USE OF THESES

REGIONAL VARIATION
IN THE LEXICON
OF AUSTRALIAN ENGLISH

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

Pauline Bryant

24 August 1992

1   REGIONAL ENGLISH IN AUSTRALIA

AIMS OF THE PROJECT

This project aims to explore the existence, nature and history of regional variation in the lexicon of Australian English. It was undertaken to fill one of the larger gaps in Australian English studies, and lays the foundations for further work in regional studies here.

Chapter 1 examines Australian English in relation to other varieties of English, and the place of regional usage in Australian English. The overview of the literature in Chapter 2 places this project in the context of other Australian regional studies to date. Chapter 3 evaluates the methodologies of regional lexical studies in other countries and their applicability to Australia, develops criteria for defining regions, and looks at methods of displaying the findings. The methodological work in Chapter 4 develops and evaluates new techniques, in the framework of dialectology, suitable for Australia's linguistic, demographic and geographical conditions. The major part of the work, the synchronic study in Chapter 5, identifies and defines the lexical usage regions of Australian English, and describes the classes of Australia's regional words. The diachronic study in Chapter 6 uses lexical evidence to evaluate theories on the development of Australian English, traces the development of the regional uniformity and regional diversity in the language, seeks the sources of Australian regionalisms, and explains how and when use of regionalisms arose. Chapter 7 adds the Australian findings to the body of empirical data from other surveys by examining the nature of regional lexical variation in Australian English and comparing it with that of other countries, and develops hypotheses on why regional variation has not been recognised in Australia until now.

Reasons for study

Until this project began, systematic regional variation in the lexicon of Australian English had not been shown to exist, although some isolated examples had been mentioned in the literature. Pilch's observation (1976:119) that "Dialect variation is continuous over the whole of most language areas (the only known exception is Australia)" had not been disproved. Collins (1989:4) noted that this "homogeneity ... was of a particular type: it involved variation, but the variants were found just about everywhere across the country". Bernard (1989:255) commented that

> in a land as large as Australia, it might have been expected that the principal language, Australian English, being spoken everywhere, would show marked variation from place to place ... Australians are for practical purposes almost completely unmarked by region within their language community. Putting aside the numerically minor cases of Norfolk Island ... and Cape Barren Island ... in both of which language variation does occur and is well documented, and excluding by definition both Aboriginal pidgins and migrant interlanguages, it can be claimed today,

just as it has often been claimed in the past, that Australian English is quite unusually uniform throughout its wide domain.

However, he noted (1989:255) that

this statement is not to be taken to mean that there is no regional variation at all. There is, and further, there is every possibility that it is increasing.

Until the work of Bradley and Bradley (1979) and Oasa (1980), it was considered that there was no regional variation in Australian English phonology, other than the higher incidence of Broad Australian accents in rural areas and Cultivated accents in urban areas (Mitchell and Delbridge 1965b:44).

An analytical study of regionalism in the lexicon was needed. Previous work, other than that undertaken in compiling dictionaries, has generally been descriptive, though some, e.g., Ramson (1966), classified items into categories such as words borrowed from Aboriginal languages or English words given different meanings in Australia. "... there has been a great deal of lexical description, though not on a systematic regional or historical basis. ... The studies have been essentially descriptive and synchronic" (Delbridge 1977:11). This project provides an analytical study, both synchronic and diachronic.

Background to the project

The earliest data for this project were collected incidentally firstly in northern New South Wales during the 1950s (*port* in Narrabri and Inverell compared with *schoolbag*, used by a Victorian), then later in southern New South Wales in the early 1960s (*blood nose* compared with northern *nose bleed*, and *a-game* (northern *game*) as in "I bet you're not a-game to do it"). At first these appeared to be simply interesting curiosities, without systematic differences in usage. Observations of some South Australian speakers in the late 1960s showed that there were further differences (*pusher* compared with NSW *stroller*, and *trombone* compared with NSW *gramma* or *marrow*), and it began to appear that there might be regional patterns of usage, in spite of the received wisdom at that time that Australian English was regionally homogeneous. Further observations in the following years, and questions asked of Canberra residents who had grown up in different States, supported this possibility. These observations formed the basis of a pilot study for the current project.

Scope of the project

Constraints and method

In broad terms, the project followed the same stages as other surveys (discussed in Chapter 3). However, the plan for the Australian project was constrained by practicalities. The principal constraint was lack of funding ("as things currently stand ... there are no resources for financing the [regional] studies which ought, in an ideal world, to be done" (Bernard 1989a:259)), apart from about $200 towards the cost of photography provided by the Department of Linguistics, The Faculties, at the Australian National University. The other constraint was the fact that the work had to be done by one person, instead of a team of researchers as in other studies.

Three approaches overcame these constraints. The first was to conduct a survey of limited size, although even with generous resources, "A nationwide survey cannot do more than collect a limited amount of data from a limited number of informants" (Adams *et al.* 1985:72). Hence the number of items (72) covered in the survey was only a small proportion of the number of items in the corpus of regionalisms collected at the beginning of the project. However, the number of informants was reasonably large (1,147).

