne-Surrey Corpus of newspapers editorials. It was a small corpus with 100,000 words. Then, as an attempt to create a more representative corpus, it was created the Australian Corpus of English (ACE) by Peters, Collins and Blair at Macquarie University in 1,986. The next important corpus was the Australian component of the International Corpus of English collection (ICE-AUS), led by Pam Peters at Macquarie University. Each ICE corpora has a total amount of one million words, 40% spoken and 60% written.

Other Australian corpora are Ozcorp and AUST-GRAM. Ozcorp is useful for lexicogrammar, and AUST-GRAM is a valuable resource for low frequency items in contrast to ICE-AUS and ACE which are limited to higher frequency items.

In this paper we are going to take examples from ICE-AUS and ACE corpora. ICE-AUS for spoken and ACE for written samples.

### 3.4.2 PHONOLOGICAL FEATURES.

It is a known fact that there are several differences in AusE from other varieties of English by the pronunciation of vowel sounds, as well as some consonantal sounds and other phonetic factors.

The first analysis that will be provided refers to changes in vowel and consonantal sounds, after that the intonation and finally the three types of AusE (Cultivated Australian, General Australian, and Broad Australian).

But as it was easier to distinguish the peculiarities of each type of AusE, Felicity Cox and Sallyanne Palethorpe (2001) point out that they are not discrete entities as there is considerable phonetic overlap between them. They coincide with Blair (1993) in this idea, who remarks that “there is probably no other inhabited landmass of such a size that exhibits as little regional variation as the Australian mainland.”

- Vowel change.

Mitchell and Delbridge (1965) noted three types of accents in AusE depending on how individuals pronounced the six vowel sounds that we find in HAY, HE, HIGH, HOE, HOW and WHO.

Sweet (1888) proposed 3 tendencies for vowel change: short vowels tend to lowering; long vowels tend to raising; and a tendency for backing. Later, Labov (1994, 1996) has gone further, as well as Bauer (1979) and Matthews (1981) in relation to the Australasian English vowels’ movement. However, phonetic change in AusE has not been a target for studies.

In this paper, we are going to take into account the result of two different approaches to the different studies that have dealt with AusE phonology. A diachronic analysis, where “two sets of data from socially similar people at each end of a time span” (data collected by Bernard (1967) with only males), and on the other hand, a synchronic analysis, where “data is collected from a population and examined for age effects (data selected from ANDOSL with male and female speakers).”

The result of the diachronic analysis could be biased as it was only studied in male speakers.

This is the summary of changes from the 1960s to 1990s:

- Raised /ɪ/
- Lowered and retracted /æ/
- Raised /ɒ/
- Raised /ʊ/

- Raised and fronted /u/
- Fronted /ɜ/
- Fronted /eɪ/
- Retracted /aɪ/
- Lowered /aʊ/
- Fronted /oʊ/

“These results strongly suggest that vowel changes have occurred during the past 40 years and that many of these changes follow patterned relationships.” (Cox et al. 2001).

In the synchronic analysis the results show that there are some differences between age groups for certain vowels.

- For both males and females
  - o /æ/ lowering
  - o /oʊ/ retracting and fronting
  - o /eɪ/ lowering
- For females
  - o /a/ lowering
  - o /i/ fronting
  - o /ʊ/ lowering and fronting
  - o /aɪ/ lowering
  - o /ɔɪ/ lowering and fronting
- For males
  - o /aʊ/ lowering

In this analysis we find more age effects for females than for males, and “supporting the contention that females are more progressive with regard to some types of change” (Labov 1990).

As we have seen in the results of both analysis, it is obvious that vowels in AusE have suffered some changes throughout history. Some scholars have discussed about the influence of NZE in AusE vowel sounds. It is true that both varieties share some features such as the fronting of /u/, /ɜ/ and /ɔʊ/ but they can also be found in other varieties, hence, these changes cannot be attributed only to NZE.

Other major changes characteristic of AusE are the lowering of /æ/ and /eɪ/ and fronting of /oʊ/. Labov (1972) suggests that the lowering of /æ/ is due to sociolinguistic hypercorrection. Many words in AusE are accepted using either /a/ or /æ/, in words like ‘dance’ or ‘chance’,

although the sound /æ/ is more common. In fact, /a/ sound is considered by some Australians as pedant or snobbish.

- Consonantal change.
  - Reduction of /t/.

The reducing (also known as lenition or weakening) behaviour of the consonant /t/ is a distinctive feature of AusE and some other varieties of English. In this varieties, and focusing in AusE, we find aspirated and unaspirated variants (allophones) of /t/. According to Laura Tollfree (2001), “aspirated variants are typically found preceding a stressed vowel (for example, *tar* [tha:]). Aspiration is produced after the tongue tip contact is released and before the vocal folds begin vibrating again for voicing for a following vowel. Unaspirated variants lack the puff of air, and are found following [s] (for example, *star* [sta:]). Variants preceding an unstressed vowel are either weakly aspirated or unaspirated (for example, *water*).”

