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Adelaide English Variety

On regional variation in Australian English Phonology

B.A. Essay

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Abstract

This thesis seeks to determine the major characteristics in phonology of the Adelaide English when measured against some of the other regional varieties of the Australian English language. Furthermore, the settlement history of South Australia is examined and an integral link between the settlement and the sound features of the Adelaide English variety is analysed. The existence of regional varieties in the Australian phonology has long been debated. Increasingly, research has shown strong evidence that phonetic variation within Australia is prevalent, the Adelaide English variety of South Australia being a highly distinctive one. The Adelaide variety has been proven to hold numerous phonetic features characteristic of the region. The variety represents speakers that have the highest frequency of using the vowel form /a/ and thereby also those who speak cultivated English, resembling the Received Pronunciation (RP) of British English. Accordingly, the "prestigious" Adelaide variety is closely connected to the aristocratic settlement history of South Australia. Scholarly sources were collected and a study on regional variation was carried out in order to determine the viewpoint that society has on the regional phonetic difference in Australia. A test pool of 30 participants from Adelaide, South Australia and 30 participants from Melbourne, Victoria was used during the course of this study. Vast majority of the total number of participants claimed that they acknowledged the existence of regional variation within the Australian English language. Many in the Adelaide group claimed that people from other states were able to detect their accent when travelling interstate and additionally, many from the same group had even been asked if they were from England. Increased research on language development in Australia indicates that, although small, regional phonetic difference is growing. However, extensive investigation on the matter has been defective and is required in order to measure any findings that already have and may occur in the future.

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1. Introduction

Being an enormously big country, 7.692.024 km² (<http://www.ga.gov.au/scientific-topics/national-location-information/dimensions/australias-size-compared>), one would expect Australia to hold extensive regional dialects between different parts of the country. On the contrary, the existence of regional variation has long been debated (Collins, 2012, p. 76). Surprisingly little research has been carried out on Australian regional varieties, resulting in the field being largely unexplored. Butcher claims that regions outside of New South Wales have been deprived of thorough research (Butcher, 2006, p. 449). A couple of decades ago, linguists rejected the existence of regional variation completely (Mitchell & Delbridge as cited in Butcher, 2006, p. 449), however, more recent studies now indicate the opposite and suggest that there is a difference in phonetic features within the Australian English language. Australia as a colony has a relatively young settlement history and perhaps therein lies the reason that regional dialects have not developed extensively (Blair as cited in Cox & Palethorpe, 2007, p. 342).

On the other hand, the Australian states did not have a competitive settlement history and therefore ought to hold stronger regional varieties, one might note. This is particularly evident when examining the fact that some of the states were settled by convicts while other states, such as South Australia, were settled by free settlers (Collins, 1989, pp. 16-17). What is more, different settlement history within a country is highly likely to lead to the formation of regional phonetic features (<http://clas.mq.edu.au/australian-voices/regional-accents>). Upon collecting sources for this essay I was quite surprised to discover how little evidence, from older times but especially from recent times, was readily available. For that reason, I believe the sources I have gathered and provided for this essay are significant and I hope that may be a valuable asset for later findings on the subject. Although Adelaide English has not yet been acknowledged as a regional dialect as such, Adelaide, being the capital city of South Australia has undoubtedly unique regional phonetic features (A. Butcher, personal communication, December 16, 2015).

This study examines regional variation in the phonology of Australia and the existence of the Adelaide English variety. Furthermore, this study discusses what identifies Adelaide English by exploring the unique phonological features of the variety when compared with some of the other regional varieties in Australia. In order to collect evidence to be able to answer the thesis question, the thesis is constructed in the

following way. Following the introduction, Section 2 Australian English and subsections discuss the Australian language, how it has developed from being English in Australia in the colonial years to becoming a standardised national language, Australian English. Before we can discuss the different regional varieties, it is essential that we verify that Australian English has become a standardised language. Section 3 examines the European settlement of Australia, followed by Section 4, which examines the remarkable settlement of South Australia. In the subsections of Section 4, a few important factors in regards to the unique settlement of South Australia and thereby, the development of the Adelaide English will be explored. Subsection 4.1 examines the school system in South Australia during the settlement years. Governors aimed to educate all South Australian children and consequently placed a great emphasis on primary schooling. Furthermore, Subsection 4.2 explores the capitalist structure in the making of South Australia whilst Subsection 4.3 discusses the family order within the state. In Section 5, behaviourist theory is used to analyse the language development during and after the settlement of Australia.

Furthermore, in Section 6, regional difference in phonology within Australia is discussed. Moving on to Section 7, cultivated, broad and general varieties of Australian English is examined. Finally, the core of this essay, Section 8 is dedicated to the Adelaide English. Subsection 8.1 relates to the phonetic features of the Adelaide English, which has proven to hold various phonetic differences that are highly distinguishable for the region. Furthermore, Subsection 8.2 discusses the features of some of the other regional varieties of Australia when compared with the Adelaide English. Moreover, Subsection 8.3 is dedicated to song lyrics on the phonetic features of the Adelaide English and is an example of how indications on regional varieties appear in today's society. Song lyrics by Courtney Barnett on regional variation in the Australian English language are examined. Section 9 discusses a study made on regional variation in Australia. Subsection 9.1 covers the methodology of the observation. 60 participants are tested in order to determine perspective on regional variation. Subsection 9.2 discusses the results of the study where all questions are analysed. Additionally, in Subsection 9.3 the findings of the two groups are compared and analysed where some significant results are revealed. Finally, Section 10 sums up and gives conclusion to the thesis.