The second approach was to make use of opportunities that arose. An opportunity was presented by the fact that the project was based in Canberra, the national capital, which is visited every year by visitors from other parts of the country, many of whom meet the selection criteria for this survey. Even more fortuitously, most of the interviews for the survey were conducted in 1988, Australia's bicentenary year, when more visitors than usual came to Canberra for bicentenary events. This meant that there was a supply of informants, enough to provide a broad-grained survey of much of the country. Another opportunity was the fact that Canberra is within reasonable distance of the most interesting transition zone between the lexical usage regions, that between the North-East and South-East, so that some short self-funded field trips could be made for a finer-grained survey there.

A further opportunity was provided by Dr Anna Shnukal, Prof. Bruce Rigsby and Dr David Lee of the University of Queensland, who made available to me material from their Survey of Queensland English which was collected by students in their EL101 Linguistics 1A classes in 1986 and 1987. This material has provided greater detail on some items in Queensland.

The third approach was to create innovative solutions to methodological difficulties caused by the constraints. The solutions were innovative in three respects - the means by which the initial corpus of regionalisms was established; the way in which informants were found; and the form of the questionnaire. The methods developed are suitable for collecting lexical material, but would be difficult to apply to collecting phonological or syntactic material. This proved to be a disadvantage only twice, in collecting variants of the pronunciation of *trough* and *barleys* (see notes on Items 9 and 71 in Chapter 5.)

These innovations, while allowing the survey to be done without resources, remained within the broad stages of regional language research which are followed in all such surveys, although there were shortcomings in the selection of locations surveyed and the selection of informants. However, different approaches to solving the methodological problems would no doubt still have led to the discovery of the same usage regions. The results are comparable with the results of other surveys. The New England survey, for example, carried out in oral interviews by a team of fieldworkers, and the Scottish survey, conducted by means of postal questionnaires filled in by intermediaries, produced results that allow comparisons to be made between those regions, in spite of the differences in methodology. In the same way, the Australian survey allows comparisons to be made between the nature of regional variation here and in other countries

Australian English

The work covers speakers whose first language is Australian English. (The other selection criteria they had to satisfy are discussed in Chapter 4.) The sample includes many second generation Australians who normally speak Australian English although they may speak other languages as well. Ethnic and Aboriginal English were excluded because of the possibility that their speakers may not have a complete range of vocabulary in Australian English for household equipment, food, and children's activities (though they may in the language they spoke at home or as children). These three semantic fields form a large part of the survey questionnaire, and failing to obtain answers for them would have left significant gaps in the data collected. (See Horvath 1985 for a discussion of ethnic English in Australia; Sommer 1974 for a description of Aboriginal non-standard English, and Sharpe and Sandefur 1976 for the range of English, from a restricted form of standard Australian English to creole to pidgin, spoken by Aborigines in their study in parts of the Northern Territory.)

Norfolk, the language of Norfolk Island, an Australian territory in the South Pacific Ocean, is also excluded. Harrison (1976:3) regards it as a type of English dialect. Its main components are "an amalgamation of late eighteenth century [English] dialects and late eighteenth century Tahitian" (p.4). English is also spoken on Norfolk Island. It evidently differs from Standard English but is not the same as other varieties of English such as Australian English. Hence it is outside the scope of this thesis. (See Harrison 1976 and Buffet and Laycock 1988 for the history and grammar of Norfolk.)

Definition of *regional* in this project

It is necessary at the outset to define what is meant by *regional terms*. This can be interpreted in two ways. Firstly, the name of an item can be regarded as regional if the item only occurs in one region. This is the case, for example, with many birds which are found only in a limited part of Australia. For example, the common name of *Phoebetria fusca*, *sooty albatross*, is a Western Australian and South Australian term only because the bird is found only in those States. Similarly, many occupational terms are regional only in the sense that the occupation occurs only in a restricted geographical area, e.g., the potato growing industry in Tasmania. This is not the sense of regional that is used in this thesis.

The second sense, the one used here, refers to terms for items or activities that are wide-spread in Australia, but have different regional names in different parts of the country. An example is the small black and white bird *Grallina cyanoleuca*, which is found everywhere in Australia except Tasmania. Its regional names are *peewee* in the North-East usage region, *mudlark* in the mainland South-East sub-region, and *Murray magpie* in the South-Centre. Many occupational terms were excluded even though the occupation occurs in different parts of the country, because the same terms are apparently used wherever the industry is carried out. For example, in the tuna fishing industry, the term *chumming* is used in both South Australia and NSW to refer to the practice of throwing out small fish to attract a shoal of large fish.

Hence only items which occur in much of Australia, with different names in different regions, were included.

Lexical regional variation

The project deals only with regional variation in the lexicon, although other types of regional variation exist in Australia, notably phonological variation, and possibly syntactic variation. In the course of investigating regional lexical variation, a few examples of these other types were found, and are mentioned in Chapter 2.

Other types of lexical variation depending solely on social factors such as socio-economic status, age or sex were not investigated, although for some items surveyed there were age or sex differences in usage within some regions.

Standard vocabulary

The survey focused on everyday names for the items investigated. Slang was avoided, though there may be a fine line between an informal register and slang ("a colloquial departure from standard usage" used by "those who, for reasons of personality or social identity, wish to be linguistically different - to be 'one of the gang' " (Crystal 1987:53)). For example, the use of *lacker band* for *rubber band* could be either. In the early stages of the project, the view was still prevalent in the general speech community that Australian English was chiefly interesting for its slang, a view promoted by Baker in the first edition of *The Australian Language*, though he later recanted (1966:1). It was difficult then to persuade potential informants that I was gathering material on everyday speech. Fortunately, that view is now regarded even by non-linguists as old-fashioned, and informants no longer express surprise that I am interested in things that do not have slang names.