This study of consonantal sound /t/ found out, in addition to plosive /t/, a high quantity of cases in which reduced forms are used in everyday AusE. Some examples were found in fricated and fricative variants of /t/ (i.e. *great*, *beautiful*) although they are used by only elderly people. Tapped (i.e. *get up*, *bitter*, *mutter*) and glottalised forms (i.e. *eaten*, *button*) were the more numerous categories in which we find examples of reduced forms.

- Vocalization of dark *l*.

According to D'Onghia (1995), it is a feature of Australians, mostly in South Australia at a rate of 40% of the population. Other important cities like Sydney, Hobart or Adelaide are the next most frequent places in which we find this tendency.

Roughly speaking, a dark *l* is produced when an /l/ sound where the back of the tongue is raised lightly (Cambridge Dictionary).

Borowsky (2001) has studied the most common cases in which a dark *l* is pronounced. 'The coda cluster environment (e.g. *milk*) is the most likely position in which vocalization will occur, followed almost equally by the syllabic positions (e.g. *pickle* or *tickle*) and coda *l* (e.g. *fool* or *full*).' Toni Borowsky concluded explaining that 'vocalization of *l* in AusE can be described as a response to two things: adjacent backness of both consonants, and vowels, in combination with syllable position.'

- Other minor changes can be noticed as well.

In this case, we find some realizations of /θ/ as [f] and /ð/ as [v]. According to Bradley (2008: 119), Sydney is the commonest place where we see these changes.

- Intonation.

Australian English's intonation has also been studied in the last decades and it has an important and distinctive variable: the so-called "Australian questioning intonation", or AQI.

It is rather used in declarative than interrogative clauses and began to appear in the 1970s. Below we can see a text as an example of AQI, taken from Guy and Vonwiller (1989: 23), where the questioning intonation (AQI) falls in the words in italics:

Oh, occasionally Mrs L used to blow up kids when they hadn't done anything. And once, a girl and I were walking down the stairs, and she touched a doorknob or something, 'cause she didn't realise what was *wrong with it* / And it fell *off* / and she got the cane for *breaking it* / And I knew very well she *hadn't broken it* / And I tried to tell the teacher. The teacher was really mean, you know.

*Text 1. Text with AQI examples.*

Collins (2014) agrees that AQI is more widely used by members of the working class than the middle class, more by teenagers than adults and more by females than males. According to Guy and Vonwiller (1989), the attitudes related to this intonation, uncertainty and deference, are a derivation of social stereotypes attributed to a determined social class. Allan (1984) claims that these attitudes are clearly perceived by AQI, but it is not enough to explain its linguistic function. Guy and Vonwiller agree with Horvath (1985) that AQI is more decisive in narratives and descriptions than, for example, opinions, considering that self-effacement or humility is not necessary or transcendent. Furthermore, it has been observed that AQI is most commonly used in conversation between friends than in formal contexts. According to Collins (2014), "here is general agreement among linguists that the function of AQI is to seek verification of the listener's comprehension."

- Three accents or dialects in Australia:

1. Cultivated Australian.

It is not very different from the BBC or Queen’s English spoken in southern Britain, is spoken regularly by only a small minority of people (Maier et al. 2012). Its origin is linked to education, under the influence of RP. It was developed in southeast Australia and is more common among women than men (Leitner, 2004).

Lexical Sets	RP	Cultivated Aus E
BATH	ɑ:	ɑ:
NURSE	ɜ:	ɜ:
FLEECE	i:	ij
PALM	ɑ:	ɑ:
FACE	eɪ	eɪ
GOAT	əʊ	õʊ
GOOSE	u:	ʊʊ
PRICE	aɪ	aɪ
MOUTH	aʊ	aʊ
NEAR	ɪə	ɪə
SQUARE	ɛə	eə
START	ɑ:	ɑ:
CURE	ʊə	ʊə, ɔ:, u:ə, u:

Table 2. Comparison between pronunciation of vowels in RP and Cultivated AusE.

2. General Australian.

It is the variety spoken by over half the population, is a still careful but much more relaxed kind of speech (Maier et al. 2012). According to Yallop (2003), it became the more popular accent between 1870 and 1890.

Lexical Sets	RP	General Aus E
BATH	ɑ:	ɑ:
NURSE	ɜ:	ɜ:
FLEECE	i:	+i
PALM	ɑ:	ɑ:
FACE	eɪ	ʌɪ
GOAT	əʊ	ʌɪ
GOOSE	u:	ʊɪ
PRICE	aɪ	ɒɪ
MOUTH	aʊ	æo
NEAR	ɪə	ɪə, i:ə, i:
SQUARE	ɛə	eə
START	ɑ:	ɑ:
CURE	ʊə	ʊə, ɔ:, u:ə, u:

Table 3. Comparison between pronunciation of vowels in RP and General AusE.

