USE OF THESES

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REGIONAL VARIATION
IN THE LEXICON
OF AUSTRALIAN ENGLISH

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
of the Australian National University

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24 August 1992
5 THE LEXICAL USAGE REGIONS

CLASSES OF REGIONAL WORDS

Australian English has been generally thought to be regionally uniform, and a corollary of this has been a belief that, with a few isolated exceptions, the same words are used everywhere in Australia. The early stages of this project showed that there are many regional words, which form a pattern of distribution. Analysis of the results of the survey found that there are two classes of regional words, which I will call elective regional words and obligatory regional words.

Australia-wide words

These are used in all parts of Australia. Some (but not all) of the items in this project have Australia-wide names. Examples are rockmelon, rubber band, suitcase, and harvesting. In some regions, regional words for the same items are also used alongside the Australia-wide words.

Elective regional words

These are the regional words which may be used in addition to Australia-wide words for the same items in some regions. Thus there will be a choice of two names for the same item in a region - some people will use the Australia-wide name, and some will use the elective regional name. In the examples given above, the elective regional equivalents to the Australia-wide names are cantaloupe in the SE for Australia-wide rockmelon; tacker band in the SE and lacky band in the SW for Australia-wide rubber band; port in the NE for Australia-wide suitcase; and stripping in the SE and reap in the SC for Australia-wide harvesting. Hence people in the SE will call a rockmelon either a rockmelon (its Australia-wide name) or a cantaloupe (its SE elective regional name). In some cases the regional word is preferred to the Australia-wide word, e.g., cheerios is preferred to cocktail frankfurts in Queensland; in others the Australia-wide name is preferred, e.g., cocktail frankfurts is preferred to little boys (Item 23) in the SE.

In one case where there is an elective regional name, there is an alternative name used in only a small part of the region. This was cheerios, which was used by some speakers in an area probably based on Echuca in Victoria and distributed to nearby towns. In this case, the name sometimes used in the local region is a local alternative to the elective regional and Australia-wide names.

Obligatory regional words

Where there is no Australia-wide name for an item, speakers are obliged to use a regional name. Examples are slippery dip in NSW and South Australia, slide in the SE and SW, and slippery slide in Queensland; or peewee in the NE, mudlark in the mainland SE, and Murray magpie in the SC. These are not used outside their own
regions, and there is no Australia-wide term that is used everywhere for the same items.

In some cases where speakers are obliged to use a regional term for lack of an Australia-wide one, there is more than one such term in the region, e.g., *dinky* and *donkey*, which are used co-extensively in the SC. In these cases the names are obligatory regional alternatives.

In a few cases where there is an obligatory regional term, there is an alternative term used in only a small part of a region, e.g., *Riverina bluebell* which is sometimes used in the Riverina as an alternative to eastern obligatory regional *Paterson's curse*. In these cases, the term used in the local region is a local alternative to the obligatory regional term.

**Regional distribution**

Because there are two classes of regional terms, there are two types of regional distribution patterns. In the first, some regions use an elective regional term alongside the Australia-wide term. In the second, every region uses its own obligatory regional terms, and there are no Australia-wide terms for the same items. By definition, the distribution patterns of elective and obligatory regional terms are mutually exclusive, as Table 5.1 shows.

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Table 5.1 Australia-wide and regional words (continued)

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**ANALYSIS OF RESULTS**

The following analysis does not claim to be the definitive delineation of Australia's lexical usage regions. In a survey which is the first one carried out in this country, and which is largely exploratory in nature, the strongest claim that can be made is that these are the lexical usage regions as they can be defined so far, on the best information known at present. In the regions where a fine-grained survey was made, the borders can be regarded as reliably defined; where only a broad-grained survey was possible, the borders may be redefined when more detailed work is done.

**Criteria for defining regions**

The survey found some out-of-area use of regional terms, or "outlying occurrences" as Orton and Wright called them (1974:3). This is not the same as the occurrence of relic features discussed by Chambers and Trudgill (1980:109) which "indicates a late stage in the displacement of a formerly widespread linguistic feature by an
innovation". Rather it is the use of a term by one or two isolated speakers far from the region where the term is used. An examination of almost any of the accompanying maps will provide examples. As interviews were brief and informal, it was not possible to investigate the reason for this beyond checking that the informant had not picked up the out-of-area term elsewhere.

In defining usage regions, the problem of what to include in them and what to exclude must be addressed. In some cases, there is no problem classifying a response as out-of-area. One such clear-cut example is on Map 5.67, where the informant at Ariah Park (179) gave soursoys in an area far from the main soursoys area and surrounded by sourgrass responses.

Other cases are not so easy to deal with. For example, on Map 5.2, Braidwood (227) could have been included in the Canberra sub-region for blood nose, or regarded as an out-of-area usage near the Canberra sub-region. (See notes on Map 5.2.)

One area needs further investigation. There is possibly a sub-region of SE influence round Strathalbyn (41c)/Goolwa (41b)/Port Elliott (41a) in South Australia. On a number of items, several SE responses (regarded here as out-of-area) were given by different informants.

Criteria were developed for deciding whether to include such isolated usages in regions or to classify them as out of area:

1. If a term was used some distance from the nearest example of it in a clearly identifiable region, it was included in the region if it fell within the region defined by other terms for that region. For example, on Map 5.38, the isolated use of snib at Millicent (50) was included in the SE region because that town is clearly in the region for other terms.

2. If a term was used outside the region usually defined by other terms, and there were no other terms between it and the main region, then it was included in the region. One such example is on Map 5.48. Here the heterogloss is further north than for any other item, because Canberra (214) and other towns in the area all use the SE term, and there are no instances of the NE term between there and the usual SE region.

3. If an isolated term was separated from the main region by at least three towns which use an opposing term, then it is counted as out of area. See Map 5.71, where the SE term barley is used in scattered towns in the centre and north of the SC region.

Individual cases are discussed in the notes on the relevant maps.

Because the usage regions are not co-extensive with the States, the use of State names for them was abandoned as the trial surveys provided more accurate delineation. They are now known as the North-East (roughly co-extensive with Queensland and NSW) and its sub-regions, Queensland and NSW (roughly co-extensive with these States); the South-East (roughly co-extensive with Victoria,
Tasmania, and the Riverina area of southern NSW) and its sub-regions, the mainland South-East and Tasmania; the South-Centre (roughly co-extensive with south-east South Australia, neighbouring parts of Victoria and NSW; and the South-West (roughly the south-western part of Western Australia). There was insufficient information from other parts of Australia to assign them to the known usage regions, or to define others.

**Raw data maps**

To make the maps as easy to read as possible, only regional words are shown. For items which have Australia-wide and elective regional names, the Australia-wide words are not shown, as they make the maps too cluttered for the pattern of elective regional words to be seen clearly. Instead, they are listed in the key. Because some informants used the Australia-wide names, there may not be many regional symbols on these maps. For items which have obligatory regional names, everyone had to use regional names because there are no Australia-wide ones, so there are many symbols on the maps.

Maps were not produced for some items. One - footpath (the concrete type) - was known to have the same name all over Australia, but was included as a check in the NE against the grassed type which is also called a footpath there. Three - cigarette paper (tissue in Tasmania), billy cart (hill trolley in the SW), and corn on the cob (muttai in the Kempsey district of NSW) - showed regional distribution in the trial surveys, but in the main survey insufficient current speakers used them. These would repay local investigations. One - evening - was not tested in the trial surveys because apparently reliable reports late in the project suggested that it was very likely to be regional. In the event it proved not to be. Gaps were left in the numbering system for the maps (a problem shared with the New England maps (Kurath 1939:149)), rather than closing up the gaps, so that map numbers would correspond to item numbers in the questionnaire.

Where few current responses were given, they are shown provided they were backed up by a substantial number of recollected usages, e.g., luncheon sausage, which was given by only two current speakers in Queensland, but remembered by twelve former Queenslanders. If they were not supported by recollected usage, e.g., boloney (one current and one recollected speaker from different regions), they were regarded as nonce usages, and not shown on the maps.

Usage shown for any one town cannot be regarded as definitive - out-of-area usage can always confound this. Unless there are at least five responses shown for a town, the results for that town taken in isolation are not statistically reliable. However, when taken in conjunction with surrounding towns, the regional pattern of distribution is reliable. When the responses for a town or small area show a tendency towards a regional usage, evidence from recollected usage was taken into account in deciding whether they warranted further investigation.
Interpretive maps

The heteroglosses consist of straight lines joining towns. At times this means that a line goes outside the land mass, e.g., across Port Phillip Bay in Victoria. Where heteroglosses run through towns near but not on the edge of land masses, e.g., through Moe (336), common sense indicates that the usage in the region bounded by the heterogloss would extend to settlements on the coast. However, strict application of the definition of heteroglosses requires that they pass only through the locations surveyed.

Tasmania, being separated from the mainland, required special treatment. There are three possibilities: (i) The mainland SE term is also used in Tasmania, e.g., *nature strip* (Item 48). In this case the heterogloss shows only the northern limit for the term. (ii) A term different from the SE mainland one is used in Tasmania, e.g., *German sausage* and *Strasburg* on the mainland, but *Belgium* [sic] in Tasmania (Item 13). One heterogloss then goes through the southernmost uses of the mainland SE term and another through the northernmost use of the Tasmanian term. (iii) The mainland SE term is not used in Tasmania because the item in question does not appear to occur there, e.g., *mudlark* on the mainland, no responses in Tasmania (Item 26). A heterogloss then joins the southernmost mainland towns.

In Queensland, the heteroglosses take account of the distribution of regional names in the supplementary material as well as in the main survey. Hence they may appear to join towns not on the main map.

The heteroglosses do not go round apparent physical barriers such as the Australian Alps in southern NSW, as this would be to arbitrarily impose an interpretation on what speakers said in isolated settlements that were not sampled in the mountains.

In some cases, the heterogloss goes through a single town, e.g., Mullumbimby (89), where the area sampled narrowed to one town.

Towards the outer geographical limits of the regions sampled, it cannot be assumed that usage from the region extends into the unsampled area. For example, in south-east Queensland, heteroglosses for Queensland usage cannot be assumed to extend further west than Warwick (84), even though it is quite likely that they do. For items with a name shared by all the southern regions, the heterogloss indicates the limit of the SE, and is extended towards the SC and SW by a row of dots, rather than drawing the heterogloss through unsampled areas to the other southern regions. In many cases the heteroglosses are only partial, even within regions that were intensively sampled, e.g., the western limit of *cordial* (Item 44), because only a few people at that limit of the usage region used that word.

Some of the heteroglosses are only tentatively drawn, e.g., for *German sausage* in the mainland SE, which could in fact reflect the age of the speakers. Such cases are pointed out in the text accompanying the maps.

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DISTRIBUTION OF REGIONAL NAMES FOR EACH ITEM SURVEYED

Item 1 - SLIPPERY DIP

The NSW and South Australian obligatory regional name *slippery dip* coincides almost entirely with the State areas. On the other hand, the SE obligatory regional name *slide* extends into NSW, forming a wide transition zone with the NSW term. In southern NSW, largely co-extensive with the transition zone, there is an area where *slippery slide* is used, an apparent hybrid between the terms used on either side. (However *slippery slide* in Hobart (355) could not be a hybrid term there, but is probably out of area.) In places such as Deniliquin (203) in the NE/SE transition zone, both of the regional terms and the hybrid term are used. In Queensland, the obligatory regional name *slippery slide* is a term in its own right, not a hybrid between neighbouring terms.

There is no apparent reason why all the regional names except the SE's should follow the State borders. If the names were those used by Departments of Education for the playground equipment they supply for their playgrounds, southern NSW would not use SE *slide* or the SE/NSW hybrid *slippery slide*. Names used by different distributors of playground equipment are more likely to give rise to the regional names, probably with southern NSW being supplied by both a Melbourne manufacturer who called them *slides* and a Sydney manufacturer who called them *slippery dips*. 

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Item 2 - BLEEDING NOSE

*Blood nose* is the obligatory regional term in all the Southern regions. Canberra mainly follows southern usage. It forms a separate sub-region because it is far from other instances except Braidwood (227), which is probably out of area. If there is any influence on Braidwood speech by Canberra residents passing through the town on their way to the coast, it is unlikely to be on *blood nose*. In Tasmania, although the south appears to be different from the north, the number of responses is too low to allow a firm conclusion to be drawn.

There are three obligatory regional terms in use in the NE - *nose bleed* and *bleeding nose* in both parts of the NE, and *bloody nose* mainly in NSW. The last two could be descriptions rather than names and therefore could be used anywhere in Australia, but in fact are used almost entirely in the NE. There were a few instances of *nose bleed* in the SE and SC, some distance from the main *nose bleed* region. Eleven of the twelve speakers were over 30; this age difference in usage could be worth investigating. In spite of informants' reports that *blood nose* is starting to be used by younger speakers in NSW, no evidence for this was found north of the NE/SE transition zone in the main survey. However in the Queensland supplementary material, it was used by 16% of informants, all aged under 50. More work on younger NSW speakers could be done, especially in Sydney where informants' reports came from.
Map 5.2a  BLEEDING NOSE

- bleeding nose
- blood nose
- bloody nose
- nose bleed
Item 3 - ICE CREAM BUCKET

The obligatory regional names for this item reflect manufacturers' distribution areas. The SE term *dixie* was used in southern NSW in the towns (Wentworth (144), Dareton (153) and Balranald (169)) probably supplied from Mildura (249), and Hay (170) and Deniliquin (203) probably supplied from Echuca (276) in Victoria. It was also used in towns in South Australia near the Victorian border which may be supplied by a Victorian distributor. None of the Victorian towns near the border used the SC obligatory regional term *dandy*, which suggests that South Australian suppliers do not deliver across the border into Victoria.

Regional names may reflect earlier rather than current names. For instance, Amscol in South Australia called their product a *dandy*, and this name is still used there, though Amscol has been taken over by Streets, which advertises it as a *cup*.

Rankins Springs (147) and Coolamon (192) in the northern part of the Riverina, and Burra (23), Nuriootpa (33a) and Victor Harbour (41) in South Australia had informants who said *dixie*, though they are distant from the *dixie* region. This needs further investigation, though on the present maps they are counted as out of area because distribution networks make it unlikely that they would get a different brand of ice cream from the surrounding small towns. Another possibility is that they may be a reflection of earlier usage. An informant who supplied data for the corpus of regionalisms reported that Peters, which makes dixies, in the 1950s also supplied towns in South Australia where Amscol's dandies were sold, though Peters was often regarded as the foreign supplier and had fewer outlets in most areas of South Australia. However there may have been some areas where it was the larger supplier. Similar reasons may account for *dixie* at Rankins Springs and Coolamon.
Item 4 - BILLY CART

The Australian-wide name for this home-made vehicle is *billy cart*, with *go-cart* also used everywhere. (This is not the same as the small vehicle with a low-powered engine also called a *go-cart* or *go-kart*.) It was included in the main survey because a trial survey had shown that its SW elective regional name was *hill trolley*. However, in the main survey, in which results are shown only for current usage, only two current SW speakers said *hill trolley*, compared with four who said *go-cart*. Both names were remembered by former SW residents - seven for *hill trolley*, and eight for *go-cart*. All those who used or remembered *hill trolley* were over 30, while eight of the twelve who used or remembered *go-cart* were under 30. This small amount of evidence is probably enough to show that the SW uses an elective regional name, but there are not enough current instances of it to draw a heterogloss with any confidence.
Item 5 - FRENCH KNITTING

In NSW at least, this children's handcraft is mainly learnt in the lower grades of primary school, so that the distribution of obligatory regional names could be expected to coincide with the States' education systems, but this is not the case. The SC obligatory regional name, *tomboy stitch* or *tomboy*, is used in Broken Hill (143), Wentworth (144), Dareton (153) and Balranald (169) in NSW, where the schools are run by the NSW Department of Education.

In all regions but the SC, the obligatory regional name is *French knitting*. *Knitting Nancy*, mentioned in the SE, was reported by several informants to be the sort bought as a kit, not the sort children make for themselves from a wooden cotton reel and nails.
Map 5.5b  FRENCH KNITTING
Limits of regions

- - - - - - - Western limit of eastern French knitting;
eastern limit of SW French knitting
- - - - - - Eastern and western limits of
tomboy stitch

0 km 400
Item 6 - DOUBLE

This can be used as either a noun or a verb, though it was elicited here as a verb. The obligatory regional terms for this item have the clearest regional distribution in this survey.

The NE term double did not extend as far south into the transition zone as is usual, while SE dink was used extensively right to the limit of the SE region at the Lachlan River. In the southern part of the double region, some speakers used its abbreviation dub, and a few older speakers said double bank, while in the dink region a few people said double dink (though only one was in the overlap of the double and dink regions).

In the SC two obligatory regional terms were used, dinky and donkey. Younger speakers used both dinky and donkey, while more older speakers used donkey. An informant from Millicent (50), born in 1926, said "They say dinkying now, but it was donkeying when I was at school."

In the SC region there were five instances of SE dink, at Meningie (46a), Goolwa (41b), Strathalbyn (41c) and Morgan (29a). There are two possibilities for assigning them to a region. The first is to include them in the dink region, though a long way from the main part of it, perhaps as a minor synonym used alongside dinky (or possibly an abbreviation of it). These examples of dink were all used by younger speakers (aged 17-37), though younger speakers in the same towns also said dinky or donkey, whereas older speakers in the same towns did not say dink. The second possibility, adopted here, is to exclude these towns from the SE region, while noting that they need further investigation. The grounds for this are that (i) they are far from the rest of the dink region; (ii) they do not have any discernible links with it; and (iii) if use of dink implies a change towards younger speakers saying dink in the dinky region, it would probably be used in towns nearer the main dink region.