Rural and urban speech

In Australia there is not a marked difference between rural and urban speech. Although Mitchell and Delbridge (1965b:44) and Bradley (1989:262) found that Broad Australian accents are more likely to occur among rural speakers than urban speakers, all types of accents are found in all parts of the country. The little that is known of regional syntactic variation does not suggest that there are differences between city and country. In the lexicon, in every case where an item occurred in both a capital city and the country area of the same region, with one exception the same regional terms were used in both. The exception was an occupational term. *Harvesting* was used by both rural and urban speakers, but only people outside the capital cities said *stripping* (in the South-East) or *reaping* (in the South-Centre). This example shows that city people may not have the full range of farming terms known to rural dwellers, but this is an occupational difference, not a regional difference.

There is no record in the literature of Australia ever having had traditional rural dialects; hence the survey could not focus on rural speech, a common aim of traditional dialect surveys. Orton (1962:14) describes such a survey:

The kind of dialect chosen for study was that normally spoken by elderly speakers of sixty years of age or over belonging to the same social class in rural communities, and in particular by those who were, or had been, employed in farming, for it is amongst the rural populations that the traditional types of vernacular English are best preserved today.

A survey of this type is not relevant in Australia's social and linguistic conditions. Hence this survey does not concentrate on the typical informant traditionally sought in other surveys, the older rural male (Chambers and Trudgill 1980:33).

Area surveyed

At the beginning of the project, the extent (or even the location) of any of the usage regions was not known. The survey therefore needed to cover the whole country in order to find the regions. The next step will be to carry out fuller studies of the regions found in this survey.

ENGLISH IN AUSTRALIA

Regional usage in Australia differs from that in other English-speaking countries. In defining it, Australian English needs first to be placed in its context with other varieties of English.

Trudgill (1990:5) distinguishes between traditional dialects of English and mainstream dialects. Traditional dialects "are what most people think of when they hear the term dialect. ... These dialects differ very considerably from Standard English, and from each other, and may be difficult for others to understand when they first encounter them". Most of them are in England, Scotland and Northern Ireland, mainly in rural areas remote from the main urban centres. Australian English is not a dialect of this sort, and does not have dialects of this sort within it.

The mainstream dialects are the Standard English dialect, "that set of grammatical and lexical forms which is typically used in speech and writing by educated native speakers" (Trudgill 1984:32), and the modern non-Standard dialects. Mainstream dialects are found in Britain in the south-east of England, most urban areas, parts of Britain such as the Scottish Highlands where English has been spoken only in relatively recent times, and among younger speakers and middle- and upper-class speakers. Outside Britain, they are found in the former British colonies such as America, Canada and Australia. Australian English, then, is a mainstream modern non-Standard dialect of the English language. The 'non-Standard' here compares Australian English against the Standard in England, from which it differs principally in pronunciation (Trudgill 1990:5).

Standard Australian English

Standard English in England originated as a regional variety in the traditional dialects of south-eastern England. Because this type of speech was associated with the

centres of power and learning, which were in this part of the country, it became the prestige social variety (Trudgill 1990:13). In Australia, 'standard' refers to the social dimension of language only, and has no historical association with any particular part of the country. The standard set of grammatical forms is used everywhere by educated native speakers. There is a prestige rather than a standard accent, but it is found in all parts of the country, though more in the cities than in the rural areas. Part of the standard lexicon is found everywhere, but part is not. This is because there is one class of regional words (discussed in Chapter 5) which must be regarded as standard because there are no Australia-wide words for the items they refer to.

Regional usage

In four regions of Australia - the North-East (NE), the South-East (SE), the South-Centre (SC), and the South-West (SW) - the language spoken forms sub-sets of Australian English. These regions are distinguished by systematic variations in the lexicon.

The question arises: are there dialects of Australian English (which is itself a dialect)? In other words, do the lexical usage regions constitute dialect regions?

The answer to this question depends on how dialects are defined. Various authors have used different definitions, but most include differences in grammar and phonology as defining characteristics of dialects, and also mention lexicon. Chambers and Trudgill (1980:5), for example, define dialects as "varieties which are grammatically (and perhaps lexically) as well as phonologically different from other varieties". Again, Trudgill (1984:575) defines a dialect as "A regional or social variety of a language which is distinguished from other varieties by particular features of grammar and vocabulary, and which may be associated with a distinctive ACCENT"; the mainstream modern non-Standard dialects, for example, differ principally in their accents (Trudgill 1990:5). Wakelin believes that "*dialect* refers to all the linguistic elements in one form of a language - phonological, grammatical and lexical" (1972:1). Similarly, Davis says "Dialects differ in three ways: pronunciation (*phonology*), vocabulary (*lexicon*), and grammar.

Francis's definition, on the other hand, does not insist on the inclusion of any particular aspects of language. Dialects "may differ ... along all the many dimensions of language content, structure, and function: vocabulary, pronunciation, grammar, usage, social function, artistic and literary expression. The differences may be slight and confined to a few aspects of the language, or so great as to make communication difficult between speakers of different dialects" (1983:1).