### 3. Broad Australian.

It is the most heavily accented variety. Broad Australian, the variety most people immediately recognize as Australian English, is not dissimilar to the Cockney dialect spoken in some parts of London; this is because many of the earliest white settlers in Australia were convicts and their jailers, and came from southeastern England (Maier et al. 2012). It has wider and longer diphthongs than General Australian and particular features like the pronunciation of the pronoun *you* as /jə/ and the –ing suffix as /ɪŋ/.

Lexical Sets	RP	Broad Aus E
BATH	ɑ:	ɑ:
NURSE	ɜ:	ɜ:
FLEECE	i:	ə:ɪ
PALM	ɑ:	ɑ:
FACE	eɪ	ʌ:ɪ, a:ɪ
GOAT	əʊ	ʌ:ʊ, a:ʊ
GOOSE	u:	ə:ʊ
PRICE	aɪ	ɒ:ɪ
MOUTH	aʊ	ɛ:ɒ
NEAR	ɪə	ɪə, i:ə, i:
SQUARE	ɛə	eə
START	ɑ:	ɑ:
CURE	ʊə	ʊə, ɔ:, u:ə, u:

Table 4. Comparison between pronunciation of vowels in RP and Broad AusE.

### 3.4.3 GRAMMATICAL FEATURES.

Grammatical features of AusE will be divided into morphology and verbs and verb phrases, being the most important aspects in this category.

#### 3.4.3.1 MORPHOLOGY.

- Irregular verbs.

Irregularization of verb forms is a normal process which suffer some varieties of a language when it is developed far from the area where it was brought. AusE was not an exception and it was showed that in some cases differ from BrE in this respect.

First of all, we should divide English verbs into 4 groups, from regular to more irregular verbs (Table 1). This division will help to realize which verb groups have been historically altered by the speakers and which have not.

<< Regularization 2-part verbs		Irregularization >> 3-part verbs	
Group A -ed (pt and pp)	Group B Other past forms for pt and pp	Group C pt as -ed plus irreg. pp	Group D Irreg. pt and irreg. pp
<i>Earn/earned</i>	<i>Build/built</i>	<i>Prove/proved/proven</i>	<i>Begin/began/begun</i>
<i>Help/helped</i>	<i>Bring/brought</i>	<i>Sew/sewed/sewn</i>	<i>Drive/drove/driven</i>
<i>Like/liked</i>	<i>Fling/flung</i>	<i>Show/showed/shown</i>	<i>Bite/bit/bitten</i>

Table 1.

- Frequency of nonstandard past verb forms used with Group D.

Verbs like *drink*, *ring*, *shrink*, *spring*, etc. and their “nonstandard past forms seem to be used quite unselfconsciously by some Australian speakers and writers, as acceptable within their speech communities.” (Pam Peters 2009: 21)

For example, in sentences like:

Ex. ‘It was you **rung** up, remember.’

Ex. ‘Oh I had the impression... she **begun** the whole thing.’

Another case, is the avoidance of the form *drunk*, past participle of the verb *to drink*, maybe because of the taboo significance related to the adjective. They will use instead *drank*.

- Frequency of standard *-ed* and nonstandardized *-t* for verbs with variable past forms.

“The southern hemisphere varieties are more strongly in favour of the *-t* forms overall, especially AusE, and they contrast with the BrE pattern in which the *-ed* forms are preferred.” For example, verb forms like *burnt*, *learnt* or *spelt*, instead of their counterparts *-ed* forms *burned*, *learned* and *spelled*, respectively.

E.g. ‘We **learnt** on the job.’

- Sociolinguistic variation.

A survey was made to ask people from different ages to choose a verb form out of a nonstandard or standard verb past forms. Younger people selected forms like *shrunk*, *sunk*, *sprung*, *learnt* or *spelt*, and the higher it was the age of the survey respondents, the less they use these forms, preferring more traditional endings (*-a-* for *-u-* and *-ed* for *-t*).

Peters stated that “the youngest group should more freely endorse the nonstandard forms is perfectly explicable, because they (especially the under 30s) are probably more attuned to oral/visual culture than reading books for pleasure, and may therefore have more limited exposure to written standard.”

As a conclusion, we can say that AusE can tolerate nonstandard forms in verbs like *ring*, *spring* or *shrink*, and a greater use of the nonstandardized *-t* suffix for the past forms of verbs such as *burn*, *leap*, *spell*.

- Pronoun forms.

The distribution of some pronoun case forms are going to be compared between AusE and British and American English.