The goal of this thesis is to shed some light on the development of regional varieties of the Australian English language. Adelaide, South Australia is a region

where highly distinctive phonetic features are evident and quite unique when compared to other Australian states. This thesis attempts to give answers to the following thesis question: What is it that makes the phonetic features of Adelaide English so unique when measured against some of the other regional varieties in Australia and how does it connect to the history of the South Australian settlement? Numerous sources support the existence of Adelaide English, which boasts exclusive language features. The prestigious elements of the variety are closely linked to the high social settlement pattern of South Australia (<http://clas.mq.edu.au/australian-voices/regional-accents>).

2. Australian English

According to the Australian Bureau of Statistics on the 18th November 2015, Australian residents are estimated to be approximately 23.9 million. (<http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs%40.nsf/94713ad445ff1425ca25682000192af2/1647509ef7e25faaca2568a900154b63?OpenDocument>). Accordingly, we can assume to have close to the same number of people who are speakers of the Australian English language. Australian English is easily distinguishable, and this is largely determined by the unique vowel forms of the language (Cox, 1998). Furthermore, the Australian English language is non-rhotic (Cox, 2006, p. 5). In non-rhotic language, /r/ before a consonant or a pause becomes silent. That way, the word *hear* would be pronounced as *hea* and the word *chair* pronounced as *chai* (Broadbent, 1991, p. 281). Although being non-rhotic, Australian English language holds intrusive- and linking /r/ forms (Cox, 2006, pp. 5-6). The form of linking /r/ occurs when /r/ is pronounced when located in front of a vowel. An example of this is the word combination *far out*, where the /r/ is pronounced. Furthermore, intrusive /r/ occurs when in reality, there is no /r/ but a certain word combination allows the /r/ to be pronounced, for instance, *I saw/r/ him* (Broadbent, 1991, p. 281). The reason for Australian English being non-rhotic might be the fact that English spoken in Southern Britain had become r-less before the time of the colonization in Australia (Beal as cited in Cox, 2006, p. 5). Prior to the emergence of Australian English, Britain's English in Australia prevailed which had yet to evolve in becoming the Australian English language (Cox, 2006, p. 4).

2.1 Development of English in Australia

At the very beginning of Australian settlement, "a distinct form of English" is believed to have existed for up to 30 years (Dixon; Cunningham as cited in Cox, 2006, p. 4).

Fritz claims that when English in Australia was being developed, the language was considered an impaired version of the Standard British English (Fritz, 2007, p.1). Furthermore, he claims that Australian English derives mainly from southeast English dialects (Fritz, 2007, p. 26). In relation to that, some have said that Australian English is a variety that derives itself from Cockney English, brought over from England in the 19th century (Reeve, 1989, p. 112). Inevitably, the immense input of this form of British English dialect brought over from England was going to influence the Australian English language permanently. Mitchell was the first to formally outline the phonological features of the Australian English language in 1946 and again in 1965 along with Delbridge (Mitchell & Delbridge as cited in Cox, 2006, p. 3). Before long, Australian English would become more widely acknowledged as a standardised national language (Delbridge, 1999, p. 259).

2.2 Standard Australian English

Prior to talking about the Adelaide English and other regional varieties within the Australian language, we must reflect on the fact that many scholars have argued that the Australian English has become a standardised national language in itself and can no longer be considered a minor variety of the English language. Accordingly, Collins states that English in Australia has developed from many dialects into standard Australian English, which today is "a major variety of English" (Collins, 2012, p. 83). Delbridge has also noted that today Australian English is amongst the national standardised varieties of the English language (Delbridge, 1999, p. 259). Although a majority of scholars would agree on the existence of the standardisation of the Australian English language, there are few who argue that Australian English is only a regional variety of English. Kirkpatrick is amongst few scholars who dispute that Australian English has become a standardised language (Kirkpatrick, 2001, p. 68). Most evidence support the fact that Australian English has developed from being a minor English dialect to a standardised national language, the standardised Australian English. Today, Standard Australian English resembles Southern British English, although the vowel formation between the two major varieties varies (Cox, 2006, p. 4). The main language that was spoken in Australia during the colonial years was according to Fritz, the southeast dialects of British English (Fritz, 2007, p. 26), which inevitably set the tone for what contemporary Australian English was to become.

3. The European Settlement of Australia

Examining the settlement history of Australia is an integral part of analysing the phonology of the Australian English language. These two factors interrelate and in order to find answers to our phonological questions, it is vital to go back in time and explore the history of white Australia (Mufwene; Trudgill as cited in Fritz, 2007, p. 3). On the 26th of January 1788, Australia was settled by the white man at Port Jackson known as the convict island Australia (Fritz, 2007, p. 15). During the settlement years, people in Europe were not particularly enthusiastic about immigrating to this faraway island, resulting in a vast majority of the immigrants being convicts, forced to leave their home countries to settle in Australia (Kociumbas as cited in Fritz, 2007, p. 15). Following expert historians, Fritz (2007) states that early Australian society was more open minded and welcoming towards different people regardless of socioeconomic status and sex. This fact is particularly interesting when compared to the situation in Great Britain and European countries at that time, which were far less open to different varieties of people as Australia had been. This lack of isolation between the different population groups during the settlement of Australia may be one of the reasons for today's relatively low regional difference in the Australian English language (Fritz, 2007, p. 4; Collins, 2012, p. 76). Perhaps the reason being for this liberalism is the fact that Australia was from the start a colony for prisoners and the vast majority of the settlers were convicts (Fritz, 2007, p. 21).