Certainly in Australia the differences are slight and involve few aspects of the language. They are clearly shown in this project to involve regional differences in the lexicon. However, this is regarded by Chambers and Trudgill as the most marginal aspect. Regional differences in other aspects are less clear. Phonological differences between the capital cities have been quantified by Bradley, Bradley and Bradley, and Oasa (see Chapter 2), though it is not yet known whether these differences have begun to extend into the country regions beyond the capitals, and if so, to what extent the

lexical and phonological regions are co-extensive. Grammatical differences between regions have not yet been systematically studied. The few differences that have been noted so far are described in Chapter 2, but until these have been shown to be more than a fringe aspect of regional language in Australia, they cannot be used in defining usage regions.

This leaves only one aspect of language, the lexicon, to define regional usage in Australia. Even Francis's definition, the most liberal of those quoted above, would have to be modified to read "the differences may be confined to only one aspect of the language (and not necessarily to the aspects regarded as central by other writers)". This is flimsy grounds for calling Australian regional usage *dialects*. Moreover, this definition would not be shared by other dialects of other varieties of English.

Until more evidence has been found on the extent of phonological regions, and the existence and extent of grammatical regions, there is not a strong enough case to refer to Australian regional usage as dialects. Therefore in this thesis the word *dialect* is not used when describing regional lexical usage in Australia. However, the possibility is recognised that work on these aspects may some day lead to the conclusion that there are regional dialects of Australian English.

2 REGIONAL LANGUAGE STUDIES IN AUSTRALIA

This chapter presents a summary of the literature on regional variation in Australia, both studies of particular areas and general surveys of specific aspects of the language. Some evidence gathered during the course of this project on regional variation other than in the lexicon is also given.

Several studies have been made of particular parts of Australia where language use appears to be different from that in the rest of the country. However, in four of these studies there is insufficient evidence to support the claims made, and in one there is little trace left of the usage that once set the area apart. The remaining two, Clyne's study of the German settlements of south-eastern Australia (1968), and Shnukal's study of Cessnock, NSW (1978), provide evidence that these places may have distinct regional characteristics which would repay further investigation.

STUDIES OF PARTICULAR REGIONS

Two papers by Sutton need consideration in any study of regional variation in Australian English. These are on the English spoken on Cape Barren Island by part-Aborigines (1975), and on a phonological feature in the speech of people of Aboriginal descent in the Adelaide region of South Australia (1989). In each case he attributes distinctive characteristics of the language to the speech of the first white settlers in the area. In neither of these papers is it clear whether he is referring to Australian English spoken by people of part-Aboriginal and part-European descent, or to Aboriginal English (which is outside the scope of this thesis). Bradley (1980: 74) groups Cape Barren English with pidgin and creole English spoken by some Aborigines and islanders, while Hammarstrom (1980:48) and probably Bernard (1989:255) regard it as a variety of Australian English. Sutton's papers are the only ones on these subjects and clearly indicate that further work would be useful. In particular, Cape Barren Island English (CBE) appears to be different from standard Australian English spoken elsewhere on Australian territory. However, some interpretations he has placed on the evidence he reports are open to question. A discussion of these papers is included here since they cannot be definitely excluded as referring to varieties of Australian English.

CAPE BARREN ISLAND

The part-Aboriginal people of Cape Barren Island (in the Furneaux Group of islands in Bass Strait off the north-east tip of Tasmania) speak a variety of English which Sutton regards as "some sort of dialect other than Australian English" (1975:61). Sutton's account, which he regards as a preliminary report only, covers two aspects - a preliminary description of the language, and an attempt to trace its origins.

Between 1800 and 1810 the islands in Bass Strait were settled by men involved in the sealing and whaling industries, and their Aboriginal women consorts. One group, the forebears of the Cape Barren community, appeared to consist of eight European men, nine Tasmanian Aboriginal women, four mainland Aboriginal women, a Maori woman, a Negro woman and an Indian woman. The descendants of these settlers and a few later arrivals numbered about 120 in 1947, at which time the population was said to be dispersing to nearby Flinders Island and to Tasmania. The population was about 58 when Sutton carried out his study in 1969. The founding men were mainly born during the eighteenth century in Britain. The five whose origin Sutton gives were from England (area unspecified), London, Wales, Ireland, and Sydney (though he may not have been born there). The places of origin of the remaining three men are apparently not known. The languages spoken by the Aboriginal women are also apparently not known, and no further background is given on the three non-Aboriginal women.

Sutton's description of CBE "is partly a reconstruction of what could be called 'Original CBE', while much that is presently spoken is 'modified CBE'. Where there is fluctuation between standard and non-standard forms, and there is also a reasonable hypothesis as to the origin of the non-standard form, I have taken the latter to be 'Original CBE' " (pp.66-7).

Description of Cape Barren English

Phonology

One of the two main differences between CBE and Australian English lies in differences in the pronunciation of particular words (p.76). "It was noticeable that whenever Islanders could be observed speaking to one another their talk was often quite unintelligible to an outsider, and there were even times when their speech to me was hard or impossible to understand" (p.67). He warns that his analysis of the phonology is only tentative. Some features of CBE are: final -ow [oʊ] pronounced [i] in [swɒli] *swallow* and [fɒli] *follow* (pp.69-70); [ɛ] pronounced [ɪ] in *leg* and *get* (p.71); [æ] pronounced [ɛ] in words such as [kɛtʃ] *catch* (p.72); some cases of unstressed vowels not reduced to [ə] (pp.69 and 72) in such words as *telephone* [tɛlifʌun] (p.69; [ʌ] pronounced [ɒ] in *one* (p.73); lack of offglide and onglide in long vowels such as [iə] in *beer* and [əi] in *bee* (p.75); rare use of [θ] and [ð], with other fricatives replacing them, such as [s] in place of [θ] in *thumb* [sʌm] (p.82), or [z] for [ð] in *breathing* [bri:ziŋ] (p.83); [h] possibly not having phonemic status but occurring randomly before initial vowels, hence [ɪlz] *hills* but [hʌunəz] *owners* (p.85). These differences are apparently not always regular, although he notes that "some of these features are basic to the phonology" (p.76). For example, /ɪ/ may not always be pronounced [ɛ] in all positions, or even in all instances of C_C, though they do occur regularly in *get* and *leg*.