- ‘*Me* instead of *I* in coordinate subjects is one the morphosyntactic features most widely attested in this survey’ (Kortmann and Szmrecsanyi (2004: 1154)).
  - Also used as a possessive instead of *my*, found only in casual speech among youngest speakers. E.g. ‘**Me** bloody finger is broken.’
- Walshe (1972: 277) ‘*Myself* seems to be as much used as *me* by Australians in sentences like ‘*They have issued the invitation to the secretary and myself (me)*’ or ‘*One autumn morning saw Gordon and myself (me) cruising across the bay*’. This could be because they appear in contexts where lone pronouns tend to surface in their accusative forms. (Heidi Quinn)
- Also it is important to note the aspect of self-correction. Mainly, in informal conversation, this happens when changing from nominative to accusative and the opposite. E.g. ‘**He him** and the brood are all going to Queensland.’ ‘**And then her she** and Stephen...’
- Demonstrative *them* and *us* have special cases in AusE as well. Wales (1996: 100) notes that in informal English, a 1<sup>st</sup> person plural pronoun followed by a noun phrase often surfaces as *us*, even when the whole construction appears as the subject of a finite clause. E.g. ‘*I believe that if us women get in there we can make...*’  
Nevertheless, Pawley (1996: 100) and Pawley (2004: 635) submit that this use of *us* is less stigmatized than demonstrative *them*. E.g. ‘**Them** men were here, Grandad.’
- Use of *youse*. Used to refer to a group of people like ‘you all’ or ‘you guys.’ E.g. ‘*Why don’t youse two work together?*’

So far, these variations in pronoun forms and cases are not very frequent, even in conversations, AusE is the dialect that includes more instances of these variations.

- Hypocorism in AusE.

According to the OED, *hypocoristic* is defined as an adjective ‘‘of the nature of a pet-name; pertaining to the habit of using endearing or euphemistic terms.’’ Here we find these alternative words and names, but in some cases we see examples of shortening, clippies, abbreviations or truncations. Then, Simpson (2001) suggests a solution:

‘Since there are several means for creating these alternative forms, we cannot use names like ‘clippies’. We adopt with some reluctance the label ‘hypocoristic’ which is more general, if less transparent.’

Australia is famous for creating new words from existing ones by adding some suffixes. It is most common to find them in casual speech and informal writing. NZE also shares this propensity for hypocoristic forms. Some authors have studied this phenomenon of creating new words in AusE. This data comes from Jane Simpson (University of Sydney) and David Nash’s observations.

Simpson (2001) argues that hypocoristics carry two functions: ‘‘creating a new word, and creating the feeling that comes from sharing a common expression.’’ Wierzbicka (1991) claims that it is ‘‘the good humour, jocular cynicism, love of informality and tendency to knock things down to size’’ what make Australian people to create this hypocoristic forms.

Dealing with formation, although some of them are created in a spontaneous way, we can see some regularity in the formation of hypocoristic forms. Most of them are created from one syllable of the base form of the word and adding a vowel or other ending to it.

Different vowels could be:

- /i/ written ‘y,’ ‘ie’ or ‘ey.’ E.g. *blowie* ‘blowfly.’
- /oo/ written ‘o’ or ‘oh.’ E.g. *journo* ‘journalist.’ Particularly common in AusE.
- /ə/ written ‘-er’ or ‘-a.’ E.g. *acca* ‘cadet who enjoys academic work.’

Other endings include *-s* or *-as* written ‘-ers’ or ‘-ars,’ e.g. *preggers* ‘pregnant’. In some cases, we can find a sound change as in *Aussie* [z] from Australian [s].

Nouns represent the majority of hypocoristics forms, among them, concrete nouns occur more often than abstract nouns. Although there are some examples like *foggy* ‘the foggiest idea’, *hissy* ‘hysterical fit’, *tantie* ‘tantrum’.

The most common hypocoristic form that we find in Simpson’s data is words ending in *-ie*. That is directly linked with baby talk (e.g. *tummy* ‘stomach’, *horsie* ‘horse’), but in AusE is common among adults as well. This suffix is also common when creating a noun from a verb, e.g. *floaties* ‘tea leaves in tea, or swimming aids’ or *bities* ‘biting insects’.

Some hypocoristics are formed from different parts of a phrase. They tend to abbreviate one part of the phrase or compound while the rest remains the same, for example *dual occy* ‘dual occupancy block’, or *half squarie* ‘prostitute’ (coming from *squarie* ‘a young woman’). Hypocoristic adjectives and verbs are much less common. E.g. *bosker* ‘fine’, *plakky* ‘plastic’, *aggro* ‘aggressive’, *comfy* ‘comfortable’, *fantazzo* ‘fantastic’, *para* ‘paralytic’ (i.e. drunk), *sarky* ‘sarcastic’, *shonky* ‘shady or dishonest’, *maco* ‘immaculate’, etc.

There are many types of hypocoristic forms because they are used in every register and situation of daily life.

- The most common type is place-names.

This list includes alternant names for places used in Australia like countries (Oz ‘Australia’), states (*Tazzie: Tasmania*), towns (*Adders: Adelaide*), schools (*Stannies: St Stanislaus School*), buildings (*Wenty: Wentworth Building*) or even pubs (*The Wello: The Wellington*) (Simpson, 2001).

This use of hypocoristics varies within regions and social groups. Not all Australians use this type of names.