The history of the settlement of Australia sheds light on the phonology of the Australian English language, how it has formed phonetically and what it is today. The diverse range of people from all backgrounds who immigrated to Australia during the colonial years may have taken part in the process of slowing down the forming of regional difference of speech in Australia. Having said that, South Australia had a somewhat a different settlement pattern to the rest of the colonial regions of Australia, allowing the unique phonetic features of Adelaide English to develop (<http://clas.mq.edu.au/australian-voices/regional-accents>). The settlement of South Australia is the subject of Section 4.

4. The European Settlement of South Australia

South Australia has a remarkable settlement history that gives the state its own identity. Unlike any other state, there were no convicts brought to South Australia, only free settlers. Many of these were German and Scottish, but most were English and overall of

a higher social class than those who originally came to Queensland, New South Wales, Tasmania, Western Australia and Victoria (A. Butcher, personal communication, January 8, 2016). Furthermore, the state of South Australia was settled significantly later than the other colonial states (<http://clas.mq.edu.au/australian-voices/regional-accents>). Some of the widely used terms that were adopted during the early settlement of the other Australian states came from people of low social status originally but those words had developed higher status by the time South Australia was colonised. Moore (2008) suggests that this is one of the reasons for the cultured Adelaide variety (Moore, 2008, p. 168). Not only was South Australia colonised by free settlers (Collins, 1989, pp. 16-17) who had higher social standards (Miller, 1986, p. 7), the settlers also built up the state as a capitalist community and focused attention on primary schooling and stable family patterns (Miller, 1986, pp. 1-4). The following subsections further examine these factors.

4.1 The School System in South Australia

"NEW EDUCATION BILL. GOVERNMENT PROPOSALS" was a newspaper headline in the Adelaide Advertiser on the 4th of July 1911, regarding South Australian primary school pupils. The bill proclaimed that the students were to pass 5th grade and instead of forcing the children of South of Australia into labour work, they were educated and equipped with the skills to create capital (Coneybeer, 1911, p. 12). In 1875, school attendance was made obligatory in South Australia when the governors put a weight on primary schooling. This milestone was directed towards the people of lower social status (Miller, 1986, p. 1), and pressure was placed on working class parents to raise their children respectably and thereby provide them with proper mannerisms (Miller, 1986, pp. 57-58). In the late 19th century, residents of the South Australian town Kapunda claimed that the South Australian society was getting too academically educated when measured against the working force (Miller, 1986, p. 74). The progressive education strategy (Miller, 1986, p. 19) to provide all children of South Australia with education was an essential factor in the formation of the state, constituted by British shareholders who formed the South Australian Company. The eagerness of the South Australian leaders in educating their children according to such a regimented formula reflected the contemporary British emphasis on up-skilling the working class (Miller, 1986, p. 5). This indicates that the state was built up in a unique way.

Furthermore, in close connection to the education scheme, the settlers sought to build South Australia up as a capitalist state (Miller, 1986, pp. 1-2).

4.2 Capitalism in South Australia

In 1836, South Australia was built up by British and German settlers as a capitalist society (Miller, 1986, pp. 1-2), forming the so-called "wealth of the Establishment", encompassing the South Australian aristocracy (Miller, 1986, p. 7). The correspondence between South Australia and other capitalist countries was a vital factor in the formation of the state (Miller, 1986, p. 5). Interestingly enough, Karl Marx commented on Wakefield's writings on South Australian settlement, Miller's words outline it quite brilliantly: "Karl Marx several times remarked that the writings of E.G. Wakefield, the best known exponent of the South Australian colonisation theory, read like a primer on capitalist economy" (Miller, 1986, p. 3). The fact that Marx himself observed and noted specifically on Wakefield's colonisation theory of South Australia suggests that the state had a noteworthy settlement design, which differed, from the other colonial states. Another factor that is characteristic of the South Australian settlement was the unique family scheme for the state.

4.3 Family Pattern in South Australia

The disproportion of genders amongst immigrants was relatively small in South Australia during the settlement years in comparison to other Australian states. This was due to South Australia's structured immigration scheme. The gender unevenness was so minor that South Australians managed to construct a wholesome system of marriage (Miller, 1986, p. 4). South Australian women held the record of getting married at a young age, even younger than their English and Welsh counterparts (Miller, 1986, p. 4). One might suggest that stable family patterns create a purer and more collective society. Again, this is another indicator that South Australia did have a distinctive settlement pattern with free settlers and thereby developed an exclusive phonetically featured variety of Adelaide English. The following section examines language development in Australia by applying behaviourist theory.

5. The Behaviourist Theory of Language Development

The white settlement of Australia, the development of the English language in Australia and moreover, the development of the Australian regional varieties will now be

analysed by applying the behaviourist theory of language development. As previously stated, the children of those who settled in South Australia as well as in other Australian states in the colonial years were the first generations to form the Australian English language. They adopted the language by mingling with one another (Bernard as cited in Collins, 1989, p. 16). Behaviourists emphasize the following factors. Firstly, they endorse what they call "classical conditioning", the act of learning a language by interaction. This can be applied to the colonial years where the children of the settlers interacted with other children and individuals and thereby built a foundation for the Australian English language as we know it today.