When he suggests an origin for local pronunciations, Sutton attributes twelve to influence from numerous British dialects, and one to Aboriginal influence.

In addition to these differences in pronunciation, "CBE is characterised by often extreme degrees of elision, and by extensive assimilation" (p.95), e.g., [nʌ wɜ gɪ fjəm næ :] "there's no work here for them now", and [ɪn nə ʃɛdz dæ: nɛ] "in the sheds down there" (p.95).

Syntax

Several non-standard syntactic constructions occur in CBE. Although Sutton gives them as CBE usage, some of them are also non-standard in Australian English, such as confusion of past participle and past tense ("it's all took down to the beach" (p.88)), mismatched subject-verb agreement ("he don't", "we was", "... the owners of the sheds takes delivery of them and ships them away ..." (p.88)), and intrusive *what* ("All depends on the crew what they got, see" (p.89)). Less common non-standard usage occurs with some prepositions: people being *from off* rather than *from* an island, or "going the day out" (working all day). Two expressions, "Happen my dog seen him", and "By ordinary tongue" (p.89), Sutton believes may be British dialectal forms, though he evidently has not identified them positively as such.

Lexicon

The other main difference between CBE and Australian English lies in the vocabulary (p.76). Sutton lists 47 words which he claims are CBE dialect-features (pp.90-95). However, 20 of them do not seem to be different from standard and non-standard Australian English: three (*bungalow*, *fowls* and *morning wood*) are used in the South-East region of Australian English so that Sutton (who was from Sydney) may not have been familiar with them; others such as *barring* 'except', *short-winded* and *stop* 'stay' are standard Australian English; *crowd*, referring to several people though they may have acted individually ("this crowd went down there") he notes is "used in this sense in Australian English" (p.91); some are possibly non-standard Australian English, such as *nowheres*, *ear-holes* 'ears' or *picks* 'pecks'; some, such as *chain* (66 feet) or *rang-tang* (given in the *Macquarie Dictionary* in the phrase *on the ran-tan* 'on a drinking bout'), are only used by older speakers and may not have been familiar to a student. (It should be remembered that Sutton's study was carried out before the publication of the *Macquarie Dictionary* in 1981, which would have enabled him to check words with which he was not personally familiar.) A further four words he notes may have simply been mistakes on the part of the speakers (*door stubs* 'door studs', *knock-leg* 'knock-kneed', *pendlets* 'pendants', and *walk-out* 'walk splay-footed'; and two could possibly be clarified if the context had been given (*throat* - informants may have been confused about whether he was pointing to the front of his neck generally or to his Adam's apple, and *wattle* - it is not clear if he meant a stick or the type of construction made with interwoven sticks).

This leaves 21 words which could be CBE dialect features. Sutton gives possible English dialect sources for four of the words - *duck-footed* 'pigeon-toed' (though possibly only a mistake), *ten o'clock lunch* (eaten before retiring), *sidelocks* 'sideboards' or 'sideburns' and *splaw* 'splay'. The remaining seventeen words are not attributed to any particular source. These include *duskified* 'getting dark', *evening-time, first-of-the-season* 'early in the season', *iron* 'iron utensil for heating water in',

knee-knocker 'someone who walks with knees together' and *silvery* 'avaricious' or 'expensive'. Some of the words evidently occurred only once or twice in his corpus, e.g., *chain* or *peas*. Before the words not shared with Australian English can be taken as a standard part of CBE, a frequency count would need to be made to rule out nonce usages or idiosyncratic individual usages.

Origins

Sutton sees the English background of the men, the background of the Aboriginal women, and Australian society as the main influences on the speech of the people. He found "traces of early nineteenth-century or dialectal British English, and traces of Aboriginal foreign [sic] accent" (p.65), as well as features of Australian English.

He does not discuss what he regards as the criteria for deciding that CBE is "some sort of dialect other than Australian English" (p.61). Nor does he give the distinguishing characteristics of Aboriginal English, and although he seems to favour classifying CBE as a remnant of 18th century British dialects, this is not stated explicitly. Given the tentative nature of the description and analysis of the language, it is not possible to draw any firm conclusions other than that CBE differs in some respects from Standard English and from Australian English, and perhaps from Aboriginal English. Sutton's attempt at tracing the origins of CBE suffers from insufficient attention to possible influence from Australian English and from Aboriginal languages, and perhaps too much attention to British dialectal influence.

Influence from Australian English

Sutton does not follow up his claim that CBE is not a variety of Australian English (pp.61 and 66), in spite of his opinion that one of the cultural influences on CBE speakers is "that of the Australian society of which they form a part" (p.65). He finds it difficult to determine whether the shared characteristics of CBE and Australian English exist because they were shared in the earliest days of the settlements, or whether Australian English infiltrated CBE later: "a speech community may be different right from the start, and then isolation could perpetuate these initial speech differences. This appears to be partly the situation with the speech of the Cape Barren Islanders" (p.65).