According to Simpson (2001), we can divide hypocoristics of place-names into four groups depending on the syllables:

- o One syllable template: *Briz* ‘Brisbane’, *Slens* ‘St Leonards’.
- o Two syllable template: *Alice/the Alice* ‘Alice Springs’, *Palmie* ‘Palm Beach’, *Murbah* ‘Murwillumbah’, *Mordie* ‘Mordillo’, *Mackyville* ‘Marrickville’.
- o Three syllable template: *Maroochy Tower* ‘Maroochydore Control Tower’.
- o Place-names in *the*. Simpson (2001) describes their origin from ‘the use of a topographic descriptor to substitute for a compound name which includes that topographic descriptor.’ It includes examples like *the Port* ‘Port Adelaide’, *the Mount* ‘Mpunt Gambier’, *the Creek* ‘Julia Creek’.

- Rural domain.

Many shared terms between Australia and New Zealand of rural domain, used by shepherds, shearers, sheep-breeders, etc. (Australia is among the world's largest and most efficient producers of commercial livestock and a major exporter of red meat and livestock according to Meat & Livestock Australia (MLA)).

Examples: *woollie/woolly* and *placer* ‘animal that stays in one location’, *bushie* ‘someone who lives in the bush’, *beefier* ‘a beast killed for home consumption’, *chopper* ‘pig killed for 2<sup>nd</sup> grade pork products’.

- War.

“Hypocorism flourished during World War I and II among New Zealand and Australian troops”, (Bardsley and Simpson (2009)) creating many new words that have been maintained until now.

Examples:

*Prive* ‘private soldier’, *pozzy* ‘position for shelter or firing in a trench’, *bum-brusher* ‘officer’s servant’, *cold-footer* ‘coward’, *drillie* ‘drill sergeant’.

- Food and lifestyle.

*Cab Savs*, the *Chardies*, the *savs*, the *savvy*, the *Eggs Benny*.

- Business and brand names.

*Beamer* ‘BMW’, a *Rangy* ‘Range Rover’, *DJs* ‘David Jones’, *blunnies* ‘Blundstone boots’, *Bundy* ‘Bundaberg rum’ and *Inter* ‘International tractor’.

- Religious groups.

*Metho* ‘Methodist’, *Proddie/Proddo* ‘Protestant’, *Presbie/Presbo* ‘Presbyterians’; *Catho / Caffo*, *rock crunchie/(rock) chopper* ‘Catholic’.

- Trade unions and political parties.

*Libs* ‘liberal party’, *Missos* ‘the Miscellaneous Workers Union’, *Nats* ‘National Party’.

- Acronyms for institutions or government departments.

*DEST* ‘Department of Education Science and Training’, *Deefat* ‘DFAT’ (Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade).

Lastly, hypocoristics are used in every register but mostly in slang, e.g. *pissy* ‘piss poor’, *glads/gladdies* ‘glad rags’

### 3.4.4.2 VERBS AND VERBS PHRASES

- Modal auxiliaries and quasi-modals.

In this chapter, we analyse the modals and quasi-modals of English, and their frequency of occurrence and their similarities to modal auxiliaries in AusE.

We can find two groups: the first group that deals with necessity and obligation (*have to, have got to, need to, must, mustn't, should* and *need*) and the second group expressing prediction and volition (*be going to, want to, will, and shall*).

Mair and Leech (2006) show a rise in the frequency of the quasi-modals in BrE and AmE. AmE is the variety leading this rise of quasi-modals, and the decline of modals as *must, should* and *need*. Whereas AusE is the second most innovative variety.

According to Peter Collins (2009) this study shows the evidence of the rise of quasi-modals and fall of the modals. He states that AusE is more influenced by American trends but we have to be cautious, because in fact, AusE and Australians ‘may be interpreted as dissociating themselves both from the progressive and rapidly changing practices of the Americans, and from the conservative and slowly changing practices of the British.’

- Have to

These findings suggest that at least one important factor driving the popularity of *have to* in AusE, BrE and NZE may be Americanization. This study from Peter Collins (2009) shows “*have to* to be considerably more popular in speech than in writing, contrasting strikingly with *must*.” This could be because of the influence of AmE, i.e. Americanization, and as Mair and Leech (2006) suggest, another reason could be “colloquialization”.

Ex. *You **have to** use your imagination.*

In this example we can see that *have to* is distinguishable from *must*, “which is more readily used with strong subjective force, enabling the speaker to assert power and authority over the addressee”

*Have to* seem to be a more “democratic” option for speakers and less authoritative than *must*.

- Have got to

Both *have got* and *have got to* are similar in terms of semantics but are different with respect to syntax and stylistic distribution. *Have got to* shows most of the formal features of modal auxiliaries: no non-tensed forms, unable to co-occur with modals, operator functions, and inversion with the subject. On the contrary, *have to* does not share these features, although *have to* is clearly more popular than *have got to* in all dialects of English analyzed here.

Collins states that “some linguists have noted that it is becoming more common in conversation. This is showed in surveys where BrE and AusE had the largest number of examples.”

- Need to

*Need to* has seen an increase in its use especially in American writing and a decline of the form *need* in British writing. Once again AmE is leading this change, right after it we find AusE and lastly BrE, being the most conservative variety.

Collins suggests that “they may be felt by contemporary English users to convey a less authoritarian tone when used deontically”, in contrast to *have to* and *have got to*.