Secondly behaviourists endorse what is mentioned as "imitation" where children copy their parents and others who provide them with language input. Again, this can easily be applied to the colonial years when settlers' children recreated the language spoken around them by imitating and reproducing. Lastly, "operant conditioning" is yet another factor which the behaviourists favour. This encourages the parents or others who take care of the children to support them in speaking the correct language. The behaviourist theory can be applied here by the settlers' children receiving guidance from their parents on the correct way of addressing their peers. Accordingly, the settlers' children initiated the development of the Australian English language by interacting with friends as well as receiving guidance and linguistic input from their own parents or guardians. In other words, the behaviourist theory of language development tells us that the type of population group that settles in any given state is going to set the tone for the language spoken in the same state. According to this, behaviourists might suggest that the "high social status" the settlers of South Australia had set the tone for the cultivated English spoken in the state today (<http://faculty.washington.edu/sommej/LanguageDevelopment0607.pdf>). Section 6 discusses regional varieties in phonology in the Australian English language.

6. Regional Varieties in Australian English

Throughout the decades, the existence of phonological difference between Australian regions has remained controversial amongst scholars (Collins, 2012, p. 76). Leading expert of Australian phonetics, Butcher, states that the existence of the regional differences within the Australian English language has long been debated (Butcher, 2006, p. 449). Mitchell and Delbridge's innovative study from 40 years ago, resulted in no substantial regional variation in speech of the Australian English language (Mitchell

& Delbridge as cited in Butcher, 2006, p. 449). Today, phonetic variation in Australia is considered to be relatively small, resulting in the absence of substantial dialects within Australian English (Cox, 2012, p. 18). According to Peters and Delbridge, Australia holds surprisingly little regional variation. This is particularly interesting when the country's great area of land is taken into account (Peters & Delbridge, 1989, p. 127). Blair notes, "there is probably no other inhabited landmass of such a size that exhibits as little regional variation as the Australian mainland" (Blair as cited in Cox & Palethorpe, 2001, p. 18).

Despite regional difference being small, there are numerous sources that identify distinct differences in phonetic features within the Australian language (Butcher, 2006, p. 449). Some of the later findings indicate that there is indeed a slight regional variation existing across Australia (Butcher as cited in Cox & Palethorpe, 2007, p. 342). Moreover, Butcher (2006) discusses the strong indication of phonetic difference between the capital states (Butcher, 2006, p. 449). In addition to that, Oasa (1989) discusses the existence of regional variation and Adelaide English in particular. Horvath rejects Bernard's findings that indicate non-existing regional difference in the Australian English language (Collins, 1989, pp. 16-17). Horvath further notes that the settlement patterns varied between colonised states, some of them settled by free people, for example, in Victoria, South Australia and Western Australia. On the other hand, states of New South Wales and Tasmania were penal territories (Collins, 1989, pp. 16-17). When taking into account different settlement histories, one might be of the opinion that it is likely that the outcome between states will be different language varieties.

Throughout the years, limited research has been conducted on the phonological difference in the Australian English language. Collins (1989) notes that increased study on regional variation is required (Collins, 1989, p. 17). Close to two decades later, Butcher states that there is a great deal of research yet to be conducted across Australia's wider regions. He notes that little research has been carried out on regional difference, besides the variety of New South Wales (Butcher, 2006, p. 449). In addition, Billington claims that regional difference in Australian English phonology has not been examined thoroughly enough (Billington, 2011, 275). However, in more recent times, increased research has taken place, resulting in indications on the existence of regional varieties in the Australian language that are now gradually coming under the scope (Butcher as cited in Cox & Palethorpe, 2007, p. 342). Cox (2012) states that although relatively vague today, more Australian regional variation is likely to evolve with time (Cox,

2012, p. 18).

It is noted on the webpage of Macquarie University of Sydney, that phonetic difference between regions is closely connected to identity (<http://clas.mq.edu.au/australian-voices/regional-accents>). This suggests that the phonetic features of the South Australian language correlate with the history of South Australia as well as the development and existence of the state's identity. Cultivated as well as broad and general varieties of the Australian English language are the subject of Section 7.

7. Cultivated, Broad and General Varieties

The concept of the three varieties of Australian English, cultivated, broad and general, was originally founded by Mitchell in the 1940s and then re-evaluated along with Delbridge in the 1960s. According to Mitchell and Delbridge, the cultivated variety of Australian English is considered the most cultured one out of the three, whilst the broad variety is thought of as the least prestigious and at the same time the most Australian one (Mitchell & Delbridge as cited in Collins, 2012, p. 78). Accordingly, people from Queensland speak more towards the broader spectrum, whereas people from Adelaide for instance speak less so (Bradley, 1989, p. 262). Furthermore, the general variety of Australian English is ranked in between the cultivated and broad varieties and spoken by the greater part of the Australian population (Mitchell & Delbridge as cited in Collins, 2012, p. 78).

Similarly, there are more experts that support this theory, these include Harrington, Cox and Evans (1997) who note that the cultivated variation, which is only spoken by around 10% of Australians (Bernard as cited in Harrington et al., 1997, p. 156), resembles the Received Pronunciation (RP). Therefore, it is seen as the most reputable form of speech of the three varieties (Horvath as cited in Harrington Cox & Evans, 1997, p. 156). On the contrary, the broad variation is considered furthest away from the Received Pronunciation, out of those three varieties (Mitchell & Delbridge as cited in Bradley, 1989, p. 261) and is said to resemble Cockney English of London (Cochrane as cited in Harrington et al., 1997, p. 156). Moreover, the speakers of broad variety attain longer and slower glides when speaking (<http://clas.mq.edu.au/speech/phonetics/phonetics/ausenglish/impressionistic.html>).