The main distinguishing features of CBE appear to be in the tentatively described phonology, although he puts less weight on this than on the lexicon. The only comparison with the phonology of Australian English is that CBE "does not include the typical Australian English compound peaks" (p.74) such as [æə] and [əu] (Australian English) but [æ:] and [u:] (CBE) in *bad* and *boo* respectively (p.75). However "this should not be taken to imply that nuclei with these Australian glides do not occur. Often they seem to be clearly a result of linguistic influence - either that of the interview situation or that of historical development in proximity to Australian English. Some speakers seem to have adopted part of the Australian vowel system but have retained the CBE system elsewhere" (p.75). He does not make other comparisons with the phonology of Australian English, either of particular phonemes or with the various degrees of broadness, though he says that at first hearing it sounds

like Broad Australian (p.66). More rigorous comparisons here would have given more weight to his opinion that CBE is not a variety of Australian English.

Hammarstrom believes that "as long as this judgement [that CBE is some sort of dialect other than Australian English] is based on dissimilarity only, one is equally entitled to say that this is an Australian English dialect which is quite different from the 'main' dialect" (1980:45), and concludes that "the Cape Barreners speak a variety of Australian English" (p.48).

Influence from Aboriginal languages

Sutton refers to "other types of 'Aboriginal English' ", implying that CBE is also one (1975:66). "Many of its phonological peculiarities are really a kind of 'creolized foreign accent' derived from the non-English-speaking ancestors of the present Islanders" (p.66), i.e., it could be a type of Aboriginal English. Other types of Aboriginal English derive from "the contact of Aboriginal languages or pidgins with Australian English, whereas CBE has its origins in the contact of (mainly Tasmanian) Aboriginal languages and early 19th century British English" (p.66). Investigation of any similarities between CBE and Aboriginal varieties of English would therefore seem worthwhile. However the influence of Aboriginal languages is mentioned only once in his description of CBE, in connection with the rarity of fricatives in CBE, which may have arisen from the lack of fricatives (except possibly a velar or uvular fricative) in the languages of the Aboriginal forebears. A difficulty with his argument is that this same characteristic is also attributed to dialectal English (p.82).

Sutton does not discuss what constitutes Aboriginal English, although elsewhere he mentions "a continuum of heavy vs. light pidgin/creole content [and] ... degree of simplification of English grammar" (Sutton 1989:162). In particular, the lack of comparison with the phonology of Aboriginal languages, particularly in Tasmania where nine of the 13 Aboriginal women settlers came from, leaves open the question of the origin of CBE. This difficulty is also unresolved in Sutton's paper (1989) on postvocalic /r/ in the Adelaide region of South Australia.

There are some parallels between the early days of the Bass Strait settlements and settlements in Tasmania which may throw some light on why CBE is different from Australian English. Hobart was established in 1804, during the period when the Bass Strait islands were settled, and was relatively isolated from the other Australian colonies. Similarly, the mainland colonies, though settled at different times, were also relatively isolated from one another because of the distances between them and the difficulties involved in both sea and land travel. The early Bass Strait settlers were relatively but not completely isolated, as they raided settlements and Aboriginal tribes on the north coast of Tasmania (p.62), and presumably had contact with the traders who bought the mutton bird feathers they exported (p.63). The main historical difference between the origin of CBE and the Australian English spoken in Tasmania (which is identical with the Australian English spoken on the mainland except for the lexical items discussed later and some phonological differences which Bradley described - see below) is the strong influence on CBE from Aboriginal languages. Sutton lists nine marriages contracted by the white men, and of these seven were to

Aboriginal women, and one each to an Indian and a Maori woman. It seems probable, then, that Aboriginal languages would have had more influence on CBE than on Australian English, where the contact between Europeans and Aboriginals was less constant and less isolated.

Influence from British dialects

Although the paper focuses almost entirely on the influence from British dialectal sources, the evidence for remnants of this influence is slight - 12 differences in pronunciation, four lexical items and possibly two syntactic differences. Despite his warning that the analysis of the phonology of CBE "is the most tentative aspect of this study" (p.67), it is on the phonology that he bases his strongest claims for the influence of British dialects.

Another difficulty is the number of British dialects he gives as possible sources. In spite of his assertion that English influence on CBE is largely from Devon and Kent (p.76), he also gives the dialects of London, Berkshire, Cornwall, Dorset, Hampshire, the Isle of Wight, Shropshire, Somerset, Surrey, Sussex, Wiltshire, Lancashire, Cheshire, Staffordshire and Scotland as possible sources of CBE pronunciations (pp.69-86). In view of the fact that there were only eight English founders of the community (though an unknown number of later settlers - only four are mentioned (p.63) but there may have been others - may have had an influence), this seems rather too many sources, even allowing for some features to be shared by adjoining areas. Another difficulty is that the place of origin is given for only five of the European founders, and two (Wales and Ireland) are not given as language sources, while two are too unspecific (England and Sydney though possibly originally from elsewhere) to identify. This leaves only the settler from London as a clearly identifiable possible source. The three whose places of origin are unknown are too few to have provided so many sources. It is tempting to speculate that Sutton's interest in Early English Language and Literature, which he was studying at Sydney University at the time he carried out his survey of CBE, may have coloured his interpretation of what he found.