Ex. [...] *the accused **need** not persuade you of anything and he is presumed to be innocent...*

- Be going to

*Be going to* is also more frequent in the American corpus than in the rest, “suggesting that Americanization may be a factor in its growing popularity.” *Be going to* is way more used in speech over writing.

Its use is normally attributed to emphasize the immediacy of any event, whereas dynamic *will* and *shall* tend to express certain “willingness.”

Ex. *OK so this one obviously has got its body wall cut up so I'm not **gonna** do another one now this afternoon but you can look at this one.*

- Want to

AmE is also here leading the tendency for *want to* with respect to other corpora, and preferred in speech over writing, although colloquialization has played an important role introducing more and more *want to* in contemporary written English.

Collins (2009) remarks that “semantically, *want to* is predominantly a dynamic modal expression.” We can compare it with the meaning of dynamic *will* where in its past form (*wanted to*) can be paraphrased by “was willing to”:

Ex. “*My brother **wanted to** live my life for me*”

Finally, Collins (2009) states that “*want to* is undergoing auxiliarization/modalization with the incorporation of the infinitival *to* into a compound often written as *wanna* in informal styles.”

- Mustn't

It has been evidenced the existence or at least the free use of the form *mustn't* in AusE in its epistemic sense. In terms of this, AusE shares this use with Irish English and some regional varieties of English used mainly in the North of England. This cause can be attributed to the historical origins of English in Australia with the occupation of Irish prisoners to inhabit this land.

Nevertheless, there is some discrepancy about the acceptability of sentences including this modal form. It is true that we can find examples of *mustn't* in ACE but not many.

- Conclusion.

The main conclusions derived from this study is that AmE is leading the increase of popularity of the quasi-modals and the decline of the modals. Although it is interesting to see how quasi-modals are taking relevance in speech, but modals are still surviving in writing, mainly because of their stylistic factors.

Collins (2009) conclude:

“Australians seemingly not prepared to completely differentiate themselves from their more conservative New Zealand “cousins” and British “parents” on the one hand, and yet not prepared to yield to the seductive linguistic might of the Americans on the other.”

- Perfect and preterite.

John Elsness (University of Oslo) was in charged to study the use of perfect and preterite in AusE, and showed that present perfect represents a wide use in Australian English. Elsness talks about the occurrence of the present perfect in a sequence of past-time references.

*Ex. A man **has been injured** when the tanker he was driving crashed into ...*

It was in the magazine *Australian Style* where by means of a survey (see table below), people chose which tense was the most adequate verb tense for them, either preterite or present perfect.

Sentences		Results
Ia	<i>That problem has been solved long ago.</i>	67 (12.1%)
Ib	<i>That problem was solved long ago.</i>	486 (87.9%)
IIa	<i>I know Joanna is around somewhere – Alex has just spoken to her.</i>	327 (56.1%)
IIb	<i>I know Joanna is around somewhere – Alex just spoke to her.</i>	256 (43.9%)
IIIa	<i>You speak remarkably good French. Have you ever lived in France?</i>	461 (81.3%)
IIIb	<i>You speak remarkably good French. Did you ever live in France?</i>	106 (18.7%)
IVa	<i>Have you told them the news yet?</i>	497 (89.1%)
IVb	<i>Did you tell them the news yet?</i>	61 (10.9%)

Table 1. Sentences tested in feedback column of Australian Style. (Peters (2009: 107)

Elsness (2009) inferred that:

“The respondents treated constructions I and II very differently, with *long ago* and *just*, respectively. With the former construction there is an overwhelming majority for the preterite, with the latter there is a much smaller majority favouring the present perfect. Both adverbials express a vaguely defined past time, but with a very marked difference in distance from the deictic zero-point. It might also be suggested that construction II signals a temporal orientation towards present time.”

As a conclusion, we can state that preterite is gaining ground to the present perfect. “AusE places themselves at the high end of the scale as far as the frequency of the present perfect is concerned” (Elsness 2009).

In written language we find that the trend for present perfect is higher towards the present time, whereas in texts orientated towards past time this trend was lower.

In spoken language the present perfect ratio doubled the one of preterite. There are two main reasons for Elsness:

- (i) present time seem to be more common in most kinds of spoken texts;
- (ii) the use of the present perfect may be considered more liberal in varieties of AusE, therefore they can be characterized as colloquial, informal.

#### 3.4.4 LEXICON AND SEMANTICS.

AusE is maybe best known for its distinctive pronunciation and vocabulary (Australianisms). "These are words that are either use exclusively in Australia or have a special meaning there." For example, AusE is also called Aussie English or *Ozzie*.

It is frequent to find shortened words and names. There are different suffixes as *-y* or *-ie* (*mozzie*: mosquito; *footie*: football; *polie*: politician), *-o* or *-oh* (*arvo*: afternoon; *lingo*: language; *smoko*: smoking break). Some words ending in *-o* may sound disrespectful and be used for insults.