Although the numbers in the SW are small, it seems reasonably clear that dinky and dink or its variant double dink are the SW terms. These conclusions are supported by recollected evidence for dinky and dink, and no recollections of other terms.

In NSW there may be a local region on the far north coast, where two people (one each at Mullumbimby (89) and Lismore (90)) said bar ("Andrew is barring Matthew"). Another at Alstonville near Lismore remembered it, while another at Ballina, also near Lismore, remembered bary. The ages of the four speakers ranged from 31 to 41, so it is not an older term dying out. Bar was also reported by contributors to the corpus of regionalisms. Although the evidence is slight it would be worth following up.

A quote in the AND suggests that the SE term dink came into use in the early 1930s. Under dink, n., it quotes the Sydney Bulletin of 5 September 1934:

Victorian philologists are becoming alarmed over an outbreak in the State schools of a new form of slang. Two words in particular have gained great popularity - 'dink' and 'pug'. These are apparently both used to express a request for a double-bank ride. The fortunate Melbourne
schoolkid with a bike, when time comes to go home, is asked by his
cobber for a 'dink'.

People who were at school in the early 1930s would now be the oldest people in the
survey, so it was not possible to check whether double-bank was used in Victoria
before dink and pug, or whether the Sydney writer was using the NE term double
bank.

The quote is continued under pug:

In the country the other word [pug] seems more popular, horses being
largely used there. When a cobber wants a lift home behind the kid in the
saddle he asks for a 'pug'.

Another quote from the Bulletin of 26 September 1934:

In 1915 I was riding to my first job in Mildura when another boy asked
me to 'pug' him to Fourteenth-street.

These are the only quotes for pug, suggesting that it may later have fallen out of use.
However, it may have been transferred to bikes when horses were no longer used,
though the second quote does not make it clear whether the writer was riding a horse
or a bike.

Pug was used in the initial field survey in the part of the country where the above
quotes were found, in Renmark (29) 146 km west of Mildura (249), and in Hay (170)
296 km east of Mildura. At Renmark it was used by women born in 1933 and 1950.
The former said that it is now dinky or double up. The use of pug by the latter without
comment suggests that it would still have been in use when she was at school in the
late 1950s and 1960s. At Hay the speaker was born in 1926. He gave pug as an
alternative to dink. More work is needed, particularly with older speakers, in this area
and other country areas in the SE and SC. The pug region appears to have cut across
the borders of the present SC and SE regions.
Item 7 - FOOTPATH (1)

This item, the strip of concrete along which pedestrians walk next to the roadway, has the Australia-wide name, footpath. It was included as a check against the NE/SC obligatory regional name, also footpath, for the grassed area between front fences and the roadway. This grassed area frequently has a concrete strip laid on it. In the NE and SC, both are called footpath. This causes considerable disbelief among speakers from the SE and ACT, who call the grassed area the nature strip, and from the SW who call it the verge. In the NE and SC it is possible to say that a footpath has a footpath on it.

Because footpath (for the concrete type) is used all over Australia, it was not necessary to show its distribution on a map.

(See Item 48 for names of the grassed type of footpath.)
Item 8 - SCALLOP (1)

The obligatory regional name in the NE and ACT for a slice of potato dipped in batter and fried, scallop, is the same as the name for a small shellfish also often dipped in batter and fried. Because the potato type is well known, it is not usually necessary to specify a potato scallop, though this is sometimes done. (The shellfish type is not well known anywhere.)

Potato cake is a southern obligatory regional term, being the only name used in the SE and one of the SC names. Both it and the other SC obligatory regional name, potato fritter, were used by speakers of all ages.
Item 9 - TUB

The pattern of distribution of names for this item is unusual in that there is almost no overlap between the NE and SE obligatory regional names. The NE name is \textit{laundry} \sim \textit{wash(ing) tub}. In the SE and SC this is a minor alternative to southern \textit{trough}. \textit{Laundry} \sim \textit{wash(ing) trough} is used by all the southern regions. In the SE, there were two phonological variants of \textit{trough}, which is usually pronounced [trof]. Eight speakers spread across all age groups in country areas pronounced it [troʊf]. This was also remembered by seven speakers who had grown up in the same areas. One speaker said [troʊ], and this pronunciation was also remembered by another speaker from the same region. Both variants were given by informants for whom I wrote down the answers to the pictorial questionnaire. Other informants may use these variants, but this may not have been reflected in the spellings they used. (This was one of the two cases where it would have been an advantage to interview all informants personally, so as not to lose phonological detail. The other case was Item 71, 'bar'leys, in the SW.)
Item 10 - Bindi-Eye

This is the prickle familiar to bare-footed children, and remembered well by adults. Many informants had vivid childhood memories of stepping on one in bare feet, or of having a bike tyre punctured by one.

The distribution of obligatory regional names for this prickle forms three regions, the SW, the SC and the eastern mainland, which has two, or possibly three, sub-regions.

In the SW the name is *double gee*, given by five current users backed up by 18 who remembered it.

The SC name is *three-corner jack*. (Many informants were scornful of pedants who call it *three-cornered jack.*) The SC name extends further into Victoria than is usual for SC terms, along the southern coast as far as Geelong (323), as well as into the north-west corner and the river junction area round Mildura (249) and Wentworth (144), and as far into NSW as Balranald (169). When a fine-grained survey is done inland in the western districts of Victoria, it may show that the heterogloss there may be even further east.

In the *three-corner jack* region, there was some use of minor terms, *prickle jack*, *prickly jack*, or *jack*. Although there were few uses of these terms, the fact that they occurred only in a limited area, and that there were no out-of-area reports of their use, suggest that they could repay further enquiry. *Caltrop* and *California puncture weed*, were also mentioned. The latter term, used by one person each at Wentworth (144) and Dareton (153), may have been introduced by the Chaffey brothers, Canadians who had established an irrigation scheme in California before establishing the irrigation scheme at Mildura (149) and Renmark (29) in 1887. This needs further investigation.

The third region is made up of the eastern mainland States. These share one name, *bindi-eye* (or *bindi*), from south-east Queensland, through NSW and into Victoria.

Some Queensland informants questioned whether the photograph showed the larger, more vicious variety found in Queensland, as there was nothing to indicate size. If it was the larger type, they said, it was a bull-head; if not it was a bindi-eye. The name *bull-head* in Queensland should therefore be treated with caution. The distribution of names, both current and recollected, only in the south-east of Queensland suggests that it does not grow further north.

Within the NE there is regional homonymy, with two burrs called *bindies*. The first is the sharp woody type investigated here. The second type is reportedly round with small prickles, but it was not known by many informants. This may be a plant of the genus *Calotis*, which has small burrs with fine barbed awns which cling to clothing. Those who did know of it were divided over whether both are called *bindies*, or whether the hard spiny type has another name. Most people who mentioned this possible confusion were from inland NSW. Here, as well as two burrs which
apparently share one name, *bindi*, there are two names, *bindi* and *cat-head*, for the hard spiny type. This area of confusion needs more investigation.

The *cat-head* sub-region lies within NSW, mainly north of the Murrumbidgee River. Also within NSW, *cat's-eye* was used, mainly within the *cat-head* region.

*Bindi* was used in most parts of Victoria where the weed grows, including the transition zone with the *three-corner jack* region. It apparently does not grow in eastern Victoria as no respondents, current or recollected, had a name for it. Similarly, the linguistic evidence supports informants' reports that it does not grow in Tasmania.
Map 5.10b  BINDI-EYE
Limits of regions

- Southern and western limits of bindi-eye
- Southern limit of bull-head
- Northern and southern limits of cat('s) eye
- Northern and southern limits of cat('s) head
- Eastern limit of double gee
- Eastern and western limits of three-corner jack
Item 11 - CIGARETTE PAPERS

Papers for making roll-your-own cigarettes are cigarette papers, roly papers or rolies, or are known by brand names, everywhere in Australia. In a trial survey, some Tasmanians called them tissues. In the main survey, in which only responses from current speakers were used, only one current Tasmanian said tissues, though five former Tasmanians remembered it. This is insufficient evidence to warrant a map, though further investigation could be worthwhile.
Item 12 - LOBSTER (1)

This item, a marine crustacean, divides Australia roughly into two main regions, the NE where lobster is the obligatory regional name, and the South where crayfish is the obligatory regional name. However, crayfish was also used in Queensland, while lobster was also used in the SC and mainland SE. In these regions there was proportional rather than absolute use of the regional terms. The only regions where the distribution was clearcut were the SW and Tasmania (crayfish), and the part of NSW not in the NE/SE transition zone (lobster).

There is little clash in naming between marine lobsters and crayfish, and freshwater lobsters and crayfish. (See Item 54 for a discussion of the names of freshwater crustaceans.)
Item 13 - DEVON

This product tastes slightly different in each region (with devon blander than fritz, for instance), but in each case the item discussed here is the mildest-tasting in the range of similar products in the region. Informants regard them as being the same thing, and refer to them all by their own regional name. No-one gave the names of any of the stronger-flavoured sausages, so there can have been no confusion over what was meant.

Older informants in each stage of the project reported that this item had once had German-sounding names in the parts of Australia where it now has English names. These informants were agreed that the German names were replaced by more patriotic, English names such as devon, Windsor sausage or Empire sausage, most dating this change from World War I, a few from World War II.

This item was at one time apparently produced by different manufacturers in each State, so that each usage region has a different obligatory regional name for it. In addition, there were apparently local manufacturers in some towns, whose distribution areas can be seen from the local distribution of the names they used for their products. As with names for an ice cream bucket, names no longer used by current manufacturers are sometimes still in current use.

The mainland SE region apparently has (or had) two main manufacturers, as it uses two main terms, German sausage (or German) and Strasburg (or straz). It is not clear from the present evidence whether these names are regionally distributed, or whether they depend on the age of the speakers. German sausage was used in the central-western part of the region, from the west coast towns to as far north as Hay (170) in NSW (perhaps distributed from Melbourne). It was mainly used by speakers over 30. Strasburg was used in most of the SE region, by speakers under 50.

Manufacturers from neighbouring States also apparently distribute their products over the State borders. Along the western border of Victoria, South Australian fritz may be sold in the two Victorian towns which have most interaction with South Australia, Murrayville (252) and Portland (316). NSW devon is apparently sold in the eastern part of Victoria. Another possibility, at least in the smaller border towns, is that Victorians shop over the border in the nearest large town. People from Murrayville (252) (population 296) shop in Pinnaroo, SA (43) (population 746), where they would buy fritz. The Bendoc (315) informant, who said devon, was interviewed while buying groceries at Delegate (245) NSW, which is the shopping town for small settlements on the Victorian side of the border in that area. Similarly, informants at Wodonga (291), Tallangatta (292) and Corryong (293) said devon as well as SE names. These towns look to Albury (228) in NSW as a major trading centre, because of the difficulty of access caused by the mountains in other directions. At Orbost (327) one person said devon, and another remembered it from there. Orbost is a long way from the nearest NSW supplier so it is possible that a local brand may have been devon.
In the north-west corner of the SE region, there is a small local region probably based on Mildura (249) (the only town in the area with any manufacturing), where the term is *polony*. It is distributed into the nearby NSW towns across the river as well as south from Mildura. Eleven other informants in the *polony* region also remembered the same term. At Jeparit (264), the local *polony* was used, as well as the more widely distributed *straz*, and *fritz* from over the border.

Tasmania is apparently supplied by a different manufacturer from those on the SE mainland, as it uses a different name, *Belgium sausage* (or *Belgium*). Eight former Tasmanians also remembered *Belgium*.

The NE region falls into two parts. The most clearly defined is the NSW sub-region and the ACT, where the name is *devon* everywhere except in places which are apparently supplied from over the Victorian and South Australian borders. Within NSW, there are two local areas of interest. There is a small local region on the far north coast based on Lismore (90) where *Byron sausage* was given as well as *devon*. One of the informants who gave this name said that it was called this after nearby Byron Bay, but that the factory that made Byron sausage closed down many years ago. Nevertheless the informants who used this name were 25 and 37, and a 38 year old from Alstonville near Lismore also remembered it. These ages compare with Lismore speakers aged 36 and 41 who said *devon*. It seems that both names are still current, though the locally named brand is no longer made.

There is another local region of NSW based on Newcastle (134) in the Hunter Valley. Speakers at Cessnock (135) and Mulbring (135a) aged 30 and 54 respectively said *Empire sausage*, and it was remembered by ten others aged 31 to 54 who had grown up in the Hunter Valley. This compares with speakers aged 30 to 35 who said *devon*. Several contributors to the corpus of regionalisms said *devon* used to be called *Empire sausage* in the Newcastle area, but the name is still used. No-one could offer information on who made Empire sausage or whether it is still being made by that name.

Queensland forms the other part of the NE. Like the SE, it uses several names, though with fewer current informants interviewed in Queensland it is more difficult in some instances to discern trade patterns. There may be (or have been) different companies supplying smallgoods under different names in the south-east of the State. *Windsor sausage* was given by five speakers aged 31 to 54. This was also recollected by six speakers aged 37 to 49 in an area ranging from Brisbane (79) to Barcaldine in central Queensland and Mossman in the far north. Also in the south-east, four speakers aged 42 to 60 said *straz*, (which is also one of the SE names), and it was remembered by four others aged 26 to 42 from there and Maryborough north of Gympie (69). Two said *luncheon sausage*, which was remembered by 12 others in the same area.

One trade area in Queensland, based on Rockhampton (60), can be clearly recognised from the linguistic evidence. *Belgium (sausage)* (which is also the Tasmanian name) was given by two current Rockhampton informants aged 63 and 65, plus a further two from there and two others from nearby Dululu and Mount Morgan.
(aged 35 to 42) who gave it as recollected usage. No other names were given from that part of the State, which suggests that a local manufacturer made Belgium sausage and distributed it to nearby towns but not further afield.

The remaining two regions have a clearcut distribution of obligatory regional names. In the SC extending into Victoria and the SC-influenced Wentworth (144) in NSW, the name is *fritz*, given by every current SC speaker and remembered by all but one person who had grown up in South Australia or Broken Hill (143) and moved away. In the SW the name is *polony*, given by every current SW speaker and every speaker who had grown up there before moving away.
Item 14 - SPINACH

In the SE mainland, the obligatory regional name is silver beet. The vegetable SE speakers call spinach is a flat-leaved, lighter green vegetable (possibly the vegetable known as English spinach in NSW, according to some informants, though this has not been verified yet).

The two names for this item are used in most parts of Australia, with regional differences being proportional rather than absolute. Only in Tasmania (silver beet) and the NSW part of the NE outside the NE/SE transition zone (spinach) are the regional names used exclusively.
Item 15 - CORN ON THE COB

This item is *corn on the cob* or *corn cob* everywhere in Australia, with *sweet corn* also used, particularly in the SC. A trial survey showed that in the Kempsey area in NSW it is also called by an elective regional name, *muttai*. In the main survey, one current speaker from Gloucester (126) in that area said *muttai*, while three former Kempsey residents remembered it. This is insufficient evidence on which to base a map, but a local investigation would be worth while.
Item 16 - BOBBY PIN

This item has two main obligatory regional names, *bobby pin* in the NE, and *hairclip* in the southern regions. These names are used by both men and women.

However, men and women differ on use of minor names. In the NE, women use only the regional name *bobby pin*, but a few men said *hairpin*. In the southern regions the picture is more complicated. More than half the women (53%) gave the regional name *hairclip*, and the rest said *bobby pin* (30%) or *hairpin* (17%). The men gave the regional name *hairclip* and *hairpin* almost equally (43% and 45% respectively) and the rest (12%) said *bobby pin*. *Hairpin* is not the main name used by women anywhere.

Because *bobby pin* is used as a minor name in the southern regions, and *hairpin* is used as a minor name everywhere, it is not possible to draw heteroglosses for either of these names (though it would be possible to draw a heterogloss for women's use of *hairpin* as a minor name in the south - the northern limit runs from Ouyen (254) through Mulwala (220) and Corryong (293) to Eden (247)). However *hairclip* is clearly a southern name, as it is not used as a minor name in the NE (with the possible exception of Yenda (66) and Bermagui (239), which are sometimes within the SE for other items; at this stage they are counted as out of area as they are so far separated from other towns where *hairclip* is used).

*Hairslide* was used by seven people in southern regions, four of them in Tasmania. On this slight evidence this seems to be a minor southern term, and support for this comes from recollected usage which shows that it was remembered by four people in Victoria and six in Tasmania.
Map 5.16b  BOBBY PIN  Limits of regions

Northern and southern limits of hairclip
Item 17 - GUTTERS

The Australia-wide name is gutters (or guttering). Spouting (or spout) is the elective regional name in the mainland SE region only. In towns where both the names are used, there is no significant age difference in usage.
Map 5.17a  GUTTERS

* spout - spouting

The Australia-wide terms, not shown, are gutters and guttering.
Item 18 - ROCKMELON

The Australia-wide name is rockmelon. Its elective regional name in the SE is cantaloupe, though a minority of speakers said rockmelon. In most of the region both names were used by speakers of all ages. However, a 36-year-old woman in Portland (316), close to the South Australian border, said that it was called rockmelon when she was a child but it is now called cantaloupe. A 70-year-old woman at Kingston SE (46) in South Australia also said that it was rockmelon in earlier days. In spite of these comments, in the South Australian part of the region, cantaloupe was used only by speakers over 55.
Map 5.18a  ROCKMELON

- cantaloupe

The Australia-wide term, not shown, is rockmelon.
Item 19 - STROLLER

The pattern of distribution for names of this item may not be as clear now as it once was. This is because the type of stroller that was popular in the late 1970s and 1980s (and shown in the photograph used in this survey) was advertised as a *stroller* or *umbrella stroller*, even in *pusher* regions. Thus the *pusher* regions may now have more instances of *stroller* for this item than they once would have. It is difficult to gauge how much influence this advertising may have had, if any - for instance, only three people called it an *umbrella stroller*. It may be that *stroller* has always been used alongside *pusher* in the *pusher* regions. On present usage, *stroller* is the Australia-wide name, the main name in the NE region, and a minor name elsewhere. In all the southern regions, the regional term *pusher* is the main name.