On that account, in his paper, Collins discusses a few surveys carried out on the three Australian varieties, the broad, the general and the cultivated. All of them indicate

that the cultivated accent is the socially highest and most adequate one out of the three (Collins, 1989, pp. 17-18). This is consistent with what Ball, Gallois and Callan (1989) state. Ball et al. discuss how Australians have used RP as a measurement for a standard accent and that cultivated Australian derives from RP (Ball et al., 1989, p. 94). Moreover, as Ball et al. phrase: "Thus, the prestige accent to Australians appears to be middle class British or Cultivated Australian" (Ball et al., 1989, p. 94). Additionally, Cox claims that RP is the general standard against which Australian English is measured (Cox, 1998). Accordingly, the Received Pronunciation has previously been seen as a guide on proper speech (Cox, 2012, pp. 13-14).

For the longest time, experts like Mitchell and Delbridge considered the three varieties, broad, general and cultivated as social variation rather than a regional difference (Mitchell & Delbridge as cited in Butcher, 2006, p. 449). According to Butcher, latest research has concluded the opposite (Butcher, 2006, p. 449). However, one might suggest that there is a link between those two factors, a region and a social status, for instance due to settlement history. As mentioned before, South Australia was a colony of free settlers (Collins, 1989, pp. 16-17) and built up by socially high ranked people (Miller, 1986, p. 7). Perhaps there is no coincidence that the region of South Australia has the highest tendency of using the vowel form /a/ where proportionally high number of people speak the prestigious cultivated Australian, which resembles the British English RP (A. Butcher, personal communication, December 16, 2015). Adelaide English and its phonological features is the subject of the next section.

8. Adelaide English

Increased research on the phonetic difference between the Australian states has revealed an augmenting regional variation in the Australian English language (Butcher, 2006, p. 449). Adelaide, which had a unique settlement account, has been proven to hold a great many phonological features, which makes Adelaide English a particularly distinct variety (<http://clas.mq.edu.au/australian-voices/regional-accents>).

8.1 Phonology of Adelaide English

Previously, some experts denied the existence of regional variation in phonology within the Australian English language. These scholars include Mitchell and Delbridge who, in their time, had examined thousands of speakers of Australian English and were of the opinion that there was no regional difference in the Australian language with the

exception of (...) "trifling odd occurrence of a strange variant expression of /oo/ in Adelaide" (Bernard, 1989, p. 256-257). When used in speech, the diphthong /oo/ shows evidence of being more round and fronted in South Australia than in any of the other Australian states (Bradley, 1989, p. 266). The diphthong /oo/, which is characteristic of Adelaide English is already apparent when Mitchell and Delbridge claim its existence at the same time they reject regional variation in Australia (Bernard, 1989, pp. 256-257). This fact strongly indicates that Adelaide English has long been phonetically unique to the rest of the state varieties.

In a survey carried out on phonological difference between the Australian states, Bradley notes that a usage of the vowel /a/ in speech is likely to be affiliated with South Australian speakers, while Queensland has the highest tendency of using the vowel form /æ/ (Bradley, 1989, p. 268-269). In fact, Bradley claims that the vowel /a/ is a token for more prestigious social status as well as more formal speech (p. 263). Similarly, Cox and Palethorpe suggest that the way of using the sound /a/ to pronounce the word *dance* indicates a higher standing (Delbridge as cited in Cox & Palethorpe, 2001, p. 40). This correlates with the fact that Adelaide, which was settled comparatively later than the rest of the colonial regions by people of "higher social standard", has higher frequency of using the vowel /a/ (Bradley as cited in Collins, 2012, p. 81). On the website of Macquarie University in Sydney, a map of Australia can be found that demonstrates phonetic samples of regional accents within Australia. Amongst a few differences, the map demonstrates a phonological difference in words between capital states. According to this, in South Australia, the vowel in the word *France* is pronounced as /a/ while in Queensland, the vowel is pronounced as /æ/ (<http://clas.mq.edu.au/australian-voices/regional-accents>). Accordingly, Butcher states that the BATH vowel in words such as *castle* and *dance* is pronounced as /ɛ:/ in South Australia, as opposed to /æ/ everywhere else (A. Butcher, personal communication, January 8, 2016).

Additionally, it is stated on the website of Macquarie University that the vocalisation of /l/ occurs more often in South Australian speech than in any of the other states when pronouncing words such as *pearl* and *girl* (<http://clas.mq.edu.au/australian-voices/regional-accents>). Horvath and Horvath confirm this, stating that Adelaide has the highest vocalization of /l/ followed by Sydney and Hobart and finally Brisbane and Melbourne with the lowest tendency (Horvath & Horvath as cited in Collins, 2012, p. 81).

In his work on formant frequencies of /hVd/ vowels in the speech of South Australian females, Butcher (2006) examines regional varieties between some of the Australian states. A study was conducted on regional phonetic variation, comparing the phonetic features of South Australian English and the one from New South Wales. The results suggest that first targets of /ɔɪ/ and /aɪ/ are pronounced by South Australians with more so closer voicing. The results further suggests that South Australians have a greater tendency to speak with closer voicing when pronouncing both targets of diphthong /aʊ/. Therefore, Butcher suggests that the South Australian variety is more conservative compared with that of New South Wales (Butcher, 2006, p. 452).