In spite of these reservations, CBE evidently does appear to be different from Standard English and Australian English (and his observation that it was often unintelligible to outsiders (p.67) should be borne in mind). Although the question of the status of CBE as a variety of English, of Australian English or of Aboriginal English has not been adequately resolved, Sutton's preliminary study of the language is enough to suggest that further study before the remaining islanders are dispersed would be worthwhile.

FLINDERS ISLAND

At the end of his paper on CBE, Sutton appends a short note on the speech of two speakers on nearby Flinders Island. One showed "extreme degrees of assimilation and elision on the par with much of that of CBE" (p.96). The other, a farmer, used many farming terms which differed from those of Standard English. Of the eight terms Sutton lists, five are different pronunciations rather than different lexical items. One of the pronunciations, [trovz] for the plural of *trough*, also occurs in rural Victoria. Of

the remaining three words, two, *crush* and *race* 'the fenced ramp for loading livestock onto trucks,' are standard Australian English. The third, *swingle tree* 'the crossbar to which the braces of a harness are fastened in a cart', and a reported Western Australian term for it, *whippletree*, are both recorded in the *Macquarie Dictionary*, though neither is marked for region. This means that none of the words Sutton regards as Flinders Island usage are exclusive to the island. Sutton notes that the farmer gave many farming terms which are different from Standard English ones, i.e., Flinders Island speech may be different in this respect from Standard English but not necessarily from Australian English. As with CBE, Flinders Island speech may be "dialectally distinct in some ways from the mainstream of Australian English" (p.96). Further investigation here is also needed, with attention to all likely sources.

THE ADELAIDE REGION OF SOUTH AUSTRALIA

Sutton's brief report of the English spoken by Aborigines in the Adelaide region of South Australia details use of postvocalic /r/. As in his account of CBE, it is not clear if he is referring to a variety of Aboriginal English or to Australian English spoken by Aborigines. Although the title of the paper refers to 'an Australian English dialect', he later refers to "Aboriginal English in the earlier-colonised regions of southern Australia" (1989:162). This postvocalic /r/ is used by a number of people of Aboriginal descent in preconsonantal position in word stems, and its presence is variable depending on social factors such as degree of informality of the situation, how well the speakers know each other, and cultural differences. It is not "the apico-domal retroflex glide so common to Aboriginal languages, and therefore to Aboriginal accent in English. It is more akin to the grooved continuant of American English dialects, and is therefore darker than the corresponding Aboriginal language sound" (p.161). It is not found in non-Aboriginal Australian English, and has not been reported in Aboriginal English from other regions.

Sutton believes it is possible that the origin of this feature may be traced to the region's early European settlers who came from Cornwall, Scotland and America. However, it has not been reported as occurring in the speech of non-Aboriginals living in the same region. Possibly the corresponding /r/ in Aboriginal languages may have influenced the retention of the early settlers' postvocalic /r/ in Aboriginal English. Because it is not found in Aboriginal English elsewhere in Australia, it is possible that it derives from these settlers. (Sutton does not report this feature in his account of Cape Barren Island English although he attributes CBE in part to settlers from Cornwall and Scotland but not America.)

SOUTH-EAST AUSTRALIA

Jernudd (1973) had 28 university students assign eight speakers from Melbourne, Nhill (a town in western Victoria) and the Barossa Valley (in South Australia) to regional and social groups on the basis of one one-minute recording of each speaker. The content of the recordings gave no clues to where the speakers came from, i.e., there were apparently no regional words or contextual references in the speech samples, so that listeners were responding only to speakers' pronunciation. The first question on regional usage gave listeners a free choice - they were given a map of

Victoria, south-east South Australia and southern New South Wales, and were asked to indicate where they thought each speaker came from. The second question was a check on the first responses. It gave a forced choice from five regions, (e.g., Western NSW "Broken Hill Area", Eastern Victoria "Gippsland") for each speaker. Jernudd does not feel that this second question may have misled respondents into thinking that there were speakers from each of the five areas, when in fact they came from only three. Respondents also ranked each speaker on a five-point scale of social status, and were also asked what they thought the speakers' educational background had been. Finally, they were asked to compare the social status of pairs of speakers.

However, Jernudd did not test each of the variables in one category (sociolects) against each of the variables in the other category (regions), and there was no attempt to control for speakers' age or sex. In the question on speakers' sociolects, results are given for only five of the speakers, all male. No explanation is given for why the other three, all females, were omitted. The results for the five ranged along a spectrum from High Class (a Melbourne administrator and a Melbourne research fellow), to Mid Class (a Lutheran pastor from South Australia) and Low Class (a Melbourne service employee and a farmer from Nhill in western Victoria) (pp.4/29 and 14/39). Assessment of the educational backgrounds of the five tallied with assessment of social class (pp.4/29 and 14/39).

In allocating speakers to regions, listeners said that the two speakers with the High Class accents (presumably correlating with Mitchell and Delbridge's Cultivated speakers) came from Melbourne, (though their first (free) choice was to allocate the administrator to Canberra). This is not surprising, in view of Mitchell and Delbridge's finding (1965b) that Cultivated speakers are more likely to be found in urban areas and Broad accents (Jernudd's Low Class) are more likely to be found in rural areas. Of the two with Low Class accents, listeners were unable to allocate the Melbourne service employee to any area on the free choice question and possibly to NSW on the forced choice, while the farmer from Nhill was correctly allocated in western Victoria on both choices. The Lutheran pastor with the Mid Class accent could not be placed on either choice.