In all regions, there was use of *pram* as the name for this item, in addition to the main names. This was by men under 40 and teenage girls.
Map 5.19a  STROLLER

- pusher

The Australia wide term, not shown, is stroller.
Item 20 - RUBBER BAND

This item has two Australia-wide names - rubber band (the most common), with elastic band also used. Both these names have variants which are used as elective regional names.

Rubber ring was used in the SE and SC by seven older speakers (aged 43-87). A further seven (aged 39-65) also remembered it. Other speakers of the same age groups in the same regions said rubber bands. This item could be worth including in a survey of the speech of older people.

Elastic band has two regional variants. Lacker band was used in the mainland SE (mainly Victoria). No-one mentioned that lacker band might be related to elastic band. They apparently thought of it as a separate lexical item. Speakers of both sexes and all age groups used both rubber band and lacker band, though rubber band was about twice as common.

The other regional variant, lacky band, was used in the SW. One informant mentioned its connection with elastic band, and compared it with placky as a diminutive of plastic. Three speakers in southern NSW also said lacky band, but these were probably out of area, rather than derived from SE lacker band, as only one of the three instances was in the lacker band region.
Map 5.20a  RUBBER BAND

- lacker band
- lacky band
- rubber ring

The Australia-wide terms, not shown, are rubber band and elastic band.
Item 21 - PEDESTRIAN CROSSING

Pedestrian crossing and zebra crossing are the obligatory regional names everywhere except the SW. They were used by speakers of all age groups. Zebra crossing was preferred to pedestrian crossing in the SC and Queensland. In the SW, the obligatory regional term crosswalk was given by all the current speakers who responded, and by 14 others who remembered it.
Map 5.21b  PEDESTRIAN CROSSING
Limits of regions

- Eastern limit of crosswalk
- Western limit of pedestrian crossing
  and zebra crossing
Item 22 - HOLIDAY HOUSE

In the NE and SE, the Australia-wide names are holiday house (preferred in NSW), and beach house (preferred in Queensland).

In NSW, the little-used elective regional name is weekender, which was used by only 14 people, compared with 75 who used the Australia-wide names. It was used by all age groups except teenagers.

The southern elective regional term is shack (or holiday shack or beach shack). In the SC and SW, it was preferred to the Australia-wide names. In the SE, holiday house is used more by the 20-30s, shack more by the 30+s, and though the numbers are small the 50+s may prefer beach house.

Shack was given in the corpus of regionalisms as a Queensland term, as well as a southern one. Here it was used by three people, compared with nine who used the Australia-wide names.

For all the terms, there was no difference in usage between people who live on the coast and people who live inland.
Map 5.22a  HOLIDAY HOUSE

- shack
- weekender

The Australia-wide terms, not shown, are holiday house and beach house.
Item 23 - COCKTAIL FRANKFURTS

The Australia-wide name for the small (approx. 5-7.5cm) red sausages usually eaten with tomato sauce and popular at children's parties is cocktail frankfurts or frankfurts. Saveloys (or savs) is also used, though this name also refers to longer, thicker, more highly spiced reddish sausages.

In the SE and SW, the elective regional name, little boys, is also used. It was used by almost twice as many men as women.

In Queensland, the Australia-wide names are minor names. The main name there is the elective regional cheerios. It was also used in Lismore (90) on the far north coast of NSW, not far from Queensland. Thirteen instances of cheerio were given as current usage in Queensland, compared with two each for the frankfur and saveloy names, plus 35 recollected from Queensland and four recollected from towns near Lismore. Cheerio is still in current use, being given by speakers aged 24-60.

This term also occurred among older speakers in the SE region in central and northern Victoria. Informants aged 50-76 from Echuca (276), Sea Lake (258) and also Deniliquin (203) in NSW gave cheerio as current usage, while four speakers aged 41-50 from that area and as far south as Bendigo (296) and nearby Castlemaine gave it as recollected usage. In the same area the frankfur and saveloy names and little boys are used by younger speakers and also by some older speakers. At some time in the past there may have been a smallgoods manufacturer in this area who produced cocktail frankfurts as cheerios. As this name is not used by younger speakers, it suggests that this manufacturer is no longer operating, or has joined the mainstream in naming this product.
Map 5.23a  COCKTAIL FRANKURTS

- cheers
- little boys

The Australia-wide terms, not shown, are cocktail frankfurts, frankfurts and saveloys.
Map 5.23b  COCKTAIL FRANKFURTS
Limits of regions

- Southern limit of Old cheerios;
- limit of SE cheerios
- Northern and western limits of SE little boys;
- eastern limit of SW little boys
Item 24 - STREET DIRECTORY

Although the elective regional names for this item are publishers' names, they are used as generic names for Australia-wide street directory. The regional names are not used only by speakers in the areas covered by the various directories. In fact, the regional names show which capital city people in borders of regions regard as their regional capital, as opposed to their State capital.

All the capital cities have street directories, but only the eastern mainland capital directories were called by the publishers' names. Few country towns have street directories (though larger towns may have a street plan on the back of the district map), so informants from country areas apparently use the name of the directory for the capital city with which they are most familiar.

Everywhere except Queensland, the most common names were the Australia-wide ones, street directory or directory, followed by map names (map, street map, map book, city road map). There was no pattern to these names, or to atlas, which was used by a scattering of people. Although UBD publishes street directories in most capital cities, only eight people used this name.

In NSW and the ACT, the regional name was Gregory's (from Gregory's Sydney (or Canberra) Street Directory), (although in fact Gregory's publishes street directories for other capitals such as Brisbane, Melbourne and Adelaide). No-one from the far north of NSW gave Gregory's as current usage, and the furthest north it was remembered was Grafton (99). In southern NSW, Gregory's was used as far south as Albury (228) on the Victorian border. No-one outside NSW used the NSW name, i.e., the parts of Queensland and Victoria near the NSW border do not look to Sydney as their regional capital.

In Queensland, the regional name was Refidex. UBD has now taken over Refidex, and the directory's title is UBD Refidex Street Directory, but Queensland informants referred to it as a Refidex. As well as the eight Queenslanders who gave Refidex as the current name, 24 others remembered it. The far north coast of NSW evidently looks to Brisbane (79), which is closer than the NSW State capital, Sydney (176), as its regional capital, as one person from Lismore (90) gave Refidex as current, and another from Tweed Heads almost on the Queensland border remembered it.

The SE regional name for a street directory, Melways (from Melway Street Directory) was used as far from Melbourne as towns in southern NSW. This suggests that people there are more familiar with Melbourne than they are with their State capital, Sydney. It was not used in towns in South Australia near the Victorian border, which suggests that people there do not look to Melbourne as their regional capital. In both cases, this is supported by use of other regional words - SE words are frequently used in southern NSW, but not often in South Australia.
Item 25 - SMOKED COD

The non-specific name *smoked fish* was used in most parts of Australia. A more specific name, *smoked cod*, is the Australia-wide term, though it is possible that other types of smoked fish may also be called *smoked cod*.

There are also three elective regional names. The NE name is *haddock*, although haddock ("a food fish, *Melanogrammus aeglefinus*, of the northern Atlantic, related to but smaller than the cod" *(Macquarie Dictionary)*) is apparently not found near Australia. *Scotch haddock* and *smoked haddock* were also used in the *haddock* region.

In the SC, the elective regional name is *English fillet*. It was also used by one person and recollected by another in the SW. Conversely, what may be the SW term, *South African fillet*, was used by two people and recollected by another in the SC. Because of the small amount of evidence in the SW for *South African fillet* (2 current and 4 recollected uses) and some evidence for it in the SC (2 current and 1 recollected), no heterogloss could be drawn with confidence for this term.
Map 5.25a  SMOKED COD

A  English fillet
*  haddock
X  South African fillet

The Australia-wide terms, not shown, are smoked cod and smoked fish.
Item 26 - PEEWEE

This bird (Grallina cyanoleuca) is a different species from the magpie (Gymnorhina tibicen), being distinguishable from it by its smaller size, skinny legs, and habit of wandering round grassy areas near buildings. However, magpie is often used for the peewee. It is was not recognised by Tasmanian informants, although bird references show it as distributed over the whole island except the south-west.

In the NE, the obligatory regional name peewee has a variant peewit, used by two people in this survey (though one contributor to the corpus of regionalisms said that peewit is pronounced ['piwi]').

The mainland SE obligatory regional name mudlark is confined almost entirely to the State of Victoria and does not extend far into the transition zone with the NE. The SC obligatory regional name is Murray magpie, even in parts of the region away from the Murray River.

Note the Pinnaroo (43)/Murrayville (252) area, where both SE and SC terms are used on both sides of the border, with the NE term peewee also used at Murrayville. Twelve people who had grown up in western Victoria also remembered that they had said peewee. It is also used in the south-east of South Australia, well away from the main peewee region - 10 instances of it compared with 17 of South Australian Murray magpie (and none of SE mudlark) in the same towns. This is the only example found so far, apart from Canberra, of a clearly defined pocket of usage within a region with contrasting usage.
Item 27 - ICE CREAM WAFER

The Australia-wide names for this type of ice cream belong to the wafer group - ice cream wafer, wafer ice cream, wafer, vanilla wafer, ice cream in a wafer - with a few instances of waffle. The scarcity of responses from Queensland and South Australia suggests that this type of ice cream may not be sold in those States.

A possible elective regional name in the SW was ice cream sandwich or giant sandwich. Four people used this, but because it was also used by three people in the eastern States, a heterogloss marking it as SW usage cannot confidently be drawn.

The elective regional name in the SE was cream-between. (Creme-B-Tween and Kreme-B-Tween were occasionally reported as brand names used by the manufacturer.) It was used by a third of the informants in the mainland SE regardless of their age, and by all the informants in Tasmania. Coolamon (192) and Henty (212) were included in the cream-between region as they are in the SE for other items. The cream-between region lies within the dixie region and the icy pole region, though no one was able to give any information on whether they are all made by the same manufacturer.
Map 5.27a  ICE CREAM WAFER

The Australia-wide term, not shown, is ice cream wafer.
Item 28 - DRAWING PIN

*Drawing pin* is the Australia-wide name. In the NE and the ACT, the elective regional name *thumb tack* was also used, both being used by all age groups.
Map 5.28a  DRAWING PIN

The Australia-wide term, not shown, is drawing pin.
Item 29 - SUITCASE

The Australia-wide name for this item is suitcase (or occasionally case). (In Queensland a case is reported to be a wooden crate in which fruit is packed.) In the popular stereotype, the elective regional term port is associated with Queensland speech, and is seen by other regions as a somewhat stigmatised term. It is the most used term in Queensland (88% of current informants, and 89% of recollected). However, it is also used in New South Wales, although it is not commonly associated with that State, perhaps because it is apparently not used in Sydney (no current usage, and only four recollected). In NSW non-metropolitan areas, it is a minor term, mainly used by speakers over 30. It was not used in the ACT.
Item 30 - BUBBLER

_Fountain_ variants are the obligatory regional names for this item everywhere except NSW, with _drinking fountain_ the most common variant. The obligatory regional name in NSW and the ACT is _bubbler_. A possible explanation for the _bubbler_ region being co-extensive with the State is the association of this item with school playgrounds - the NSW Department of Education's territory and the _bubbler_ region are co-extensive. (ACT schools were originally administered by NSW.)

Within the SE region, there were two minor regional names - _drinking ~ water_ _tap_ in Victoria and SA, and _bubble tap_ in Victoria. They would be worth investigating as minor SE terms, particularly _bubble tap_ which was used by eight people (compared with 29 in Victoria who gave _fountain_ names.)
Item 31 - ICE BLOCK

There are several types of flavoured ice confections on a stick. As with devon, fritz, etc, the types vary slightly. All are flat rather than cylindrical, though some have a ridged surface and some are smooth. One of their names is a generic one, and the others are proprietary names which are used as generic names. The proprietary names identify the distribution networks of different manufacturers.

Icy pole is a brand name which is written on the wrappers of Peter's icy poles. It is not clear whether icy poles are distributed in Queensland. Two speakers aged 60 and 65 in the main survey, and three aged 60 in the Queensland supplementary material, said icy pole. One gave icy pole as "going far back", but ice block "in more recent years". However, in the same survey, two younger Brisbane speakers aged 21 and 30 also said icy pole.

In both parts of the NE (Queensland and NSW), as well as the ACT, the main name is ice block, which does not seem to have been used as a brand name. It is also used as a minor name in the SC.

In the NE there are two other minor brand names. One is Paddle Pop, a variety of ice block distributed by Streets. This is apparently distributed in NSW and Queensland.

In northern Queensland only, by-jingo (or jingo) is used. A manufacturer based in one of the coastal towns apparently uses (or used) this as the name of a particular variety. From the linguistic evidence, it appears that it is distributed in coastal towns from Cairns (c) in far north Queensland south to Rockhampton (60/v), and west to Cloncurry (o). Road links along the coast, and from the coast to Cloncurry/Mt Isa, make Townsville (i) a possible central distribution point for this manufacturer. In the supplementary material by-jingo was used by 11 informants aged 17-30, and in the main survey it was given as current usage by one informant aged 38, and recollected usage by five informants aged 21-38. From this it seems that this variety may have come on the market only in recent years. However, a reliable informant in her sixties from Mackay said that by-jingoes have not been made for many years.
Item 32 - GARBAGE BIN

The obligatory regional names for this item in most of Australia belong to the rubbish group - rubbish bin or rubbish tin - with dust bin very occasionally used in the same regions. In NSW and the ACT, the obligatory regional names belong to the garbage group - garbage bin, garbage tin or garbage can. (A few people here called it a garbo or garbo bin, though garbo is usually the name of the person who empties garbage bins- see Item 47.) There was minor use of rubbish names in NSW in the NE/SE transition zone. In the SC and SE, the garbage names are minor alternatives to the rubbish names.

In all regions, bin was also used alone. When the full name was used, combinations with bin were used more often than with tin or can.

Only three people said trash can, the American name, in spite of the influence of American television programs such as "Sesame Street". This appears to support the view that television programs made overseas are not having much effect in causing loss of Australian English vocabulary.
Map 5.32b  GARBAGE BIN
Limits of regions

Northern and western limits of
garbage bin
Northern limit of southern rubbish bin;
southern limit of Queensland
rubbish bin
Item 33 - MARROW

This variety of pumpkin has dark green skin with yellowish stripes. It is long, and bulbous at one end. Its three Australia-wide names, *marrow*, *pumpkin* and *squash*, are also applied to other members of the Cucurbita family. Its two elective regional names, *trombone* and *gramma*, are used for this variety only.

In the SC, the principal name is the regional one, *trombone*, which was used by all age groups.

In NSW, particularly near the coast, people over 30 called it a *gramma*. The only town not on the coast to use *gramma* was Lithgow (152), with another inland town, Inverell (west of Glen Innes (98)) giving it as recollected usage. Fourteen people from towns near the coast also remembered *gramma*. However, it is unlikely to be called *gramma* only on the coast, as it is not associated with a coastal environment, and no names for other items show that pattern of distribution. The small number of respondents allows only limited northern and southern heteroglosses to be drawn.
Map 5.33a  MARROW

- grammar
- trombone

The Australia-wide terms, not shown, are marrow, pumpkin and squash.
Item 34 - GUMBOOTS

The Australia-wide names for this item are *gumboots* and *rubber boots*.

In the SC, the elective regional name is *water boots*, used particularly in the river towns in the irrigation area along the Murray River into NSW. However, it was also used in SC towns away from the river. It was remembered by four people from the same region. It was not given in the irrigation towns such as Griffith (165), Leeton (178) or Coleambally (183) in the Murrumbidgee Irrigation Area in NSW, so it appears to be a SC term rather than an irrigation area term.
Map 5.34a  GUMBOOTS

water boots

The Australia-wide terms, not shown, are gum boots and rubber boots.
Item 35 - TROLLEY (1)

The Australia-wide terms are trolley or tea trolley. Everywhere but the mainland SE, an elective regional word traymobile, is also used. The mainland SE elective regional term is autotray, which was used by speakers of all ages. It was also given as recollected usage by 25 speakers from the same region.
Map 5.35b  TROLLEY (1)
Limits of regions

Limit of autotray
Southern limit of NE traymobile;
eastern limit of SW and SC traymobile
Item 36 - TELEGRAPH POLE

In all regions these wooden poles are known by a variety of Australia-wide names - telegraph pole, telephone pole, power pole, electric light pole, light pole (though the pole shown did not have a light on it), electricity pole, lamp pole, or simply pole. These names also used post in place of pole, though pole names outnumbered post names 265 to 15.

As well as the Australia-wide names, there are two, possibly three, elective regional names. The distribution of the regional names coincides with State electricity authority areas, not with the usual lexical usage regions.