Moreover, Oasa (1989) discusses the phonetic features of Adelaide English. Three studies were carried out where the vowels /u/, /oo/ and /æ/ were phonetically tested (Oasa, 1989, p. 271). Oasa examines the vowel positions that characterize the Adelaide English, one being exceptionally retracted monophthong /u/, when in so-called "pre-lateral position" (Oasa, 1989, p. 273). Another vowel form that she mentions which characterizes Adelaide English is the "forward gliding" position of /oo/ (Oasa, 1989, p. 283). Oasa notes yet another vowel form that is characteristic for Adelaide English, the vowel /æ/, "tensed before all voiced stops" (Oasa, 1989, p. 285). After examining Oasa's findings, it is evident that they support the uniqueness of the Adelaide English variety.

In order to shed more light on the Adelaide English variety, I interviewed the leading expert of Australian phonetics, Professor Andy Butcher at Flinders University in Adelaide, South Australia. Upon asking Butcher *if he believes that there is a regional dialect existing in Australia called Adelaide English*, he claims that although regional phonetic features within the Australian English are not advanced sufficiently to be considered as exclusive dialects, he claims that there are a number of features that are more common around Adelaide. These features would cause another Australian listener to assume that a speaker was more likely to be from Adelaide than another area. Furthermore, upon asking Butcher to give answers on *What are some of the characteristics of Adelaide English?*, he mentions the chief among these features, firstly being the pronunciation of the GOAT vowel with a half-close back rounded first target [ɔʌ], as opposed to the unrounded half-open vowel [ʊə] found in most other areas of Australia. Secondly, he mentions the vocalization of postvocalic /l/, so that *will* is pronounced as [wɪʊ] and *ball* as [bo:ʊ] (A. Butcher, personal communication, December 16, 2015). Similarly, Moore (2008) discusses the GOAT vowel that is highly

characteristic of Adelaide English and claims it more fronted in Adelaide than elsewhere in Australia (Moore, 2008, p. 168). Finally, Butcher mentions that speakers of cultivated English are more likely to be located in Adelaide than anywhere else within Australia (A. Butcher, personal communication, December 16, 2015).

The findings in Subsection 8.1 reveal the major phonetic features that are characteristic of Adelaide English. It is evident that different regions have specific ways of pronouncing certain elements as well as forming many of the vowels in the Australian English alphabet. Subsection 8.2 compares the phonetic features of Adelaide English to the phonology of some of the other regional varieties of the Australian English language.

8.2 Some of the Phonetic Features of Australia's Regional Varieties Measured Against the Adelaide English

In 1991, a study was carried out by Bradley on the use of the vowel forms /a/ and /æ/ between the Australian states. The capital cities were tested to determine how much in the direction of the pronunciation of the words *trap* or *palm* they said certain words. The higher percentage they scored, the closer to the word *trap* they pronounced the words. For the word *dance* Sydney scored 93%, Hobart scored 90%, Melbourne and Brisbane both scored 89% and Adelaide, with the significantly lowest score, only 14%. Similarly, for the word *graph* the outcome was as follows, Sydney scored 30%, Hobart 100%, Melbourne 70% and Brisbane 44% while again, Adelaide had the lowest percentage with 14% score. The same story was to tell about all the other words the cities were tested on, Adelaide always showed the staggeringly lowest percentage (Bradley as cited in Moore, 2008, pp. 167-168). This indicates that speakers of Adelaide pronounce words like *castle*, *branch* and *chance* as one would pronounce the vowel in the word *palm*. This further indicates that speakers of Adelaide have a high frequency of using the vowel form /a/ in speech whilst other capital cities, like Hobart and Melbourne, have higher tendency of using the vowel form /æ/. Bradley adds that in terms of phonological variation in Australian English, the difference between /a/ and /æ/ is often the only difference many Australians detect (Bradley, 1989, p. 263).

In his aforementioned paper on formant frequencies of /hVd/ vowels, Butcher measures the speech of South Australian females against the ones of New South Wales. A study is conducted where vowel use of both groups is compared, resulting in the long vowels /i/ and /a/ being quite competitive between the groups. However, the vowels /u/

and /ɜ/ prove to be more fronted in New South Wales than they are in South Australia. Furthermore, South Australia seems to hold closer voicing when using the back vowels when compared with the state of New South Wales (Butcher, 2006, p. 450). Additionally, Butcher states that diphthongs are amongst the phonetic features that differ the most between those two states, the first target of the diphthong /oʊ/ varying considerably the most (Butcher, 2006, p. 451). While in South Australia, the first target of /oʊ/ is raised and fronted /ɑ/, in New South Wales, the first target of /oʊ/ is a raised /a/ or /ʌ/ (Butcher, 2006, p. 451). Diphthong /oʊ/ has been mentioned before when Mitchell and Delbridge rejected the existence of regional variation all together, except for the distinctive diphthong /oʊ/ of Adelaide (Bernard, 1989, p. 256-257).

The Melbourne variety of Australian English has a few distinct characteristics that differ from the other Australian English varieties. The sound shift between /eɪ/ and /æɪ/ which in both cases results in the sound /æ/ is one phonetic factor that identifies Melbourne English (Loakes, 2010, p. 1). On the other hand, in the state of New South Wales, there is not an association between /eɪ/ and /æɪ/ (Loakes, 2010, p. 4). Additionally, speakers from Melbourne, pronounce the word *alps* as *elps*, by using the vowel form /æ/ (<http://clas.mq.edu.au/australian-voices/regional-accents>).

After examining some of the phonetic features of the other Australian regional varieties, difference in speech confirms that the Adelaide English is a highly particular variety. Indications of the Adelaide variety are not only found in scholarly sources but also in everyday society.

8.3. Adelaide English in Society

In 2014, singer and songwriter Courtney Barnett released a song on the phonetic difference between the Australian capital cities, Adelaide and Hobart. She examines the accent difference caused by the contrary vowel use of /a/ and /æ/. The lyrics are the following.