In terms of origin and structure and according to Maier et al. (2012), Australianisms fall into six categories:

1. Words from Aboriginal languages.

Another remarkable feature of AusE in its vocabulary is the influence of aboriginal languages which were spoken before the first English arrived and conquered that land. Every language vocabulary is delimited by its context and part of the land in which people lives.

We find words like *kangaroo*, *koala*, *wombat*, *brumby*, *kookaburra*, *galah*, *barramundi*, *bunyip*, etc. (animals) or *Kataniing*, *Corrigin*, *Kalgoorlie* (cities from Western Australia). Other words such as *boomerang*, *corroboree*, *jackeroo*, etc.

2. Extensions from pre-existing senses.

Examples like *bush* for natural vegetation, *station* a garrison, colonial outpost, or ranch.

3. Novel compounds.

Examples like *bushman* (someone skilled in traversing the bush), *bushranger* (an armed bandit), *convict overseer* (a convict appointed to supervise other convicts) or *stockman* (someone employed to tend livestock).

4. Novel fixed phrases.

*Black bream*, *black swan*, *red ash*, *red cedar*, *white box*, *white cockatoo*, *wild spinach*.

5. Coinage.

*Emancipist* (a freed convict), *go slow* (a form of industrial protest in which employees work to rule) or *woop-woops* (remote country).

6. Words with greater currency in Australia than elsewhere include new applications of words from British regional dialects.

*Dinkum* (reliable, genuine), *dunny* (an outside toilet), *larrikin* (a hooligan) or *wowser* (a killjoy).

This vocabulary is collected in the *Dictionary of Australian English* (AND), edited by W.S. Ramson in 1988. It is the first dictionary based on the contributions of AusE to the English language.

Another feature of AusE is the habitual use of swearing and vulgar language. “In most cases, this appears not to be gratuitous profanity, but rather to reflect the lack of gentility, the rugged character and the level of education of the first settlers (convicts, stockmen, etc.)” (Maier et al. 2012), in contrast with the well-mannered and polite character of British English for example.

That is why we usually find expressions like ‘bloody,’ ‘damn’ and even ‘fuck’ in conversations because their meaning is different from the one that the rest of English speakers have, it has become devalued in meaning, as noted by Allan and Burridge (2009: 385), “there has been a marked increase in Australian’s acceptance of swearwords in public”.

Not only the familiarity with swearing is remarkable, but also their creativity to design new expressions of this type. Probably, linked with the trace of the early settlers who were convicts.

The functions of this speech are discussed by Collins (2014) and Seal (1999): abusive function to insult and derogate (e.g. *shithead*, *shitkicker*, *bullshitter*, *arsehole*, *smartarse*, *ugly as a shithouse rat*, *silly as a chook with its head cut off*, etc.); to reinforce in-group solidarity (e.g. use of expression ‘you bastard’ for non-angry or jocular contexts) or stylistic function (i.e. use of *bloody* to intensify the conversation).

### 3.4.5 PRAGMATICS AND DISCOURSE.

Dealing with discourse features we find some exclusive items to AusE just as Final-*but*, discourse markers *like* and *yeah-no* or discourse quotatives.

- Final-*but*

Studies by Mulder and Thompson (2008) and Mulder, Thompson and Penry-Williams (2009) showed that Final *but* has become a “fully developed” discourse and connective particle.

Its origin could be the result of immigrants through colonization from the British Isles to the southern hemisphere. Ending a sentence with *but*, it is also a feature of Irish English, dialects of Scots English and varieties of north-eastern England. This could mean that the origin of Final *But* comes from Irish English, and reinforced by Scots English and north-eastern English varieties.

It is the equivalent of the standard *though* and typically associated with working or lower class speech.

Mulder and Thompson (2008) distinguish two types of Final *But*:

- Final Hanging *But*. Present in AmE and AusE. This type leaves an implication “hanging” and invites the hearer to infer what it is and to continue with the interaction.

*Ex. Didier makes his money by going to Atlantic City but- Ahh, incredible.*

- Final Particle *But*. It is predominantly found in AusE. It is not only an implication “hanging”, it is a fully-developed particle with contrastive content that closes a construction.

*Ex. You don't stay there for too long but.*

*Ex. I don't know if I was brilliant but.*

According to Mulder, Thompson and Williams (2009), both types have two essential features: they end an intonation unit (IU) and they end a turn. Mulder et al. conclude that this particle indexes ‘Australianness’, with ‘the fact that it is the focus of folklinguistic comment also supports the idea that it has social meaning in contemporary AusE.’

- Discourse markers: *like*

Jim Miller (2009) analyzed the various discourse functions of *like*. It is used by speakers of every age, sex and social class. He divided three types according to the position of *like* in the clause.

- Clause-initial *like*. It highlights clauses and phrases, and exemplifies previous statements. Only in spoken language.

Ex. *'I think the idea of fired human imaginations was left up to family and friends that **like** that was a personal thing uh and [...]*'

- Clause-medial *like*. It is possibly the most familiar of the three types and highlights phrases and their information. Also, it gives additional rhetorical and dramatic force. It can be substituted by *for example* or *that is*.