The South Australian regional name is Stobie pole. A true Stobie pole is "a pole of steel and concrete used to carry electricity wires, etc. [from J.C. Stobie, design engineer with the Adelaide Electric Supply Company]" (Macquarie Dictionary). However, many South Australians, particularly those under 50, also called the wooden pole shown in the photograph a Stobie pole. As true Stobie poles were invented in 1924 (Adelaide Advertiser 17 August 1953 quoted in AND), speakers under 50 who had grown up not being familiar with the wooden type may not be aware that Stobie poles are only a particular type of telegraph pole. As well as the 36 people who said Stobie pole as current usage, a further 24 South Australians and one person from the NT (where South Australian influence remained strong after the Federal government took it over from South Australia in 1911) recollected it.

In Victoria these poles were also called SEC poles (from the State Electricity Commission). It was also remembered by 10 Victorians.

Another possible regional name was hydro pole in Tasmania. Contributors to the corpus of regionalisms said that hydro poles are named after "the hydro", the hydro-electricity supply in Tasmania. They also said that in Tasmania the electricity bill is called the hydro bill. Hydro pole was only given as current usage by two people in the main survey, but a further five Tasmanians remembered it. A more detailed survey of Tasmania is needed to confirm that it is a widely used regional term there.

A further area that could repay closer investigation is Broken Hill (143). Two reliable contributors to the corpus said that telegraph poles there are called tele poles. In the main survey the one current Broken Hill resident and three former residents said tele pole. It was also given as current usage at Cassilis (120) and Cessnock (135), and by four former residents of Newcastle (134). It is probably only coincidence that the last two mentioned towns were, like Broken Hill, mining towns, though this connection could be worth following up.
Map 5.36a  TELEGRAPH POLE

- hydro pole
- SEC pole
- Stobie pole

The Australia-wide terms, not shown, are telegraph pole, telephone pole and power pole.
Item 37 - SANTA CLAUS (1)

The pattern of distribution of names for the mythical gentleman who comes round at Christmas appears to be changing. The NSW obligatory regional name is Santa Claus, and the southern and Queensland obligatory regional name was probably once Father Christmas. However, Santa Claus is spreading into the SE and Queensland.

The distribution of the two names in these regions depends on the age of the speakers. In the SE the oldest age group, the 50-60+ year olds, were evenly divided between Santa Claus and Father Christmas. These people were children in the 1920s and 1930s, when they would have learnt what to call him. Both names may always have been used in the SE, or Father Christmas may have been more prevalent before the 1920s. In the next age group, the 30-40 year olds, 71% said Santa Claus. The change that must have begun by the 1920s was well established by the time these speakers were children in the 1940s and 1950s. By the 1960s and 1970s when the youngest age groups were children, the changeover was almost complete, with 96% saying Santa Claus.

Older speakers in Queensland also said Father Christmas. Of the 15 people in both the main survey and the supplementary material who said Father Christmas, 11 were over 30.
Map 5.37a  SANTA CLAUS (1)

- Father Christmas
- Santa Claus
Item 38 - LOCK

This term can be used as either a noun or a verb, though it was elicited as a verb in this survey. The Australia-wide terms are *lock* or *latch*. *Snib* (occasionally *snip*) is the elective regional term in the SE mainland. All three terms were used by all age groups.
The Australia-wide terms, not shown, are lock and latch.
Map 5.30b  
**LOCK**  
Limits of regions  

Northern, southern and western limits of snob
Item 39 - BLACKBOY

For several items in this survey, the item in question varies slightly from region to region, e.g., yabbies or devon, but is regarded as being the same thing. This plant seems to be another such example. "This genus [Xanthorrhoea] of about 15 species occurs in all States, but not in the N.T. ... [and occurs] with or without a tall, rough stem above the ground" (Blombery 1980:332). Four South Australian informants said that blackboys and yakkas are not the same, as yakkas grow flat on the ground or do not have stems; on the other hand another South Australian informant said that yakkas grow to 8 or 9 feet tall. A park ranger in South Australia, who presumably would be familiar with different species of plants, called the plant (with a stem) in the photograph a yakka.

The Australia-wide name is blackboy, and there is also minor use of grasstree. In the SC, the elective regional name yakka (or yakka bush) is used more commonly than the Australia-wide names. In the SE, SC and NSW, kangaroo tail is also used.
Map 5.39a  BLACKBOY

- kangaroo tail
- yakkia

The Australia-wide terms, not shown, are blackboy and grasstree.
Map 5.39b  BLACKBOY
Limits of regions

- Northern and western limits of kangaroo tail
- Eastern and western limits of yakka

NORTHERN TERRITORY
QUEENSLAND
SOUTH AUSTRALIA
NEW SOUTH WALES
VICTORIA
WESTERN AUSTRALIA
TASMANIA
Item 40 - ICE CREAM SODA

Spider is the obligatory regional name used in all the southern regions and the ACT. In the NE, it is replacing the obligatory regional name ice cream soda among some younger speakers, from their teens to their thirties, though other speakers in the same age group said ice cream soda. Younger informants reported that spider is being used more now by younger people. In the NE/SE transition zone, ice cream soda was used by speakers in their 30s and older, though other speakers in that age group said spider.

In the NE, there were four isolated instances of an ice cream soda being remembered as a float. In the north of NSW round Quirindi (114) and Moree, there was one current and one recollected use of purdy. Both these names had also been contributed to the corpus of regionalisms. There were also reports from the Bathurst (151) district of NSW that an ice cream soda made with raspberry soft drink was called bodgie's blood in the 1960s. These minor names could be interesting to follow up.
Item 41 - PARKING INSPECTOR

There is a multiplicity of Australia-wide names - (parking-traffic-meter) policeman-cop-officer-warden-attendant - as well as two, possibly three, elective regional names for this person. Because the colour of the uniforms follows State government areas, the names coincide with the States rather than with the usual lexical usage regions.

In NSW, the elective regional name is brown bomber. It was used by more than half the Sydney (176) informants and also by people from small country towns, some of which, such as Uarbry (119), do not have parking inspectors. As with street directories, people in country towns may use the regional name used in their regional capital; or in this case, the name used in the nearest town large enough to have parking inspectors. At least in Sydney, parking inspectors no longer wear brown, but informants of all ages said brown bomber, including teenagers who would never have seen them in brown.

In Victoria, the elective regional name is grey ghost. Three people in NSW said both brown bomber and grey ghost, which suggests that people may not notice the colour of the uniform, or realise that that was why the name originated (cf. blackboards, which are still called blackboards in spite of being green).

The remaining possible elective regional name is not well attested but is included because of reliable information from contributors to the corpus of regionalisms. This is sticker licker in South Australia. Enquiries among former South Australians living in Canberra showed that those who had left South Australia before the 1960s, when parking inspectors were introduced in Adelaide, had no name for them. Those who remembered Adelaide in the 60s remembered sticker licker but said it is no longer current.
Map 5.41a  PARKING INSPECTOR

- brown bomber
- grey ghost
- sticker licker

The Australia-wide terms, not shown, are parking inspector, parking cop, parking policeman and policeman.
Item 42 - PEANUT BUTTER

This product has two obligatory regional names, peanut butter in NSW, the ACT, Victoria, Tasmania and South Australia, and peanut paste in Western Australia, South Australia and Queensland. The widely held belief is that the latter States would not allow a product with no milk in it to be called butter, so the name peanut paste was introduced. Another version of the story is that in South Australia, this regulation was removed but the name stuck. If this is true, it is not confirmed by the age distribution of speakers. Older speakers in South Australia would say peanut paste and younger ones peanut butter; in fact all age groups use both names, but peanut paste is about twice as common as peanut butter. The terms are State terms, rather than regional ones, as they are dictated by State regulations. Outside the State boundaries the only person to say peanut paste was in Murrayville (252) in Victoria. People from there do their shopping in Pinnaroo (43) just over the border in South Australia.
Map 5.42b PEANUT BUTTER
Limits of regions

- Northern and western limits of eastern peanut butter;
- Eastern limit of SW and SC peanut paste;
- Southern limit of old peanut paste.
Item 43 - DRESSING TABLE

The Australia-wide name for this piece of furniture is dressing table, with dresser also sometimes used (in spite of synonymy with the piece of kitchen furniture of the same name).

In Queensland the elective regional name is duchesse. This was used by 59% of current Queensland speakers (and 60% of Queensland recollected users, as well as two from northern NSW). It is used by younger as well as older speakers (22-65 years) and equally by men and women.
The Australia-wide term, not shown, is dressing table.
Item 44 - SOFT DRINK

A lower proportion than usual of informants responded to this question concerning an aerated, non-alcoholic drink, so that in the regions where low numbers of people were surveyed, the results are too small to be more than a guide to regional usage. This applies particularly to Tasmania and the SW, and also to the SC for this item, as only 10 out of 27 people there answered.

The Australia-wide name for this item is *soft drink* or *drink*. These were used by all age groups and both sexes. Everywhere except Queensland there were also elective regional names.

In the mainland SE, 14 people said *lemonade*. The photograph showed orange-flavoured soft drink, and could not have been mistaken for the clear aerated drink called *lemonade*. Several contributors to the corpus of regionalisms reported that in Victoria, soft drink of any flavour can be called *lemonade*, such as orange lemonade or raspberry lemonade. This name did not depend on speakers' age or sex.

In NSW younger speakers (under 40) called this drink *fizzy drink*.

In NSW and Victoria, *cordial* was also given. (This is not to be confused with the drink also called *cordial*, which consists of flavoured syrup to which water is added. The photograph had a caption noting that the drink was aerated.) Within the *cordial* region, there did not appear to be any pattern to the distribution, e.g., based on particular towns, that would confirm informants' reports that particular local manufacturers called it *cordial* rather than *soft drink*. (Newcastle (134) was suggested as a possible source.) The age of the speakers seemed to be more relevant. In NSW no teenagers said *cordial*, and in Victoria no-one under 30.

In three of the regions where the numbers were too small to be conclusive, some general tendencies can be seen. In Tasmania, only three of the five current speakers answered, and all said *cordial*. Their ages ranged from 26 to 53, i.e., a similar pattern to Victoria. Fifteen former Tasmanians remembered *cordial*. Contributors to the corpus gave *cordial* as typical Tasmanian usage, and this was supported by findings in the trial surveys.

In the SC, four people said *cool drink*, and one in the SW. This alone is not sufficient evidence, but it is supported by the recollection of another seven people from the SC, and five from the SW. In addition, it was not given as recollected usage from anywhere else, so the pattern looks quite clearcut in spite of the small numbers.
Map 5.44a  SOFT DRINK

- ▲ cool drink
- ♦ cordial
- ☆ fizzy drink
- ♦ lemonade

The Australia-wide terms, not shown, are soft drink and drink.
Item 45 - STONE FOR THrowing

The Australia-wide names for a stone for throwing are rock or stone. In addition, all regions have elective regional names. In every region more men than women knew the regional names.

In mainland SE the widely-used elective regional term is yonnie. Brinnie had also been reported from Victoria, though it was only given as recollected usage by two people in this survey.

More men than women used the NE elective regional names, goolie and gibber. Of those who said goolie, 84% were men, and of those who said gibber, 69% were men. These names were also given by respondents in the Queensland supplementary material.

In both the supplementary material and the main survey, another Queensland elective regional term was found. This was gonnie, which was used by younger speakers. It was recollected by three Queenslanders in the main survey, though not given as current usage. One woman aged 39 and two men aged 29 and 38 remembered it. In the supplementary material, it was given as current usage by four men aged from 18 to 24. This compares with the age range of 28-75 for those who said goolie, and 27-65 for those who said gibber.

In the SW the elective regional name is boondie ['bundi]. As well as the four who gave it as current usage (2 men, 2 women), a further 10 (8 men, 2 women) remembered it.

In the SC, two elective regional names were used by speakers of all ages. Six people (4 men, 2 women) said ronnie, and this was also remembered by two men and one woman. Nine (7 men, 2 women) said gibber, which is also used in the NE. The occurrences of gibber were too scattered to draw a heterogloss.
**Item 46 - SWIMMING COSTUME**

*Bathers* is the obligatory regional term in all the southern regions. In the mainland SE, they are also *togs*, though *bathers* is about twice as common. Both are used by all age groups.

The NE forms two sub-regions. In Queensland, the obligatory regional name is *togs*. The NSW obligatory regional names belong to the *swimming costume* group. *Swimming costume* is used as a name in its own right, and there are two derivatives from it - *swimmers* on the one hand, and on the other *costume*, sometimes abbreviated to *cozzie*. Of all the variants, *swimmers* is the most common. *Cozzie* is sometimes given in plural form for the singular item, e.g., "She put her cozzies on and went for a swim". Although all these are variants of the one name, *cozzie* is shown separately on the map, as it is often commented upon as if it were a separate name, by interstate visitors, and by overseas visitors who regard it as very Australian. There is no pattern to the distribution of *cozzie* within the *swimming costume* region. The swimming costume manufacturer who introduced a style advertised as *The Aussie Cozzie* in the mid 1980s apparently did not alter the established pattern of regional names, as *cozzie* is still only used in NSW.

The photograph showed a girl's swimming costume, though men as well as women knew what it was called. It would be worth investigating what boys' swimwear is called - possibly the same names with perhaps the addition of *trunks*. 
Map 5.46b  SWIMMING COSTUME
Limits of regions

- Northern limit of bathers
- Northern and southern limits of swimming costume, swimmers, and cozzie(s)
- Southern limit of Old togs; limit of SE togs

INSET

- Western Australia
- Tasmania
- Northern Territory

0 km 400
Item 47 - GARBO

Related items do not always have related distribution patterns (e.g., potato scallop and Tasmanian scallop; Father Christmas - the seed and the mythical gentleman). Rubbish bin was the obligatory regional name for the container for household rubbish in most of Australia, and garbage bin was only used in NSW and bordering parts of Victoria and in the ACT, and as a minor name in the SC. However, the person who collects the garbage was called the garbo-garbage man-garbage collector over the whole of Australia. Garbo was much more common than the other variants - an Australian abbreviation whose appeal perhaps overrides the fact that its use is inconsistent with the name of what he empties. Rubbish man-rubbish collector was used by a few people in the rubbish bin regions, but the garbo names were more common. In Queensland (a rubbish bin region), for example, the garbo names outnumber rubbish man 12 to 5, and South Australia was almost all garbo names. In the garbage bin region there were no rubbish men.

Because there were so few instances of rubbish man, even in rubbish bin regions, it is not possible to draw heteroglosses. The map is included as a comparison with the rubbish bin map.
Map 5.47a  GARBO

* rubbish man - rubbish collector

The Australia-wide term, not shown, are garbo, garbage man and garbage collector.
Item 48 - FOOTPATH (2)

In the NE and SC, *footpath* is the obligatory regional name for the grassed strip along which pedestrians walk between front fences and the roadway. Compare this with the concrete strip along which pedestrians walk - this is called the *footpath* all over Australia (see Item 7). This causes confusion among speakers from the SE, the ACT and the SW. In the SE including the ACT, the obligatory regional name for the grassed area is *nature strip*. Presumably this name is used in the ACT because the public servants from Melbourne who established Canberra as the national capital used the name they brought with them when setting out town planning requirements.

In the SW, the obligatory regional name is *verge*. In the corpus of regionalisms, *street lawn* was also used. This was given as current by one speaker in the main survey and remembered by another.
Item 49 - TROLLEY (2)

This is the only item in the survey which is not an everyday object. The Australia-wide name is *trolley* (or variants *(hospital-*)operating-*bed-*theatre*) *trolley*), with minor use of *bed* (or *(hospital-*)trolley-*bed*) or *stretcher*. In the SC, the elective regional name is *barouche*, which was used mainly by people over 40 (only 2 under 40). The only people outside South Australia who called it this were two women in Murrayville (252), Victoria. There is only a small hospital in Murrayville, and these women may have been patients at the larger hospital in Pinnaroo (43), 27 km away in South Australia.

Only four people said *gurney*, the American term, in spite of American TV programs, including "M.A.S.H", in which it is used. This appears to support the evidence from *rubbish bin*, when only three people called it a *trash can*, that television programs are not having much effect on Australian English vocabulary.
Map 5.49a  TROLLEY (2)

The Australia-wide terms, not shown, are trolley, theatre trolley and hospital trolley.
Item 50 - SHANGHAI

The Australia-wide names for this object are *shanghai* and *slingshot*. Younger speakers in all regions said *slingshot*. In NSW the bulk of those who said *slingshot* were under 40. In Victoria the main group of users was under 30. Evidence from the Queensland supplementary material survey shows that *slingshot* users there were also under 30, i.e., the changeover from *shanghai* there also began later than in NSW. In Tasmania, South Australia and Western Australia, the numbers in any age group are too low to be significant, though there appears to be a trend for *slingshot* to be used more by under 30s.

A few people in the eastern mainland also said *catapult*. They were mainly older speakers (30+).

In the SW, five people said *ging*. All were older than the two 21 year olds who said *slingshot*. The *ging* users ranged from 25 to 61 years. Another 16 people in the SW remembered *ging*. In Victoria, one person aged 58 gave *ging* as current usage, and another nine aged 37-61 remembered it. In Queensland, four aged 29-48 remembered it, though no-one gave it as current usage. However in the Queensland supplementary material, ten people all under 50 gave it as current. The current use of *ging* in Queensland, taken in conjunction with the recollected use of it in Victoria, means that *ging* cannot be considered a solely SW term. It may have been an older term in Victoria and Queensland, and have dropped out of use in Victoria, but continued to be used in Queensland. This compares with what may have happened with *little lunch* (Item 57) in Queensland.

As well as the main terms *shanghai*, *slingshot* and *ging*, and very minor use of *catapult*, there were two possible elective regional terms that are worth noting. The first is *gat* in Canberra. It was given by one current speaker and one who remembered it. Both were men, aged 49 and 35. With only two examples, it is too small to be significant, but the answer was unexpected, as it had not been reported for the corpus of regionalisms, or turned up in the trial surveys. It could be worth following up among more men of that age group.