"Pickles from the jar

I say dance, you say dance

I say France, you say France

You're from Adelaide, I'm from Hobart.

I say Hugh, you say Grant

I say pot, you say plant
 You're from Adelaide, I'm from Hobart.
 We couldn't be more contrary if we tried
 Oh, chalk and cheese, we rarely see eye to eye.

I am dumb, you are smart
 We are fifteen years apart
 You're from Adelaide, I'm from Mars.

I say ooh, you say aah
 I am careful, you like scars
 I like pickles from the jar.
 We couldn't be more contrary if we tried
 Oh, chalk and cheese, we rarely see eye to eye.

I say You, you say Am I.
 You like mornings, I like nights
 I'll love you till the day I die.
 You say Christopher, I say Walken.
 You love, I love Christopher Walken!!!

I guess at least we have got one thing in common."

(<http://courtneybarnett.com.au/other/>).

When listening to the lyrics, there are indications to be found that support the existence of the phonetic characteristics of the Adelaide English. Furthermore, there are indications that Adelaide holds more adequate pronunciation than the one of Hobart. The song lyrics commence by mentioning the phonological difference between the vowel use of /a/ and /æ/. The songwriter states that people from Adelaide pronounce *dance* and *France* by using the vowel form /a/ whereas people from Hobart in Tasmania pronounce the same words by using the vowel form /æ/. By listening to the song, the difference between how the two cities pronounce *dance* and *France* can clearly be heard. Moreover, indication towards a difference in accent between the capital cities, Adelaide and Hobart, can be found in the chorus: "We couldn't be more contrary if we tried. Oh, chalk and cheese, we rarely see eye to eye." Barnett notes that the two regional varieties of Adelaide and Hobart could not be more divergent in speech.

9. The Study

In order to dig deeper and determine the opinion the general citizen has of regional variation, a study was carried out on the phonological difference in Australian English. The aim of the study is to determine whether or not "Joe Bloggs" accepts the existence of regional difference in phonology within the Australian English language. Furthermore, the aim is to determine if people from Adelaide and Melbourne are able to detect the accent of other Australians when alone listening to them speaking and moreover, if their accent is ever detected by others when travelling interstate.

9.1 Method of Observation

A mixed group of 60 adults of various ages and both genders were tested. 30 participants from South Australia and 30 from the state of Victoria were interviewed to discover their views on phonetic difference in Australia. The participants were from various professions, people from the discipline of health, lawyers, police officers, students, stevedores, financial planners and many more. All of the participants were given the four following questions to answer.

1. *What state are you from?*
2. *Do you believe that there is a regional variation existing within the Australian English language?*
3. *Can you tell where in Australia people are from by listening to them speaking?*
4. *Do people detect what state you are from when you travel interstate? Or do they ever ask if you are from overseas?*

9.2 Results

Initially, the answers to the questions that the 30 participants from South Australia gave were scrutinized. All participants in the South Australia group were either born in South Australia or had lived there from early childhood. When answering question number two, *Do you believe that there is a regional variation existing within the Australian English language?* 29 out of 30 South Australian participants said they believed that regional difference existed within the Australian English language, thereof 7 candidates answering as *yes, definitely*. These results give strong indication towards the existence of accent variation. Question number three, *Can you tell where in Australia people are from by listening to them speaking?*, resulted in a majority of participants answering *yes* with an end result of 27 out of 30. Some mentioned that it took some time before

detecting the accent while others claimed that it depended on the individual they were speaking with as to whether or not they could detect a variation. The first part of question number four had 18 out of 30 participants claiming that people from interstate were able to detect that they were from South Australia. The second part of the fourth question, *Or do they ever ask if you are from overseas?*, resulted in a surprising outcome from the South Australian pooled participants with just under half, 14 out of 30, stating that when travelling interstate they had at some point been asked if they were from England. Additionally, many claimed the general consensus to be that people from Adelaide have cultivated and the most English sounding accent out of all the other regions.

A 29-year old baker, T.C., is from Adelaide but has lived in Melbourne for the past year. In the survey he described how people from Melbourne had detected the difference in pronunciation for certain words like *chance*. They claimed that T.C. pronounced the word *chance* by using the vowel /a/ whilst people from Melbourne would typically use the vowel /æ/ to pronounce the same word (T. Carter, personal communication, November 27, 2015). A 31-year old J.C. is another participant who gave answers to the questions asked in the survey. When answering question number four, he gave an extremely interesting testimony on regional difference in Australia. He described when he and his Adelaide friend stayed in a share house in London when living there for couple of years. For the first few weeks their housemates from Perth in Australia were convinced that J.C. and his friend were English and only putting on their Australian accents as some type of a joke (J. Connor, personal communication, November 30, 2015). Furthermore, participant and artist T.B. was born and raised in Adelaide but has been studying in Melbourne for the past couple of years. Her Melbourne colleagues regularly comment on how 'Pommy' her English sounds (T. Bartholomew, personal communication, November 27, 2015). These findings support the existence of regional variation within the Australian English language. Furthermore, they support the existence of the so-called Adelaide English and moreover, that English spoken by the people from Adelaide bears a resemblance to the British English.