Ex. *'He had beautiful skin, really beautiful skin, **like** really tanned and he had a little tattoo on his arm, on his arm.'*

- Clause-final *like*. It anticipates objections, and provide and ask for explanations. It is the least common and is used by speakers producing complex language and discussing complex topics according to Miller (2009).

Ex. BS: *yeah tricky, isn't it?*

AC: *and also you don't want to sort of overstep their privacy **like**.*

- *Yeah-no.*

Burridge and Florey (2002) claimed a relatively new discourse marker: *yeah-no*. Its main function is that of removing any possibility of contradiction in negative responses. They suggest that it is used by middle-aged speakers.

Ex. ‘*He is really a good kid (...) he just comes over and we spoil him rotten. Yeah-no he’s a good kid.*’

Apart from this and according to Burridge and Florey (2002) and Collins (2014), *yeah-no* also presents more functions: it represents the preference for agreement and compromise, serves to maintain discourse cohesion and speaker rapport, and finally it softens and reduces the force of an utterance, reinforcing conversational solidarity.

- Discourse quotatives.

Examined in Winter (2002), *be like* has entered into the discourse quotative system of AusE, chiefly used to teenagers. It faces opposition with other expressions as *go*, *say*, and the zero form. This implementation of *be like* in AusE (also used in AmE, CaE and BrE) is constrained by such factors as the expression of solidarity and the contiguity of zero forms (Collins, 2014).

#### 4. CONCLUSIONS

As a conclusion I would like to present a reflection on the identity of AusE as an emerging variety of English. To start with, AusE has been considered a less relevant variety of English than for example, BrE or AmE, and devaluated, seen as a jocular type of English. With the passage of the time this view has been becoming less powerful, but today there are signs for the loss of credit of these varieties like AusE. According to Deldridge (2001) and Koch et al. (2014), Australians did not begin to feel proud and to develop a positive attitude to AusE until the 1940s, and still during the 1970s they had the dilemma over the choice of the national anthem. The last trends indicate that more than half of Australians prefer AusE over BrE or AmE, according to Bradley et al. in 1995.

Therefore, the future of English is likely to have ‘multidialectism’ as discussed in Crystal (2012), or even multilingualism.

Probably one day, we will not have English as a *lingua franca* as nowadays, and it would derive into many different languages with few features in common. But without a doubt, Australian English will be as important as any language or variety in the world, and worthy to study because of its own and unique peculiarities.

## 5. BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Blair, D. and Collins, P. *English in Australia*. Amsterdam & Philadelphia. John Benjamins, 2001.
- Crystal, D. *English as a global language*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2012. Second Edition.
- Hay, Jennifer, et al. *New Zealand English*, Edinburgh University Press, 2008.
- Jupp, James. *The English in Australia*, Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Koch, H. & Nordlinger, R. *The Languages and Linguistics of Australia: A Comprehensive Guide*, De Gruyter, Inc., 2014.
- Leitner, G. and Malcolm, I.G. *The Habitat of Australia's Aboriginal Languages: Past, Present and Future*, De Gruyter, Inc., 2008
- Leitner, G. *Australian English - The National Language*. New York. De Gruyter, 2013.
- Offord, Baden, et al. *Inside Australian Culture: Legacies of Enlightenment Values*, Anthem Press, 2014.
- Peters P., Collins P., & Smith A. *Comparative Studies in Australian and New Zealand English: Grammar and beyond*. Amsterdam & Philadelphia. John Benjamins, 2009.
- Siemund, Peter, et al. *The Amazing World of Englishes: A Practical Introduction*, De Gruyter, 2012.

## 6. APPENDIX

### A) Further examples of Australianisms

<b>Australian English</b>	<b>Standard English</b>	<b>Australian English</b>	<b>Standard English</b>
Aussie / Ozzie / Strayan	Australian	Woop woop	A very remote place
Oz / Straya	Australia	Postie	Postman
Rage	Party	Ambo	Ambulance driver
Coldy	A (cold) beer	Reffo	Referee / refugee
Dingo	Australian wild dog	Garbo	Binman / garbage collector
To be mad as a cut snake	To be furious, extremely angry	Never never	Inland Australia / desert areas
Doco	Documentary	Safe	Container for food
Evo	Evening	Footy	Football
Greenie	Conservationist, environmentalist	Arvo	Afternoon
Putt-putt	A small car	Fair dinkum	To proclaim a fact or true
To be in full feather	To be in good health	Strine	Australian English
Shout	Round of drinks in a bar	Servo	Petrol station
Bizzo	Business	Rello	Relation
Barrack	To give support /cheer	Pollie	Politician
Sheila	Girl	Sunnies	Sunglasses
Num-nums	Delicious / good food	Tea	Supper

B) List of abbreviations

AusE	Australian English
AmE	American English
BrE	British English
NZE	New Zealand English
ICE	International Corpus of English
ICE-AUS	Australian component of the International Corpus of English collection
ACE	American Corpus of English
AND	The Australian National Dictionary
DNZE	The Dictionary of New Zealand English