The second term that needs investigating is *gonk*. It was remembered by seven men who grew up in Newcastle (but who had since left there), and was said to be a Newcastle word. However it was also remembered by a man from Grafton (99) and another from Junee (193). The ages of the nine men ranged from 26 to 54. Six men from Newcastle remembered either *shanghai* or *slingshot*, not *gonk*. Their ages ranged from 18 to 39. (They could not be compared with current Newcastle usage as the only current speaker there was a woman.) *Gonk* is probably an older word, possibly from Newcastle as most men who remembered it were from there. This is a more promising term to investigate.
Map 5.50a  SHANGHAI

The Australia-wide terms, not shown, are shanghai and slingshot.
Item 51 - SANTA CLAUS (2)

For comparison with Item 37 (Santa Claus-Father Christmas (the mythical gentleman)), the seed known by the same obligatory regional names was included. The names for both items are roughly co-extensive, though the seed is less well known and less widely distributed than the old gentleman's territory. There is no ambiguity, as they occur in different contexts. There is an obligatory regional alternative in the SE - fairy. There is no significant age or sex difference in who uses each name. There were also several names recollected by several speakers or given as current use by only a few speakers. Five Victorians (aged 47-64) remembered robber. Other very minor names that could be worth investigating were wish, and variations on grandfather's (or Santa's) beard (or whiskers) in the NE.
Item 52 - PATERSON'S CURSE

This weed, introduced from Europe, grows in all States, particularly in southern pastures (Auld and Medd 1987:125). However, no respondents in Queensland, the far north of NSW, Tasmania or Western Australia had a name for it, so it apparently does not grow extensively there. It has been declared a noxious weed in South Australia, Victoria and Tasmania. It does not grow much in western Victoria, and an informant from that part said there are strict weed control regulations there.

In the part of the eastern mainland where it is common, the obligatory regional name is Paterson's curse, after the farmer who introduced it near Albury (228) in southern NSW in the 1880s. It is regarded as a curse because it "smothers useful pasture, leaving bare ground when it dries out" (Lamp and Collet 1989:109), and because its cumulative effect can be toxic to livestock (Auld and Medd 1987:125-6).

In the SC the obligatory regional name is Salvation Jane, so called because in drier areas "in problem years [it] can provide acceptable feed" (Lamp and Collet 1989:109).

In the southern part of the Riverina, it is also known by the rather jocular name Riverina bluebell. There are numerous stories, probably apocryphal, about it being sold by this name as a cut flower to gullible city buyers at the Sydney markets. Other jocular names given in the corpus of regionalisms, but not in the surveys, were Lachlan lilac and Murrumbidgee sweet pea.
Item 53 - SANDSHOES

These sports shoes are plain white, without stripes or coloured panels. The Australia-wide name is sandshoes. In the southern regions they were also called sneakers, by people under 40 in the SE, and under 50 in SC. Teenagers in the SE definitely preferred to call them sneakers - 26 said sneakers and only one said sandshoes. It seems surprising that in northern NSW and Queensland no-one said sneakers as the striped type also known as sneakers is widely available. Of the 40 people north of the sneakers heterogloss who had a name for these shoes, 24 were under 40, yet none of them used this name.

In the mainland SE, there were two elective regional names in addition to sneakers. The first was runners, which was used in Victoria and as far north as Junee (193) in the Riverina. The other was tennis shoes, used mainly in the Riverina and north-west Victoria. These two regional names and sandshoes were used by all age groups.
Map 5.53a  SANDSHOES

- runners
- sneakers
- tennis shoes

The Australia-wide term, not shown, is sandshoes.
Item 54 - YABBY

The pattern of distribution of the obligatory regional names for this item is the most complex encountered in this survey. The complexity is compounded by the fact that marine decapod crustaceans in Australia share two of the names of this freshwater crustacean, lobster and crayfish. (See Item 12 for a discussion of the names of the marine type.) For the freshwater type, the SW forms a distinct region; the SC, mainland SE and southern part of the NE region share a common obligatory regional term; Tasmania does not appear to share the mainland SE term (although the number of informants in Tasmania was low); and a minor regional name in the NE covers both NSW and Queensland, though these States each have three, and NSW possibly four, local regions with more commonly-used local terms.

In the SW, jilgie and marron were both used. Many informants thought that marron were simply larger than jilgies, though the WA Yearbook (1988:68) describes them as different species with different habitats. (Common usage does not always agree with official terminology, in items ranging from birds to garbage tips.) Koonac, also given in the Western Australian Yearbook, was given as recollected usage by one SW speaker.

The name shared by the SC, mainland SE, and the southern part of the NE region was yabby. It was the only term in the SC and the mainland SE. It also occurred in the ACT. It seems, then, that yabby is principally a southern term. The one current instance of it in Queensland may be out-of-area, though twenty recollected uses make it worthwhile to investigate this further. (In Queensland a yabby is usually a small saltwater crustacean caught in the sand at the beach and used for bait.)

Although there are insufficient data in Tasmania on which to base firm conclusions, the term in Tasmania may be lobster or freshwater lobster.

The two parts of the NE region, NSW and Queensland, share only a minor regional term, crayfish. In NSW this was mainly used in inland parts of the south. NSW has four other terms (excluding the southern use of yabby in the NE/SE transition zone). The first is crawchie in the Hunter Valley. It was given as current usage by four speakers and also recollected by another eight. Eleven people who had moved from the Hunter Valley recalled yabby as the local term, but no current lifelong residents used this name. Craybob was used in inland eastern NSW, with some overlap south of the Lachlan River with the southern yabby region. Crawbob was used on the northern tablelands and northern slopes within the craybob region. The remaining NSW term, craydab, occurred in the central west of the State round Bathurst (151) and Parkes (131), and was remembered from Forbes (138) and as far north as Coonabarabran (west of Tamworth (110)), though it has also been reported from other central western towns such as Condobolin (128). There were too few responses to draw heteroglosses, but craydab could form a separate sub-region overlapping the craybob region.

In Queensland, there are three regional names as well as the NE minor term crayfish, though recollected usage of this name, extending into far north Queensland, suggests that it could possibly be the principal Queensland term. However, along the
coast and in the south-east, a more commonly used name was *lobby*, given by four current speakers and remembered by eight others from this area and as far north as Gladstone south of Rockhampton (60). A second Queensland term occurred in the Rockhampton area. One current speaker said *crawchie*, and seven others remembered it. They were all from towns with road links to Rockhampton - Springsure and Barcaldine to the west, and Dululu and Mount Morgan to the south-west. The third Queensland term, *clawchie*, was used in the south-east. It was given by three current older speakers aged 42 to 60, but not given at all as recollected. With so few instances of *clawchie* and *crawchie*, it is not possible to draw firm conclusions except to say that as the *clawchie* and *crawchie* regions are not contiguous, they are apparently not variants of the one term.

Table 5.1 shows that, although freshwater and marine decapod crustaceans share two names, for the most part there is little ambiguity about whether a freshwater or a marine crustacean is meant. (Where there is more than one name for each type in a region, the most-used names are given first.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 5.2 Marine and freshwater crustaceans</th>
<th>Freshwater</th>
<th>Marine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>North-East (Qld)</td>
<td>crayfish</td>
<td>lobster</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lobby</td>
<td>crayfish</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>clawchie</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>crawchie</td>
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<tr>
<td>(NSW)</td>
<td>yabby</td>
<td>lobster</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>crayfish</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>craybob</td>
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<td></td>
<td>crawchie</td>
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<td></td>
<td>crawbob</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>craydab</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Southern SE (mainland)</td>
<td>yabby</td>
<td>crayfish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SE (Tasmania)</td>
<td>lobster</td>
<td>crayfish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SC</td>
<td>yabby</td>
<td>crayfish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SW</td>
<td>jilgie</td>
<td>crayfish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>marron</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In spite of the high degree of clarity in the pattern of naming of the two types, some informants nevertheless apparently recognised the possibility of ambiguity. Interestingly, they were from areas where there is no ambiguity. In the (marine) *crayfish* region, three people said *sea cray*, though they did not need to make this distinction as they are all in the *yabby* region. In the (marine) *lobster* region, two people said *sea lobster*; again, they did not need to make a distinction as they were in
the region where (freshwater) crayfish are yabbies or crayfish. Similarly, the people who specified freshwater lobster lived in Tasmania where the marine type is crayfish. While there is no need to make these distinctions, it is apparently a recognition that some speakers know that there may be a need to clarify which type is meant, as well as a recognition that these crustaceans have some similarity though they are different in appearance and habitat.

The use of both lobster and crayfish for both the marine and the freshwater types presents only a slight problem. Lobster causes the least confusion. In Tasmania it is the freshwater type, on the mainland the marine type. For local inhabitants of either place there is thus no ambiguity, though for visitors crossing Bass Strait either way there could be some confusion. Crayfish presents more of a problem on the mainland. In Queensland the use of crayfish as a name for lobster for the marine type clashes with crayfish as an alternative for the local names for the freshwater type. (There is no problem in Queensland with lobster for the marine type clashing with the freshwater type, as the latter is always shortened to lobby.) Further south, there is only the slightest overlap in the regions where crayfish can be used for either type. This is in the eastern end of the Riverina district in southern NSW and in north-eastern Victoria, where crayfish is a minor alternative to yabby for the freshwater type, and it is also used alongside lobster for the marine type. In practice, there would be little problem in either Queensland or the southern region, as context would usually remove any ambiguity. "We caught plenty of crayfish" could only refer to catching freshwater crayfish in the dam. (The nearest marine crayfishing area is off the coast of Tasmania). "We bought a crayfish" could only mean a marine crayfish bought at the fish shop (though in practice marine crayfish are rarely sold inland), as freshwater crayfish are usually caught, not sold. Only in utterances such as "We had crayfish for dinner" would there be ambiguity.
Item 55 - SKIPPING

The Australia-wide name for this game is *skipping*. Its abbreviation, *skippy*, (like *hidey* for hide and seek - Item 69), could be used anywhere, but in fact principally occurs in the Queensland part of the NE, the SE and SC.

As well as the full name and its main abbreviation, there were two other minor related names - *skips* in southern NSW, and *skip(ping) ropes*, in the SE. (The latter was in fact the name for the game, not the equipment - this was checked with informants.)
Map 5.55a SKIPPING

- skipping) rope
- skippy
- skips

The Australia-wide term, not shown, is skipping.
Item 56 - SCALLOP (2)

This item is not widely known, especially in the SW (one current response) and Queensland (seven current responses). Only 52% of current informants had a name for it. It was included in the final survey to compare the distribution of its names (scallop and Tasmanian scallop) with the distribution of the names (scallop, potato scallop, potato cake, potato fritter - see Item 8) of the slice of potato dipped in batter and fried. The Australia-wide name for the shellfish type is scallop. In the SE region where the potato type is a potato cake, and the SC region where it is a potato cake or potato fritter, there is no problem. However, in the NE region where the potato type is also called a scallop, potential confusion is mainly avoided because the shellfish type is not well known.

Tasmanian scallop is the elective regional word for scallop in New South Wales and the ACT.
Map 5.56a  SCALLOP (2)

- Tasmanian scallop

The Australia-wide term, not shown, is scallop.
Item 57 - PLAYTIME

Although this time is part of the school day, the regional names for it do not coincide with the areas covered by the corresponding States' Departments of Education.

In NSW, there are four obligatory regional alternatives - playlunch, recess, playtime and little lunch. The last two of these depend on the age of the speakers. Playtime was given only by speakers over 30. Little lunch, on the other hand, was used only by speakers under 40, i.e., little lunch is replacing playtime, with an overlap of about ten years in the age groups who use each term.

In Queensland, the obligatory regional term little lunch was used by speakers of all ages. In the Queensland supplementary material, the question did not specify that the primary school term was sought, so only the responses from those who volunteered that they were referring to primary school are shown on the map. All used little lunch. (Informants in both the main survey and the supplementary material reported that in high school, recess or morning tea were more common).

Little lunch, which was given by informants from the NE region only, with no out-of-area use, is reported as having originated as a Queensland term. However, I first heard it used in 1959 by a women, then in her thirties, from Grenfell (159) NSW. It is possible that it may be an older term that was once more widely used in the NE region but then died out in NSW but persisted in Queensland. It has since been reintroduced in NSW and is used by speakers under 40. It may be that the older speakers in the age group who say little lunch have picked it up from their children, as it seems to have come into currency among NSW primary school children only since the 1970s. Informants interviewed in southern NSW who themselves used other terms, remarked that now their children say little lunch. (Only informants' own responses, and not those they reported, are shown on the map.) A 59 year old woman at Wagga (206) said "It was playlunch in my day, but it's little lunch now." Her eight year old grandson said little lunch. A 35-year-old woman at Hay (170) said it was playlunch when she was at school, but it is little lunch now. She dated the arrival of the term in Hay as about 1983.

In the SE and SW, the obligatory regional alternatives are playtime, playlunch, and recess. In the SC, the only obligatory regional term is recess.

In the NE, five people aged 59-75 said eleven o'clock or elevener, and another five aged 40-49 remembered these from where they had grown up. This item would be worth including in a survey of older people's speech.
Map 5.57b  PLAYTIME
Limits of regions

- Southern limit of little lunch
- Northern and western limits of play lunch
- Northern and western limits of playtime

0 400 km
Item 58 - LUNCH TIME

The pattern of distribution for this item differs from that of the previous item, for which there were several obligatory regional terms.

The Australia-wide term for the midday meal break in primary schools is lunch, lunch time or lunch break. In Queensland, the principal term is the elective regional big lunch, used by 12 speakers of all ages out of 15 speakers in the main survey. It was also given as recalled usage by 40 former Queenslanders. In the supplementary material, it was used by all 11 speakers who reported primary school usage. In NSW and the ACT, it was used only by younger speakers (up to age 34), with the exception of one 41-year-old man at Lismore (90) who lives in the part of NSW influenced by Queensland speech.

Big lunch was reported as coming into use later than little lunch, apparently as a contrast to it, and is not yet an obligatory regional term. In Queensland, of the 14 who used either term, 12 used both. However, in NSW and the ACT, they were apparently not seen as a contrasting set. Of the 33 who used either term, only 11 used both. Surprisingly, nine who said big lunch had not said little lunch, the better known and prior term.
Map 5.58a  LUNCH TIME

big lunch

The Australia-wide terms, not shown, are lunch time, lunch and lunch break.
Item 59 - PLAYGROUND DUTY

The obligatory regional names for this item correspond almost exactly to States rather than to the usual lexical usage regions, as the names are governed by the Departments of Education in each State. NSW and Queensland use playground duty, while Victoria and South Australia used yard duty. In Western Australia and Tasmania, the picture was not clear, with too few current instances to be reliable, and recollected usage of both names in each place.

In spite of the source of the terms, there were two instances where usage did not follow State boundaries. The first was at Wodonga (291) in Victoria, where the speaker used the NSW name playground duty, although he went to school in Wodonga, not over the border in Albury (228) NSW. There is considerable contact between the two towns, including inter-school visits, so presumably it would be easy to pick up a term from the NSW education system. The second instance was at Broken Hill (143), where the schools are run by the NSW Department of Education, but where there is SC influence in the lexicon. The one current speaker there used South Australian yard duty; however, the six former Broken Hill speakers remembered NSW playground duty.

In Canberra (214) the NSW term is used, as the schools system there was originally set up by the NSW Department of Education, though it is now separate.
Map 5.59b  PLAYGROUND DUTY
Limits of regions

Southern limit of playground duty
Northern and southern limits of yard duty
Item 60 - RELIEF TEACHER

The Australia-wide name for a teacher who is employed to fill in for a teacher who is absent is *relief teacher*, or occasionally *substitute teacher*. In the area covered by the Victorian Department of Education, the elective regional name is *emergency teacher*. This was also remembered by eleven former Victorians. Not enough responses were given to draw a heterogloss, though recollected usage suggests that the term is probably used throughout Victoria. Another elective regional term, *supply teacher* in Queensland, which was reported for the corpus of regionalisms, was not given in the main survey.
Map 5.60a  RELIEF TEACHER

* emergency teacher

The Australia-wide term, not shown, is relief teacher.
Item 61 - BINGO

This game is called *bingo* in all regions by all age groups. There are also two elective regional names used by older speakers. In NSW, *housie* was used by 23 speakers over 30, compared with four under 30 (and compared with 76 under 30 who said *bingo*). It was also remembered by 81 former NSW speakers aged 18-80 (60 of whom were over 30). The majority of those in NSW who said *bingo* were under 50, so it seems that *bingo* is replacing *housie*, with an overlap of about 20 years.

The apparently related *housie-housie* had a different pattern of distribution. It was used by speakers aged 53-61, three of them in Victoria. It was also remembered by 15 former Victorians aged 43-60. There were too few instances of *housie-housie* by current speakers to draw a heterogloss.
Map 5.61a  BINGO

- housie
- housie-housie

The Australia-wide term, not shown, is bingo.
**Item 62 - DAISY**

This weed has a single layer of yellow petals and a black centre. Its Australia-wide names are *daisy* and *dandelion*. (There is another little yellow-flowered weed with multiple layers of petals and a yellow centre. It was investigated in a trial survey and was also found to be called a *dandelion* everywhere.) A sprinkling of people called this weed *wet-the-bed* or *pee-the-bed*, but there was no pattern to their distribution.