The results from the second part of the survey, where 30 people from Victoria are asked the same four questions will now be examined. All participants in this group were born in the state of Victoria or raised there from a young age. Again, the second question *Do you believe that there is a regional variation existing within the Australian English language?*, resulted in the majority of the participants, 28 out of 30, answering

yes. The outcome of question number three, *Can you tell where in Australia people are from by listening to them speaking?*, was as follows. A majority of the group, 24 out of 30, answered *yes* to that question. Many participants commented on that they could detect distinctive regional accents like the one of South Australia. Participant A.T. claimed that the South Australian English resembled the English accent the most out of the other Australian states (A. Turner, personal communication, December 15, 2015). Also, participant D.M. claims that most of the time, he has a fair idea from which state Australians are. Furthermore, he states that he is often able to detect people from Adelaide because they speak in a more proper way, pronouncing words like *dance* as *darnce* (D. Morland, personal communication, November 30, 2015).

The first half of question number four, *Do people detect what state you are from when you travel interstate?*, provided quite an interesting result. Only 11 participants out of 30 from the Victoria group answered *yes* to that question. This might suggest that the Adelaide English is somewhat more distinctive and easier to detect than the Melbourne English. The second half of question number four, *Or do they ever ask if you are from overseas?*, has also a significantly different outcome from that of the South Australian group. A significant minority of the Victorian group participators, 4 out of 30, answered *yes* that they had been asked before if they were from overseas when travelling interstate, thereof 2 participants answering that they had been asked if they were from America. This outcome is particularly interesting when compared with the South Australian group, which had just about half of the participants answering that they had been asked before if they were from overseas when travelling interstate, all of those specifically mentioning England as the country they were asked if they were from.

9.3 Analysis

The two groups from Adelaide and Melbourne participants will now be measured against one another. When compared, the two groups have close to a unanimous response to question number two, *Do you believe that there is a regional variation existing within the Australian English language?* The majority of participants from both groups, 57 out of 60, did claim that they believed in the existence of regional variation in phonology within the Australian English. These findings suggest that "Joe Bloggs" believes in the existence of a phonetic regional variation in Australia. Question number three, *Can you tell where in Australia people are from by listening to them speaking?*, resulted in 51 out of 60 of the total number of participants answering *yes*. This outcome

further suggests that regional difference in phonology in Australia is prevalent and varieties can be detected by listening to an Australian speak.

The different findings for question number four between the two groups of candidates, were interesting when examined. For the first part of the question, *Do people detect what state you are from when you travel interstate?*, 18 out of 30 participants from the Adelaide group claimed that people from other states were able to recognise their home state, while only 11 out of 30 people from the Melbourne group answered *yes*. These results indicate that the distinctive Adelaide English is more likely to be detected by people from other states compared with the Melbourne English. The latter part of question number four, *Or do they ever ask if you are from overseas?*, resulted in a significant outcome. Only 4 out of 30 participants from the Victoria group claimed to have been asked before while travelling interstate if they were from overseas, thereof two were asked if they were from America and the other two if they were from England. On the other hand, close to half of the total number, 14 out of 30 participants from the South Australia group claimed that they had been asked before if they were precisely from England. Inevitably, this confirms what has been said before that English spoken in South Australia bears resemblance to the British English.

10. Conclusion

This thesis has sought to identify the distinctive characteristics of Adelaide English compared with some of the other regional varieties of Australian English language. In addition, the thesis has explored the link between the Adelaide variety and the settlement history of South Australia, resulting in the following findings. Regional differences in phonology of Australian English have not developed to the extent that one might expect, especially when the size of the country is taken into account. Possible reason for this small variation is that Australia is a relatively young colony, resulting in premature language varieties. Furthermore, another possible reason is that Australia was a highly welcoming country to various people groups during the settlement years, resulting in more contact between people in different regions and therefore less forming of distinctive regional language variations.

However, South Australia had a different settlement history from the rest of the Australian states. It was a free settlers colony, which was built up by "respectable" people with "high social standards". Moreover, South Australia, which was built up as a capitalist society, regulated a highly ambitious education scheme and the balanced

number of sexes in the state remained the most stable in all of Australia. Additionally, the settlement of South Australia occurred at a relatively later stage than in other Australian states. According to behaviourists, the English language spoken by the settlers of South Australia set the tone for what is today Adelaide English. Therefore, the distinctive and aristocratic settlement pattern of South Australia allowed the people of the state to develop the prestigious Adelaide English which today has the highest frequency of the vowel form /a/ in speech and resides the majority of the speakers of cultivated English, resembling the Received Pronunciation (RP) of British English. Adelaide English holds distinctive phonetic features that are greatly characteristic for the region. The diphthong /oʊ/ of Adelaide where the first target is raised and fronted /ɑ/ as opposed to raised /a/ or /ʌ/ in New South Wales, the vocalisation of /l/ which happens more frequently in Adelaide than in any of the other capital cities, the tendency of using the vowel form /a/ when the usage of the vowel /æ/ is more common in the other Australian states and the GOAT vowel which is more fronted in Adelaide than elsewhere in Australia, are some of the major elements that identify the Adelaide English and contribute to the uniqueness of the variety.

Finally, in order to give more weight to the research of this thesis, a study was carried out on phonetic difference between the Australian states, resulting in the following findings. A majority of the participants, both from South Australia and Victoria, claimed to accept the existence of regional variation within the Australian English and moreover, stated that they were able to detect the speech of people from other states. Furthermore, the participants of the South Australia group had a higher frequency of people from other states detecting their regional variety, although often asked if they were from England.

One may expect that with time, not only will regional variation progress but exclusive regional dialects of the Australian English language will emerge, including a distinctive Adelaide English dialect. However, extensive research on regional varieties is required in order to make realistic predictions about the future development of the Australian language in general, and the Adelaide dialect in particular

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