In the mainland SE, the elective regional name is *Cape weed*. It was used by the over-30 age group.
The Australia-wide name for this small neighbourhood shop is the corner shop or corner store, which is defined by the Macquarie Dictionary as "a small local shop, usu. situated on a corner, selling a wide range of goods for domestic consumption". In the SC and SW, its elective regional name is a deli. This is not to be confused with the sort of deli found in the eastern regions, where it is also called a delicatessen or smallgoods shop, selling "cooked or prepared goods ready for serving, usu. having a noticeable proportion of continental or exotic items" (Macquarie Dictionary). Seal’s (1990) description of a WA deli - "a small, general neighbourhood grocery store; almost invariably situated on a corner; short for delicatessen" - is similar to the MD definition of a corner shop.

In the mainland SE the elective regional term, milk bar, was used by speakers under 50. This use of milk bar is not to be confused with the type of milk bar "where milk drinks, ice-cream, sandwiches, etc, are sold" (Macquarie Dictionary). This latter use of milk bar seems to be used Australia-wide. It needs to be tested to see if there is an overlap, either in regional or age usage, with milk bar 'corner shop' in the mainland SE.
The Australia-wide terms, not shown, are corner shop and corner store.
Item 64 - JETTY

The Australia-wide term for this item is jetty. The elective regional names are pier and in the NE and the SE mainland, and wharf in the NSW sub-region and the SE.
Map 5.64a  JETTY

- pier
- wharf

The Australia-wide term, not shown, is jetty.
Map 5.64b  JETTY
Limits of regions

- Western limit of pier
- Western limit of wharf

0 km 400 km
Item 65 - HARVESTING

The Australia-wide term is *harvesting*, and the elective regional terms are *stripping* in the mainland SE, and *reaping* in the SC.

For this item, some additional information was sought from 84 people in the *stripping* and *reaping* regions. They were asked whether they had grown up in the town or on a farm, in case this was relevant to whether they used the generally used term *harvesting*, which is known to non-farming people, or the regional terms, which could in fact be occupational terms. Of those who grew up in town, 29 said *harvesting*, and eight said *stripping* or *reaping*. Of those who grew up on farms, 23 said *harvesting* and 21 said *stripping* or *reaping*. It seems that those who live on farms and do the harvesting are more likely to use the regional or occupational term than those who live in towns; on the other hand, those engaged in the occupation are equally likely to use either the Australia-wide term or the elective regional term.

In the *reaping* region, current usage was supported by recollected usage from 15 speakers. (This item was not included in the initial field survey, but the informant at Mintaro (27b) said "We're running late with the reaping this year - we haven't even reaped the barley yet".) The *stripping* region was also supported by 21 recollected speakers, but in addition the area further north, where Quirindi (114) appears on current usage to be out of area, had six people who recollected *stripping*, from Coonabarabran west of Tamworth (110) and Inverell north of Tamworth to Grafton (99) near the coast. This requires further investigation, especially as the heterogloss for the northern limit of *stripping* on current usage lies further north and east (as far as Molong (132) and Oberon (161) than the heteroglosses for other SE terms.
Map 5.65a  HARVESTING

- ▲ reaping
- ■ stripping

The Australia-wide term, not shown, is Harvesting.
Item 66 - PADDY MELON

This melon is the fruit of the vine *Citrullus lanatus*, which grows wild in paddocks. (The fruit of another vine *Cucumis myriocarpus*, a smaller melon with a prickly skin, which grows wild in South Australia and is also known as *paddy melon* was not investigated here.)

Paddy melons apparently do not grow in Tasmania, as no Tasmanians had a name for them. The distribution of names shows that they grow in inland areas of the mainland, and it is significant that fewer capital city informants had names for this item than for other items in the survey, presumably because they would only see them when travelling inland.

There are two elective regional names as well as the Australia-wide *paddy melon*. Informants offered folk etymologies for both of them. In part of the Riverina they are called *camel melons* as well as *paddy melons*. The informant from Bribbaree (175) said camel melons are called this in places where camels were used for transport; but camels were used in other places besides this restricted part of the Riverina.

In the SW, two current speakers said *pig melons*. This name was also recollected by nine people from the SW and nowhere else. Some informants said that pig melons are called this because they are only fit to give to the pigs.
Map 5.66a  PADDY MELON

- camel melon
- pig melon

The Australia-wide term, not shown, is paddy melon.
Item 67 - SOURGRASS

This weed has common names only in the south-east of the mainland, although other types of oxalis grow further north. It does not grow in Tasmania, according to the linguistic evidence and reports from Tasmanian informants.
More men than women had a name for this type of children's cricket in which you must run if you hit the ball. Of the informants who had a name for it, 72% were men (compared with 53% of the survey sample being men).

In the SW the obligatory regional name is *tip and run*. In the SE mainland it is *tippety run* (or *tippety*). In the Tasmanian part of the SE the picture is unclear. In a third region, the SC, the picture is also unclear, as the eleven informants gave varying answers, with no pattern to the distribution. Enquiries among South Australians now living in Canberra showed that they thought the game was not played much in South Australia, at least when they were children.

In the NE, both parts, Queensland and NSW, say *tip and run*. Both parts also use another name. In NSW, *hit and run* is more common than *tip and run*, with neither being used more by either sex or by any age group.

In Queensland the regional name is *tipsy run*. The Queensland analysis is based mainly on data from the Queensland supplementary material, which confirms in detail the findings of the main survey. Teenagers of both sexes are more likely to say *tipsy run*, though *tip and run* is also used. In the 20s and 30s age groups (which included the two current speakers, one of them from just over the border at Glen Innes (98) in NSW, in the main survey), *tipsy run* and *tip and run* are used about equally by both sexes. *Tip and run* was the name used by older speakers. Men over 40 used this name only (only one woman over 40 appeared in the supplementary material, and she said *tipsy run.*) It would appear that *tipsy run* began to appear about 20-30 years ago after those now in their 40s had stopped playing it.

Normally when Canberra does not follow surrounding NSW usage, it follows Melbourne usage, for historical reasons. For this item, Canberra is more of a mixture than usual. NE *tip and run* is the most common name, followed by SE *tippety*, with a few NSW *hit and run*. 

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Item 69 - HIDE AND SEEK

The Australia-wide name for this game is hide and seek. If speakers wanted an abbreviation for this name, hidey (or hideys) seems the obvious one and, like skippy for skipping (Item 55), it could potentially be used anywhere. In fact, it was principally used in the SW and the mainland SE. There was also minor use of a related term, hidey-go-seek.

The distribution of the abbreviations of the full names of the two games, skippy and hidey, do not exactly coincide, with hidey not used in the SC.
Map 5.69b  HIDE AND SEEK
Limits of regions

Limit of SE hidey and hidey-go-seek;
southern limit of Old hidey
and hidey-go-seek;
eastern limit of SW hidey
Item 70 - IT

The Australia-wide name for the person whose turn it is in a game is It ("You're It"). In the NE they can have their turn indicated by elective regional in (You're in); or in Queensland by elective regional up ("You're up"). The Queensland supplementary material also showed that He is used there by a small number of people. The age of the Queensland speakers affects which term they are likely to use. While all ages said It and He, in was only given by people under 30. Up was only given by people under 40. This can be compared with another Queensland regional term, tipsy run, which was also only used by people under 40.

The elective regional term in all the southern mainland regions is He. The lack of responses from the Tasmanian part of the SE would be worth following up. (Another children's term, that for a word that allows them to drop out of a game without being caught (Item 71), also had no responses.) It seems unlikely that Tasmanian children do not have a name for the seeker in games like hide and seek, so more questioning is needed.

The wording of the caption to the photograph, which used the NE word in, does not seem to have affected the responses in the other regions. In the NE, the number of in responses may be higher than it would otherwise have been.
The Australia-wide term, not shown, is "IT."
Item 71 - BAR (1)

In all mainland regions, there is an obligatory regional word which children use when they want to drop out of a game for a while and not get caught. There were fewer responses than usual to this question, as many informants found it difficult to remember what word they used as children. In the NE region, informants reported that when saying bar they had to touch a particular tree, post, etc, which had been designated as bar (see Macquarie Dictionary, "bar 2", "in children’s games, anything which acts as a sanctuary; a position from which one cannot be assailed"). Sometimes they had to cross their fingers when they said bar.

In the NE children say bar (or in a few instances spell it out as B-A-R or B-A-R bar), but in the SE mainland, they cry barley. (Note the different verb in each region - this was not asked for in the survey, but was reported by contributors to the corpus of regionalisms). In the Tasmanian part of the SE, no current speakers had a word for this, and no Tasmanians now living in Canberra could remember a word for it. This confirms reports from contributors to the corpus that Tasmanian children do not have a word for it.

In the SC, barleys and bars were both used by speakers of all ages. In southern NSW, barleys may be a variant of SE barley. There could be a pocket of bars in NSW round Cooma (233), Bombala (243), Bendoc (315) and Bega (240), though it is more likely that this is a variant of NE bar.

Because of the data collection method used in the main survey, the results in the SW may not reflect accurately the proportion of speakers who use the obligatory regional alternatives, barleys and 'barleys'. Contributors to the corpus of regionalisms had pronounced the SW term as 'barleys', with stress on each syllable. However this would have been lost in written answers, unless informants resorted to unusual spellings. If informants who filled in the answer sheets themselves wrote barleys or barties, this was counted as having the stress on the first syllable. Of the people for whom I wrote down the answer, one current speaker and four recollected speakers clearly said barleys with the stress on the first syllable. If informants used a spelling that appeared to show stress on both syllables, such as barleeze, bar-lee’s, or bar leys, this was counted as 'barleys'. Of the informants for whom I wrote down the answers, two current and four recollected speakers clearly pronounced it 'bar'leys. Altogether nine SW speakers (and none from anywhere else) remembered 'bar'leys. The numbers are too low to be reliable, but use of barleys or 'bar'leys does not appear to depend on age.
Item 72 - AFTERNOON

This item was included in the final survey without testing, as late and apparently reliable reports indicated that in Queensland the time between mid-day and sunset was called *evening*, rather than *afternoon*. However, only three people (one each from Queensland, NSW and Victoria) gave this response.
IDENTIFYING THE LEXICAL USAGE REGIONS

Both classes of regional words produce one heterogloss for each word. For obligatory regional words, there will be at least two heteroglosses marking a usage border, e.g., one each for mainland SE mudlark and NE peewee (Item 26) where these regions meet; or more than two if a region has obligatory regional alternatives, e.g., one each for SC dinky and donkey and SE dink (Item 6) where these regions meet. For elective regional words, there will be at least one heterogloss marking a usage border, e.g., port (Item 29) at the southern limit of the NE; or more than one if the neighbouring region also has an elective regional word for the same item, e.g., SEC pole in the mainland SE, Stobie pole (Item 36) in the SC.

By counting the number of heteroglosses at the limits of each region for each item, three lexical usage regions can clearly be identified, and a further one is less clear. The numbers of heteroglosses fall into two groupings. Major heterogloss bundle (61-85 heteroglosses) separate the regions, and minor heterogloss bundles (32-37 heteroglosses) separate the sub-regions. These are shown on Map 5.73, which is a composite of the interpretive maps for all the items. The three easily identifiable regions are the North-East, which has two major sub-regions and several minor ones; the South-East, which has two major sub-regions; and the South-Centre. The more problematic region is the South-West. This is a special case, and is dealt with separately below. The regions are shown on Map 5.74.

Regions

The NE is separated from the SE by 85 heteroglosses. These form an untidy bundle marking a border between the core of the two regions. At its most clearly defined, it is approximately 400 km wide for most of its length. (This compares with the width of the SE focal area of approximately 320 km at its widest part from north to south.) This division is made up of 47 heteroglosses marking the northern limit of the SE and 38 heteroglosses marking the southern limit of the NE (or the NSW part of it). In 24 cases there are regional words, either obligatory or elective, in both regions, producing 52 heteroglosses (four items had more than one regional name). For 15 of these, the heteroglosses cross to form a transition zone. In 20 cases there is a regional word in the SE only; in 13 cases there is a regional word in the NE only.

The SE is separated from the SC by 61 heteroglosses. These form a border varying from approximately 140 km at its widest to approximately 90 km at its narrowest. This division is made up of 25 heteroglosses marking the eastern limit of the SC, and 36 heteroglosses marking the western limit of the SE. In 16 cases there are regional words, either obligatory or elective, in both regions, producing 35 heteroglosses. For 11 of these, the heteroglosses cross to form a transition zone. In seven cases there is a regional word in the SC only; in 19 cases there is a regional word in the SE only.

The SW is separated from the SC by 41 heteroglosses, which is closer to the range used in other cases to define sub-regions than to the range used to divide regions. This division is made up of 18 heteroglosses marking the eastern limit of the SW, and 23
Map 5.74 THE LEXICAL USAGE REGIONS OF AUSTRALIAN ENGLISH
heteroglosses marking the western limit of the SC. In 12 cases there are regional words, either obligatory or elective, in both regions, producing 25 heteroglosses. Obviously, with approximately 1600 km of desert separating the nearest places sampled at the limits of the regions, none of the heteroglosses cross to form a transition zone. In 5 cases, there is a regional word in the SW only; and in 11 cases there is a regional word in the SC only.

The SW requires special consideration, as it is the region furthest from where the project was based, and therefore was the hardest region to find information about to use in the questionnaire. Delbridge (1981:15), when describing the task of compiling the Macquarie Dictionary, says that any dictionary may "show some sort of bias in the selection of vocabulary that reflects the usage of the State or city in which it is made." This has certainly been true of the current project. The regions nearest to Canberra were best represented in the corpus of regionalisms on which the survey was based. They were easiest to visit to collect data, and more visitors come to Canberra from places on the eastern side of the continent than from the west. Western Australia was thus disadvantaged in its representation in questions which might have elicited SW words. It therefore seems reasonable to add a weighting to the results for the SW to compensate for this. Until more comprehensive data are collected, the SW is at present regarded as being a separate region, rather than forming a combined region with its nearest neighbour, the SC.

This decision is supported by geographical and linguistic evidence. Geographically, the SW is the only region not contiguous with its next nearest region, and has no transition zone in common with it. There are two sorts of linguistic evidence for its separate status. Firstly, Seal (1990) lists 80 examples of Western Australian "current and historical folk speech". Some of these, such as bathers, cray, blackboy and icy pole, are shared by other regions, and some are occupational terms. However, many of the words on his list, such as jarrah-berker 'timber getter', munjongs 'raw newcomers' and honky nut 'very large gum nut', are not in use in the eastern States and would be worth investigating as possible additions to the SW words collected in this survey. Secondly, West Australians have a number of well-attested words to refer to themselves and to people from the eastern States in a way that shows they regard themselves as different. Referring to themselves, there are Westralians and sandgropers; to people from the eastern States, tothersiders; and to the rest of Australia, over East 'anywhere in Australia that is not Western Australia, excepting the Northern Territory' (Seal 1990:77). Thus the small amount of linguistic evidence collected in this survey setting the SW apart as a separate region seems consonant with the perception the people of the region have of themselves as having a separate identity.

**Major sub-regions**

The major sub-regions of the NE are roughly co-extensive with the States of Queensland and NSW (bearing in mind that the southern limit of the NSW sub-region is the southern limit of the NE and therefore very diffuse). Queensland is separated from NSW by 37 heteroglosses. These form a border approximately 150 km wide at its most clearly defined part. This division is made up of 19 heteroglosses marking the
southern limit of Queensland words, and 18 heteroglosses marking the northern limit of NSW words. In 10 cases there are regional words, either obligatory or elective, in both sub-regions, producing 21 heteroglosses. In one case the heteroglosses cross to form a transition zone. In 9 cases there is a regional word in Queensland only; in 7 cases there is a regional word in NSW only.

The sub-regions of the SE are Tasmania, and the mainland SE, which has a diffuse border extending into southern NSW. They are separated by 32 heteroglosses. This is made up of 31 heteroglosses marking the southern limit of the mainland SE, and one heterogloss marking the northern limit of Tasmanian words. In only one case is there an item with regional names in both sub-regions, producing three heteroglosses. In the remaining 29 cases, there is a regional word in the mainland only. There is no transition zone between the two sub-regions, which are separated by Bass Strait. Bass Strait causes Tasmania to suffer to some extent from the disadvantage suffered by the SW, that of making it less easy for tourists from there to visit Canberra where the project was based. When more Tasmanians are surveyed, it may be that enough differences from SE mainland usage will be found to require Tasmania to be regarded as a separate region. At the moment it is regarded as a sub-region of the SE, for two reasons. Firstly, contributors to the corpus of regionalisms reported that Tasmanians mainly use the same words as Victorians - the only exceptions reported were cordial 'soft drink' (which in fact is also used on the mainland), tissue 'cigarette paper', and rum'n 'an odd character' (not investigated in this survey). Secondly, although Tasmanians are conscious of their separate status as the only State not on the mainland (and resent being left off the map occasionally by mainlanders), Tasmania looks to Melbourne as its regional capital for trade, private education and holidays.

**Minor sub-regions**

Canberra (214) uses some regional words from a region other than the one it is geographically located in, the NSW part of the NE. It has strong historical ties with Melbourne in the SE usage region. After federation in 1901, Melbourne was the temporary capital. When Canberra became the national capital in 1913, the staff of government departments which had been situated in Melbourne were gradually moved to Canberra. This took place over a long period until the 1970s. This meant that a large proportion of the population of Canberra had grown up in Melbourne. Hence there is influence from SE usage in Canberra.

In the 24 cases where there are different obligatory regional words in the SE and the NE (or the NSW part of it), Canberra uses 5 from the SE and 18 from the NE/NSW. (In one case the NSW words, cat head and cat's eye, were not used in Canberra.) In the 25 cases where there is a choice of an Australia-wide word and one of the elective regional words from either region, the Australia-wide word is preferred every time, though in three cases a SE elective regional word (e.g., little boys 'cocktail frankfurts') and in eight cases a NE/NSW elective regional word (e.g., Gregory's 'street directory') was used as a minor alternative.

Broken Hill (143), in the far west of NSW near the South Australian border, shows influence from both the NE (or the NSW part of it) and the SC. "Broken Hill is ...
economically and geographically oriented to South Australia rather than to New South Wales” (White 1968:95). It is approximately 300 km from the nearest NSW location surveyed, and also approximately 300 km from the nearest SC location surveyed, in each case separated from them by sparsely inhabited country, so that (unlike Canberra) it is geographically isolated from both of the regions whose usage it follows. Broken Hill was settled from Adelaide in the 1880s, and there is considerable influence from that region. It is twice as far from Sydney, its State capital, as it is from Adelaide, the capital of the SC region. The railway link to Adelaide was opened in 1888, but to Sydney only in 1927. Broken Hill takes Australian Broadcasting Corporation radio and television relay programs from Adelaide rather than Sydney, and is the only town in NSW in the central standard time zone which covers South Australia, rather than in the eastern standard zone. There are strong ties with South Australia for holidays, private education, and family connections.

Although only one current Broken Hill speaker was included in the survey, his usage was generally consistent with that found in trial surveys and with recollected usage in this survey. Where there is a SC or southern name in contrast to a NE or NSW name, he used the SC/southern name in 20 cases, and the NE/NSW name in 8 cases.

Darwin (16) was the only location in the Northern Territory from which a current speaker was interviewed. The population is drawn from all States, and, although the informant did not provide answers to all the questions, this small amount of data gives an indication of the mixture of influences on lexical usage there. She used four southern words, two SC words, one SE word, one Queensland word and eight NE words. A fuller study of Northern Territory speech is clearly needed.

**Local regions**

There were several other, less well-marked, places of interest which used local names. These were the Lismore (90) district on the far north coast of NSW (bar 'double' and Byron sausage 'devon'); the Hunter Valley round Newcastle (134) and Cessnock (135) in NSW (crawchie 'yabby' and Empire sausage 'devon'); the Riverina district of southern NSW (camel melon 'paddy melon' and Riverina bluebell 'Paterson's curse'); the Rockhampton (60) district in Queensland (Belgium sausage 'devon' and crawchie 'yabby'); the Mildura (249) district of Victoria (polony 'devon'); the Echuca (276) district of Victoria (cheerios 'cocktail frankfurts'); the south-eastern part of South Australia near the Victorian border (peewee in an isolated pocket away from the main peewee region); and far north Queensland (by jingo 'ice block'). All of these would repay local investigation.
LEXICAL EVIDENCE FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF AUSTRALIAN ENGLISH

Theories on the origins and development of Australian English as a variety separate from British English have to date depended largely on phonological evidence (e.g., Bernard 1969, Hammarstrom 1980). This chapter uses lexical evidence to evaluate and expand on these theories.

When Australian English is compared as an entity with British English, the minor differences within Australian English are easily overlooked. Nevertheless, as this project has shown, there is diversity within the striking uniformity. The main part of this project has been a synchronic study of regional lexical variation in the language. This chapter is a brief diachronic study of the development of both the regional uniformity and the regional diversity.

THE ORIGINS OF AUSTRALIAN ENGLISH

"Evidence which would enable us to follow the development of Australian speech practically does not exist" (Mitchell and Delbridge 1965a:24), so that only conjecture is possible on the origins of Australian English. However, theories, some more plausible than others, have been suggested, but as Delbridge (1970:24) points out, "The evidence of historical records ... is so meagre as to be incapable of initiating any theory at all." In particular, early records do not give all the information needed to know in which parts of Britain the early settlers acquired their regional speech.

The one-origin theory

The simplest explanation for the origin of Australian English, and in particular its uniformity, is that the language, or at least the pronunciation, was already uniform when it arrived in Australia because it came from only one source. This is the view of Hammarstrom, who hypothesises that "Australian English must have had its origin in the dialect of London or, perhaps, in the dialects of South-Eastern England" (1980:4), though he does not specify which dialects. He concludes that "Australian pronunciation is not an amalgam but simply the pronunciation of London towards the end of the 18th century" (p.66). He argues against the view that the elements of the Australian accent were blended once they were brought to Australia; it was, he believes, brought from London (p.54). He quotes evidence from early visitors to the Australian colonies who had remarked on the similarities between Australian and Cockney pronunciation (pp.31-32).

Hammarstrom bases his conclusions on four sorts of evidence. First, present-day Australian English vowels are similar to Cockney vowels (p.66). He uses evidence from Gunn (1975) who asked "how different is present Australian pronunciation from popular London of the late eighteenth century[?]" (p.8), and concluded from an examination of the distinctive Australian English vowels and diphthongs that the
earlier forms "are not very different from the modes established and preserved in Australia" (p.11). Hammarstrom acknowledges that it would have been better to compare late 18th century Australian English vowels with late 18th century Cockney vowels (1980:30), (and, although he does not say so, to compare present and late 18th century Australian vowels.) The spectrum of Australian accents may exist because "Among the earliest immigrants ... there were people from all kinds of social classes" (Hammarstrom 1980:59), so that "There were from the beginning somewhat higher and somewhat lower sociolects and these have remained until the present day without significant change" (pp.66-67). Second, early writers on Australian English praised it, presumably because it was similar to London speech (p.66). By the second half of the 19th century, when writers were attacking Australian pronunciation, he suggests that it must have been because London English had changed (1985:370). Third, he believes the language of immigrants changes slowly (e.g., French in Canada, English in India), and does not change in the same ways as the language in the homeland (1980:42 and 1985:369). Hence, Australian English is not likely to have changed much since the late 18th century. Fourth, characteristics of the pronunciation of other parts of Britain are not found in Australian English (1980:4).

While agreeing that there is some evidence to support Hammarstrom's view, Trudgill (1986:135-7) adduces two pieces of evidence for phonological features brought from other dialects - /ə/ in unstressed final syllables in Australian English where London English has /ɪ/, e.g., in horses or wanted; and a front vowel in words such as bar or card where London English has a back vowel. These two features are enough to overturn Hammarstrom's theory - although Australian English is similar to the English of London at the time Australia was settled, the two are not identical.

The mixing-bowl theory

This is the opposite of the one-origin theory. In one version, that of Collins (1975), the mixing took place before the settlers left England, in the towns in the south-east quadrant of England (presumably this is a larger area than that usually referred to as the south-east of England), where there was "a convergence of Midland and East Anglian pronunciation" (p.116) and presumably vocabulary. However, Trudgill (1986:138-142) finds evidence for features of Australian English which must have been added after the settlers arrived in Australia and had contact with dialects from other parts of Britain. One is /æ/ in dance, plant, sample, etc. This is found in the speech of Scotland and of the north and south-west of England. Another feature is the presence of initial /h/ in Australian English in words such as hat and hit; this feature is found in Britain in East Anglia, Ireland, Scotland and a few other small areas, and variably in London. He also gives examples of Irish English influence on the accent, lexicon and syntax of Australian English, and of Scottish influence on the lexicon. As these were not part of Midland or East Anglian speech, they must have been added in Australia.

In the more plausible version of the mixing-bowl theory, the mixing took place in Australia, when people from different parts of Britain brought with them their different dialects.

It is hard to know what this mixture might have been in more than a general way - certainly a mish-mash of deracinated regional and social
British dialects with every county of the land somewhere represented (Bernard 1969:64)

but probably with

a disproportionate bias towards the belts of greatest population where the incentives both to migration and to dishonesty must have been greatest. Thus whether one speaks of a convict centre like Hobart or a free settlement like Adelaide the raw material was, within tolerance, similar (p.66).

This mixture resulted in

a fusion of several regional varieties of English in conditions that would lead to the extinction of features that were peculiar to a small number of speakers and the promotion of those that were more general (Turner 1966:32-3).

**Lexical evidence for the origins of Australian English**

The mixing bowl theory should predict that more Australian English words would come from the London and South-Eastern dialects than from other dialects, and that some from other regional dialects would also be represented. The one-origin theory, if applied to the lexicon, should predict that Australian English would consist only of words from the London and South-Eastern dialects (allowing of course for later borrowings).

"The greater part of the Australian's vocabulary is ... Standard English" (Ramson 1966:6). Standard English, had its origins in the south-east of England (Trudgill 1990:13). Hence the greater part of the Australian English lexicon probably derived from there. However, some words from other regional dialects also became part of the Australian English lexicon, as reference to Wright's *English Dialect Dictionary* (1898-1905) shows. For example, a sample of five words used in Australian English - *bob* 'move up and down', *chuck* 'throw', *locker* 'a small cupboard, locked compartment', *peek* 'to peep, pry', *rubble* 'fragmentary pieces of stone' - are shown as having their British dialect origins in Scotland generally, Banffshire, Fife, Yorkshire, Lancashire, Nottinghamshire, Northamptonshire, Berkshire, Somerset, Northumberland, Cumberland, Cheshire, Westmoreland, Lakeland, Leicestershire, Warwickshire, Oxfordshire, Bedfordshire, East Anglia, Kent, Devon, Derbyshire, Worcestershire, Herefordshire, Huntingdon, Suffolk, Hampshire, the Isle of Wight and Wiltshire. (Some words were used in several parts of Britain, e.g., *bob*, for which Wright gives citations from the first nine places in the above list.)

This small amount of lexical evidence supports phonological evidence for the mixing-bowl theory on the origins of Australian English. A count of a larger proportion of the words current at the time Australia was settled is needed to confirm this.

**Historical evidence for the origins of Australian English**

Although the records of the early settlers do not contain all the information needed to establish their regional origins, there is sufficient evidence to evaluate the theories on the origins of Australian English.
The type of speech brought to Australia by the best documented settlers, the convicts, was the largest contribution to the beginnings of Australian English. Convicts made up the largest proportion of settlers in NSW (which included Queensland) and Van Diemen's Land, and Victoria was settled from both these places. In NSW, the proportion of settlers who were convicts rose from 86% in 1788-1800 to 91% in 1811-1820, before declining to 4% in 1841-1850 before transportation ceased. In the first 53 years of the colony, 1788-1840, 61% of new arrivals were convicts. In Van Diemen's Land, the proportion ranged from 59% in 1801-1810, to 86% in 1841-1850. In the first 48 years, 1803-1850, 76% of new arrivals were convicts. Only in Western Australia did convicts form less than half of new arrivals. The early settlers 1829-1849 were free. Transportation occurred only from 1850-1868, with 47% of new arrivals in 1851-60 being convicts. (Percentages derived from Price 1987:4). The origins of the speech of the convicts, then, should indicate the origins of Australian English.

The largest single source of convicts was London and South-Eastern England. The convict indents, which were prepared before the convicts left England, contained among other things information on each convict's town and county of birth, and county of trial (Nicholas and Shergold 1988a:44). Since trials were usually conducted in the county in which the crime was committed, the place of trial was a reasonable indicator of a convict's place of residence before being transported (Nicholas and Shergold 1988b:23). The proportion tried in London and South-Eastern England (counties not specified) was 30.3% in the eastern colonies, and 29.9% in Western Australia. The next highest proportions were from the North (14.0% and 28.2% respectively for the eastern colonies and Western Australia), the Midlands (11.1% and 15.2%), and so on down to 0.1% from the Isle of Man and the Channel Islands (Nicholas and Shergold 1988b:26). In addition, the proportion of free settlers from London and South-Eastern England was similar to the proportion of convicts. For example, in the period 1846-50, over 30% of government-assisted migrants to NSW, Victoria and South Australia were from there (Atkinson 1988:41). Overall, about 30% of all settlers, both convict and free, came from London and South-Eastern England.

However, many of the convicts were not tried in the county in which they were born. A comparison of the information in the convict indents on place of birth and place of trial allows the percentage of convicts who had moved to be calculated. The figures range from 35% of English convicts, over half of whom had moved to a non-adjacent county, to 58% of Scottish convicts (Nicholas and Shergold 1988b:29). This high rate of movement means that place of trial is not a reliable indicator of where convicts grew up and acquired their regional speech, as there is no record of how often they had moved or of the places they had lived.

Hence not all the convicts tried in London and South-Eastern England would have used the speech of that region, though urban-born convicts were less likely to have moved than the rural-born (Nicholas and Shergold 1988b:29). During the Industrial Revolution, many of the rural poor moved to the industrial towns in the north of England and to London (Plumb 1950:153), so that some of those tried in London would have spoken with other regional accents. However, 65% of those tried in London and South-Eastern England were born there and would have used that region's speech (assuming they had not lived elsewhere between birth and trial). That
represents about 20% of all convicts. If all the convicts had used the speech of the place where they were tried, 30% would have used the speech of London and South-Eastern England. Thus the proportion of those using the speech of London and South-Eastern England appears to be between 20% and 30%, with the remainder bringing their speech from other parts of Britain.

The historical records, then, support the mixing bowl theory for the origin of Australian English, and indicate that the speech of London and South-Eastern England was the largest single ingredient. This would have affected the eventual synthesis of the ingredients, so that words from this region would have been more common than words from any other single region.

REGIONAL UNIFORMITY AND REGIONAL DIVERSITY

Many observations on Australian English have focused on its uniformity, e.g., "The homogeneity of Australian English is remarkable. It would be difficult to find elsewhere a geographical area so large with so little linguistic variation" (Turner 1966:163). Pilch (1976:119) observed "Dialect variation is continuous over the whole of most language areas (the only known exception is Australia)". Ramson (1972:37-38) goes so far as to say "This homogeneity ... is probably the most distinctive feature of Australian English".

A brief look at the background to this regional uniformity is useful for the light it throws on regional diversity. Most work has been carried out on the pronunciation. "Australian English is quite remarkably homogeneous, particularly if one considers the enormous size of the territory over which it is spoken. From Perth to Sydney is over 3000 kilometres, yet their accents are practically indistinguishable" (Wells 1982:593), and "... it is not true that there is no variation at all, quite the contrary, but what there is is not regionally based and wherever one goes the same sets of variants are to be heard" (Bernard 1969:62). There is also some reference to uniformity in other aspects of the language, e.g., "The overall picture ... is one of remarkable uniformity in pronunciation, syntax and vocabulary" (Maley 1972:68), and "The same accent is heard through widely different climates and there is little variation in vocabulary" (Turner 1966:163).

Lexical evidence for the origin of uniformity

The fact that the dialects of London and the South-East probably provided the greater part of Australian English vocabulary means that a large part (but not all) of the lexicon was uniform in all the colonies from the beginning. In addition, the common elements of the other dialects brought to Australia would have been common to the speech of all the colonies, and Trudgill (referring to phonology, though the same principle would apply to the lexicon) points out that "the more common a feature was in the English varieties of the British Isles, the more frequently it was likely to occur in the colonial mixture situation, and the more likely it therefore was to survive in Australian English" (1986:145). Thus the basis for the regional diversity in Britain becoming regional uniformity in Australia existed in the speech first brought here. After the colonies were founded, further forces may have reinforced these processes, though what these forces were is a matter for conjecture. The theory most often
advanced is that movement of the population, whether convicts, rural workers, gold
miners or settlers (see, for example, Turner 1966 and Mitchell 1970), ensured that the
uniformity was spread across the country. However, population movement began
early in the history of each colony (the first inland town in NSW, Bathurst, was
established in 1815, 27 years after Sydney was settled, for example) while the
uniformity may still have been in the process of development.

The origins of regional diversity

In the "unsystematic and often contradictory observations of lay observers"
(Delbridge 1970:24) of the accent, there is no reference to the existence of regional
differences in the accent early in the development of Australian English. However, the
accent, being an unavoidably public aspect of the language (unlike the regional words,
which form only a small and easily overlooked part), would surely have drawn
attention if there had been noticeable regional differences.

Theories on the origins of the language have mentioned the lack of time since
European settlement for regional differences to develop, e.g., "the history of Australia
is short and would hardly allow any marked developments of this kind even if
conditions were favourable" (Mitchell 1947:13). Popular stereotypes of regional
speech in Australia have recognised that South Australian speech can be distinguished
from that in other States, and that people in rural areas tend to have broader accents
than city people. These stereotypes have been confirmed by the work of Bradley. His
work, and that of others (see Chapter 2), has begun to uncover other, less marked, but
quantifiable, regional variation in the accent. Bradley believes that regional accents
may only now be developing:

No doubt ... [regional] developments will continue and expand as
Australia enters its third century of English-speaking settlement. In the
American case, it took about two centuries to shake off cultural
dependence on England and recognise the developing independence and
diversity of national and local dialects; Australia seems now to be doing
the same. (1980:84)

While it appears that the accent is only now developing regional differences, this is
not the case with the lexicon. Although it is not possible to date accurately the earliest
use of all the regionalisms, it is possible to see that their use arose in two stages, the
first of them early in the development of the language. The first stage involved items
already known by the settlers before they left Britain and the new things they found
when they arrived in Australia; the second involved things introduced after the
colonies were settled.

Of the 67 items mapped in this project, probably only 13 would have been known
to the settlers before they left Britain, up until 1836 when the last colony was settled.
To determine this, all the items likely to have been in existence then were checked for
their earliest entries in the Oxford English Dictionary, using their Standard English
names. These were portmanteau, harvesting, reaping, stripping, gutter, dressing
table, dustman, stone, pier, Santa Claus, hide and seek and skipping from Standard
English, nose bleed and barley from regional dialects, and lock (Standard English) and
snib (Scottish). Not all the names by which these are known in Australia are given in

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the *OED*. Other names may not have been recorded in the *OED*, e.g., *hidy* [sic] in the *English Dialect Dictionary* with no date. It is also possible that some of the names were introduced later.

Marckwardt (1958:140), explaining the development in America of regional speech, described the process by which regional differences in the lexicon would have been established early (though note that he believes regional accents may have taken longer to develop):

... it is quite unlikely that any single settlement, even at the outset, ever consisted entirely of speakers of the same dialect. ... In the course of their being in constant contact with each other, compromises for the everyday terms in which their dialects differed would normally have developed, and one could reasonably expect to find a southern English term for a water receptacle, a northern word for earthworm, and a western designation for sour milk. Matters of pronunciation would eventually, perhaps after a slightly longer time, be compromised in much the same manner. Moreover, the resultant compromises for various localities would be different. ... no two localities would have had exactly the same proportions of speakers of the various English dialects, and even if they had, the two localities would not have arrived at precisely the same set of compromises.

In Australia, similar compromises would have taken place in each colony among the words, both Standard English and British dialect, for items already known by the settlers. In the case of harvesting, for example, for which all three words are recorded in *OED*, the process of compromise led to *harvesting* becoming the Australia-wide word, while *stripping* and *reaping* became the elective regional words in the SE and SC respectively.

The other items with regional names which may have arisen early were new things the settlers found here. In this case, the new regional names would have been arrived at separately in the different colonies. Of the 67 items mapped, there were ten such items needing to be named here (including stones for throwing, which did not in fact need new names). There were three strategies for naming these new things. The first, applied to flora and fauna, was to give the names of things they were familiar with in Britain to similar things here. These were *lobster* or *crayfish* (both marine and freshwater), *cod* or *haddock*, *peevee* or *mudlark* or (Murray) *maggie*, and *soursobs*. The second was to use words from Aboriginal languages. These were *bindi-eye*, *yakka*, *paddymelon*, *yabby* or *jilgie* or *marron*, and the various names for stones for throwing. The third was to use English words, but not applied to the things they were applied to in Britain. These were *cat-head* or cat’s *eye* or *bull-head* or *three corner jack*, *blackboy* or *grasstree*, *sourgrass*, and *pig melon* or *camel melon*. Different strategies were sometimes applied to the same item in different places, e.g., the names for bindi-eyes and yabbies.

Altogether, 23 items of the 67 surveyed would probably have acquired their regional names early.
The second stage in the development of regional names was the naming of things introduced after the colonies had been settled. The remainder of the items in this survey are in this category, e.g., strollers, parking inspectors, ice blocks or swimming costumes. Either of the processes that operated in the first stage could have operated in this stage, with new items given different names in each region, e.g., food items, with compromises made between names for new items introduced from overseas, e.g., pedestrian crossings. Marckwardt (1958:143-4) gives a recent example of the first of these processes in America: "large, double-lane, limited-access automobile highways" built in the preceding two decades were given different names in different parts of the country - parkways, turnpikes, thruways, expressways and freeways. The second process operated when these highways were introduced into Australia, with some of their American names becoming regional names here, e.g., freeway and expressway in Sydney, parkway in Canberra.

Evidence for early use of regionalisms

There is some evidence that use of regional terms began early. This can be found in the Australian National Dictionary, which is organised on historical principles, giving the earliest known written sources of words "which have originated in Australia, which have a greater currency here than elsewhere, or which have a special significance in Australia" (Ramson 1988b:vi). However, most words used in Australian English are not exclusively Australian and therefore do not appear in the AND. Nor do most of them appear in Morris's Austral English (1898) or Wilkes's A Dictionary of Australian Colloquialisms (1990), both also on historical principles.

The best category of regional words to look at for evidence of early contains the new items the settlers found here, as these are exclusively Australian. Twenty-four regional names for the ten items are given in AND (though in few cases are they marked for region). The earliest is crawfish 1770 (referring to marine crayfish), used by Captain Cook. The first regional words used in print after European settlement were gibber 1790 and grasstree 1794. Eight - blackboy, grasstree, gibber, (freshwater) lobster and crayfish, (marine) crayfish, peewee and soursobs - were first used in print within 50 years of the founding of the relevant colonies.

However, oral usage is likely to have predated the earliest written usage. For example, the AND notes that Cape weed, a South African plant, was naturalised in Western Australia by 1833, but the first quotes for its use in print are 1878 in Victoria and 1897 in Western Australia. This is a time lag of 45 years. A rough estimate of the time lag between oral use and first printed use of other words can be made, using the apparent time covered by the survey for the present work, i.e., the lifespans of the informants. Speakers would have learnt the names of most of the items when they were young, say by the time they were ten years old, so we can estimate when the oldest speakers would have begun using them. For example, the earliest written use for bubbler is given in AND as 1970, whereas in the NSW part of the NE it was used by the oldest informants, who were born in 1925 and 1926, so that it was probably in use at least as early as the mid 1930s, about 35 years earlier than its first written use. There are other such examples. Words for items which would have been known at least from about 1910, and whose first entry in AND is later than 1950, were selected to estimate when they would have been in use by speakers in this survey. There were
ten such words besides bubbler. Their estimated early use by the oldest speakers who used them, and their first entry in AND are: little lunch (early 1930s - 1982), big lunch (late 1930s - 1982), swimmers (early 1940s - 1967), gramma (early 1940s - 1964), hidey (mid 1930s - 1957), garbo (early 1930s - 1953), brown bomber (late 1930s - 1953), pusher (about 1910 - 1953), boondie (early 1940s - 1952), and lobby (early 1940s - 1952). The time lag between oral use and first written use ranged from about ten years to about 50 years. Of course, if older speakers had been available, this time lag may have been even longer. However, even this rough estimate is enough to show that regionalisms were in use considerably earlier than written evidence suggests. If this sort of time lag is applied to regional words with an earlier date for first written use, we can see that some of them must have been in use quite early, e.g., peewee, first used in print in 1827; or yabby 1884; or soursobs 1885; or port 1898. These could have been in oral use perhaps 50 or more years earlier.

Hence, although it is not possible to find definitive evidence of when use of regionalisms first arose, there is evidence that it was quite early in the development in Australian English.

**SOURCES OF AUSTRALIAN REGIONALISMS**

British English is the principal source of Australian regionalism words, whether for items known before the settlers left Britain, found when they arrived here, or introduced later. Other sources are American English words, words borrowed from Aboriginal languages, proprietary names, and a word from Afrikaans (double gee, from dubbeltjie). These other sources form only a small part of the regionalisms.

**British English**

The *Oxford English Dictionary*, the *Concise Oxford Dictionary*, and the *English Dialect Dictionary* were the main sources consulted for the provenance of the names of the items in this survey. In one case, bars, Wakelin (1972:81) gives a dialect origin, though the word is not in the dictionaries; in another, sandshoes, these sources showed the name as Standard English, but Trudgill (1990:101-2) gives a dialect origin. These overrode the dictionary sources.

It is instructive to look separately at the Australia-wide words and the regional words. The principal source of the former is Standard English, and of the latter, Standard English words put to different uses in Australia.

**Australia-wide words**

The 36 items with Australia-wide names have 53 names between them (several items, e.g., shanghai, have more than one Australia-wide name). The main source of these is Standard English - 28 of the Australia-wide words are shared with it. These cover categories of the lexicon as diverse as food, children's activities, clothes, and personal and household items. Five were from British dialects - soft drink (North Ireland), shanghai (Scotland, Northumberland), sandshoes (north-east area), pee-the-bed (Devon), and It (Northumberland). Four - daisy, blackboy, pumpkin and marrow - were Standard English names applied to different plant species here. Fifteen
were Standard English words put to different uses here. Many of these items may exist in Britain under different names, or may simply not have been listed, e.g., relief teacher, holiday house, cocktail frankfurts, street directory, or parking inspector. However, the remaining one appears to be an Australian innovation. This is garbo 'garbage collector'.

Australian regional words

Both sorts of regional words in Australia, elective and obligatory, follow the same pattern. The 36 items which have Australia-wide names also have between them 69 elective regional names. The 31 items with obligatory regional names have 111 names between them. This gives a total of 180 regional words. Only 15 of these are Standard English, e.g., thumb tacks, slide, pedestrian crossing, peanut butter, verge, tip and run, reaping. (One of them, stripping, is apparently not in current use, as the last entry for it in the OED is 1886, and it is not in the COD.) Six are British dialect words - nose bleed (south Worcestershire and Gloucestershire), polony (Yorkshire), barley (Scotland, Ireland, Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmorland, Yorkshire, Lancashire, Cheshire, Staffordshire, Derby, Warwickshire, Worcestershire and Shropshire), bars (Devon), snib (Scottish) and hidey (Devon). Two - housie and housie-housie - are marked 'Army'.

By far the largest number of regional words, 125, were Standard English words used differently in Australia. Some, such as sourgrass, soursobs, cod, haddock and mudlark, apply to different species here. Some may be unrecorded British dialect words, e.g., bar, barleys and 'barleys'. The remainder are Standard English words applied to things known in Britain by other names, e.g., water boots or pusher; or to things found only in Australia, e.g., three-corner jack, Tasmanian scallop or camel melon and pig melon.

Distribution in Britain and Australia

There is no pattern to where the British English words, whether Standard or dialect, became regional words in Australia. Of the 15 Standard English words which became Australian regional words, four are found in the NE, three in the SE, one each in the SC and SW, and the others are shared by more than one region. Of the six British dialect words which became Australian regional words, two are found in the SE, one each in the NE, SC and SW, and one is shared by the SE and SW.

There is little evidence of any pattern to the British dialect sources for Australian English words, both Australia-wide and regional. The five British dialect words that became Australia-wide words were drawn from four regions of Britain. Three of them were from Northumberland - shanghai (shared with Scotland), sandshoes (shared with four other counties to the south), and lt. The six British dialect words that became Australian regional words were drawn from wider areas. The two found in the SE, snib and barley, are from Scotland and from western counties and the eastern part of Scotland respectively. The two words from Devon, bars and hidey, became regional words in the SC and SE/SW respectively.
**American English**

Australian English and American English have a number of words in common that are not in Standard English use. These may have been brought to Australia by Californian miners or taken to America by Australian miners in the goldrushes from 1849 to the 1860s; they may have been borrowed independently from British slang or dialects (Ramson 1966:132); or they may be later borrowings due to the influence of American culture in Australia since World War II.

Two Australia-wide words were from the US - *rock* 'a stone of any size', and *stroller*.

Four Australian regional words - *cantaloupe, Santa Claus, garbage can* and *recess* - are from the US, and a further three - *sneakers, tennis shoes* and *ice cream soda* - are defined in *Webster's New World Dictionary of the American Language*, but not in the British English dictionaries consulted.

These words from American English also do not form a pattern of distribution in Australian English. Three, *cantaloupe, tennis shoes* and *sneakers*, are SE words; three, *ice cream soda, garbage can* and *Santa Claus*, are NE words; and *recess* is used everywhere.

**Aboriginal languages**

Names of Aboriginal origin occur in only three areas of the lexicon studied in this survey, in the categories of plants, shellfish, and stones. In fact, only five items had Aboriginal names. (See the *Australian National Dictionary* (1988), Dixon et al. (1990) and the *Macquarie Dictionary* (1991).) The plants were NE *bindi-eye* (*bindayaa*, from the eastern NSW languages Kamilaroi and Yuwaalaraay); *paddy melon* (from a possible association with a type of wallaby of the same name, *badimaliyan*, probably from Sydney region Dharuk, though the *Macquarie Dictionary* (1991) gives a possible etymology as *paddy field* (from Malay *padi*) + *melon*; and SC *yakka* (probably from a South Australian language). The crustacean was NSW/SE mainland/SC *yabby* (*yabbi*, from the western Victorian language Wamba-wamba) and SW *jilgie, marron* and *koonac* (*jilgi*, *marran* and *gunag* respectively, all from the Perth-Albany region language Nyungar). The names for stones were NE *gibber* (*giba*, from Sydney region Dharuk), NE *goolie* (probably from a NSW language), SW *boondie* (probably from a Western Australian language), and SE mainland *yonnie* (probably from a Victorian language). *Ronnie* (SC) and *gonnie* (Qld), though not listed in the sources consulted, may also be from Aboriginal languages.

In each case the regional names in Australian English are taken from Aboriginal languages in the same regions. In almost all cases an English word exists alongside the Aboriginal word. For example, bindi-eyes are known in parts of the same region as *cat heads* or *cat's eyes*; yakkas are also called *blackboys* or *grasstrees* in the SC; paddy melons are also called *pig melons* in the SW and *camel melons* in the Riverina; *crayfish* is also used in the *yabby* region, though in the SW only the Aboriginal names were given; and everywhere goolies, gibbers, yonnies, ronnies and gonnies and boondies were also called *stones* or *rocks*.
Proprietary names

The names of foods, such as ice creams and smallgoods, are the most common regional proprietary names found in this survey, though other items may also have less readily identifiable proprietary names, e.g., slippery dip, or traymobile. The lexical usage regions for the names of these items apparently correspond to the distribution networks for the manufacturers. Most of the distribution areas roughly cover States, but in some cases small local manufacturers' areas can be seen, e.g., the manufacturer in northern Queensland, possibly in Townsville, who distributed ice blocks known as by jingoes to nearby towns, or the manufacturer in Rockhampton (60) whose locally made devon, Belgium sausage, was distributed to nearby towns.

Just as the publishers' names of street directories used as generic names indicate which city people in border areas regard as their regional capital (see notes on Item 24), the proprietary names of these foods indicate which towns in border areas people use as their local shopping towns, e.g., informants in Murrayville (252) in Victoria who shop in Pinnaroo (43) over the border in South Australia.

Proprietary names tend to become generic names, and may continue to be used after the manufacturer has changed the name, e.g., SC dandies which are now made by a different manufacturer and called cups; or stopped making the product, e.g., Byron sausage.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF LEXICAL USAGE REGIONS

Original settlement patterns

The geographical extent of the lexical usage regions reflects the pattern of settlement for the regions. For example, the Riverina area of southern NSW was opened up by explorers from NSW, who were followed by settlers who moved stock in from NSW and Queensland in the 1840s and 1850s (White 1968:70). From the 1860s, settlers from Victoria also moved in and established trade links with Melbourne (Blainey 1980:211). This is the transition zone which uses lexical items from both the regions from which it was settled. In the transition zone between the SC and SE, the Mount Gambier district of South Australia was settled from Victoria in 1839, and the early settlers were oriented more to Melbourne than to the State capital, Adelaide (White 1968:278). The terrain surrounding Mount Gambier made Portland in Victoria more easily accessible than Adelaide was (Ferguson 1977:3). In spite of Adelaide's general neglect of the area (p.11), a secession movement in Mount Gambier in the 1860s had not been a threat to Adelaide's influence there (p.26). In this area, both SC and SE lexical items are used, though SC influence is stronger. For the 19 items where SC and SE usage differ, 11 had SC names, three had SE names, and both were used for five.

Trade and social links

Later trade and social links reinforced the lexical usage patterns established by the early settlers. For example, in the early 1960s, milk was delivered from Tallangatta (292) in Victoria in the SE to Henty (212) in the NE/SE transition zone in southern NSW. Children from the transition zone who go to boarding school are sent to either
Melbourne or Sydney, whereas those in the core of the NSW part of the NE region are sent to Sydney. Use of the name of Melbourne’s street directory as a generic name in the southern part of the transition zone also indicates the strong links with Melbourne.

A strong indicator of regional allegiance is the major code of football played. Rugby League, which was first played in Sydney in 1909, is the main code played in the NE. Australian Rules, which was first played in Melbourne in the 1850s, is the main code played in all the southern regions. These codes spread from the capitals to the regions by social contact. The part of NSW in which Australian Rules is played is co-extensive with the SE usage region, with a few towns in the north of the region (where SE lexical use is least strong) also having Rugby League teams. (This was confirmed by checking the type of goal posts at the local oval in each town before interviewing informants during field trips in the transition zone.) People in this part of NSW look to Melbourne as their sport capital.

**Isolation**

The relative isolation of the early colonies from each other would have contained regional usage. This contradicts the theory of Thomson (1951:335), who believed that

Regional speech can arise only where communities have been isolated and have had little or no communication with their neighbours. Australia has been settled within a short space of time, during a period when means of communication were relatively efficient, and no part of Australia has been isolated, and, therefore, there is no regional speech in Australia.

Until the separate colonies were connected by telegraph, beginning in 1858 with Melbourne and Adelaide, contact between the colonies involved long and difficult journeys. Melbourne and Sydney, for example, were linked by rail only in 1883 (Larkins 1980:185). Until then contact had been by coastal ships or overland. Travellers in the 1860s from Mt Gambier in south-east South Australia could reach their State capital, Adelaide, 480 km away, by a six and a half day journey overland, or by catching the steamer from nearby Port McDonnell to Melbourne then catching the inter-capital steamer to Adelaide, taking only three and a half days (Ferguson 1977:31). This difficulty of contact would have ensured that the regional words in each region could establish themselves without frequent contact with words for the same items from other colonies.

Marckwardt (1958:142), writing at a time when regional studies of US regional speech were somewhat more advanced than similar studies are in Australia at present, wrote:

... the complete linguistic history, particularly with respect to regional forms, of the United States will not be known until all of the facts concerning the present regional distribution of speech forms have been collected, and until these facts have been collated with the settlement history of the various areas and the speech types employed by the settlers at the time they moved in.

The evidence presented in this chapter for the history of the regionalisms indicates that a fuller diachronic study of the type suggested by Marckwardt is needed here.