Of the three women whose type of accent is not known, a high school student from Nhill was correctly placed on both choices, an old woman from the Barossa Valley could not be placed on the free choice question but was correctly placed on the forced choice, and a woman from Nhill was placed further south (free choice) and could not be placed (forced choice).

The most that can be said from these results is that listeners perceive a correlation between High Class accent and urban location (16 and 18 listeners saw this for the two Melbourne High Class speakers respectively), and cannot make firm judgements about Low and Mid Class accents. Jernudd realised that "an investigation with recordings of at least High rural speakers and possibly also of Low urban speakers must be made to demonstrate that the sociolectal distinction alone did not account for the present outcome" (p.5/30)

On the basis of the fairly slight evidence for the three speakers from Nhill, Jernudd saw "a connection between their speech and their Wimmera origin [round Nhill]" (p.6/31). However, he confuses the regional issue in his analysis of the results of the free choice and forced choice questions by using "Wimmera" in two different ways. In the free choice question, it referred to one of 20 squares on a map covered by a grid of 4 x 5 squares, whereas for the forced choice question it referred to the whole of western Victoria which is covered by three of the 20 squares. On the narrowest (and correct) interpretation of Wimmera (the area covered by square C2 on his map), that used in the free choice question, two of the three Nhill speakers were identified correctly with better than chance frequency (by 8 and 10 listeners respectively) and the other with less than chance (3 listeners, though 9 placed her further south). On the more generous interpretation of Wimmera to mean the whole of western Victoria (covered on his map by squares B2 (strictly the Mallee), C2 (the Wimmera) and D2 (the Grampians and the coastal belt)), that used in the forced choice question, the three Nhill speakers were placed correctly by 13, 8 and 9 listeners respectively. These were the strongest correlations between speaker and place in the survey, and could indicate that there may be a western Victorian accent. This would certainly be worth further investigation.

In the present survey, this region lies in the transition zone between the South-Central and South-East lexical usage regions. It is possible that the influence on the lexicon here from the two regions may be parallelled by influence on phonology from the two regions. Jernudd's respondents evidently did not give any information on how they assigned the three Wimmera speakers to the Wimmera, so a comparison of the phonology of the Wimmera region with that of both adjacent regions needs to be made. At present this is not possible, as the phonology of only the capital cities has been studied so far (see below). Further investigation of a possible western Victorian accent will have to wait until the rural speech of the South-Centre and South-East has been studied.

THE CORNISH AREA OF SOUTH AUSTRALIA

The "Little Cornwall" region of South Australia was studied by Fielding and Ramson (1971). It consisted of the towns settled by Cornish miners from 1844, in the districts around Moonta, Wallaroo and Burra (although White (1968:271) refers to Wallaroo-Moonta-Kadina as "the three towns collectively known in South Australia as Little Cornwall"). The settlement was "small, closely knit, and bound together by occupational, religious, and family ties" (Fielding and Ramson 1971:166), and contributed "a vocabulary which was predominantly Cornish in origin ... and which, if not in every particular at least in its general constitution, characterised for a time the speech of a regional Australian community, ultimately exerting some influence on the occupationally and socially related sectors of general Australian" (p.166). Most of the words Fielding and Ramson collected relate to mining. Some were of Cornish origin, e.g., *elvan* or *elvin* 'hard, intrusive rock of igneous origin' (pp.167-8) (although one, *mundic* or *mundick* 'iron pyrites' (p.168) - also known as fool's gold - was reported by one of the contributors to the corpus of regionalisms in the current project as being used by old people in Victoria). Some were general mining terms, e.g., *adit* 'a horizontal approach by which a mine is entered' (p.168). Some of these general

mining terms were only used in Australia by Cornish miners, e.g., *halvans* 'half of the produce in lieu of wages' (p.170). Some words were general English words given particular application by Cornish miners, e.g., *country* or *country rock* 'the ground in which a mineral lode occurs' (p.171). Other words not related to mining were Cornish dialect words, e.g., *minchy-man* 'school inspector' (p.172), and English words referring to the Cornish way of life, e.g., *chapel*, rather than *church*, (because of adherence to Methodism). These terms "enjoyed what was mostly a brief and local use" (Ramson 1972:37). Although some of the mining terms continued to be used, "of the wealth of colloquialisms which made up the everyday speech of the community little trace remains" (p.37).

This was confirmed by an informant in the current survey. The Cornish areas round Wallaroo, Moonta, Kadina and Burra were surveyed with particular attention to the categories of the lexicon found to be most likely to contain regional terms (see Table 4.1). Descendants of the Cornish miners who settled the areas still live there, and cultural identity is still strong, with Cornish festivals held periodically, and people of Cornish descent calling themselves Cousin Jacks and Cousin Jennys. However there appears to be no legacy in local Australian English of Cornish words, either from the Cornish language, which survived in Cornwall until the eighteenth century (Thomas 1984:278), or from Cornish English, in any of the categories investigated in this survey. The only informant who could volunteer any information on this was a Cousin Jack born in 1899 who had worked with other Cousin Jacks in the copper mines before they closed in 1923. He could remember that he had heard some Cornish words at home as a child, but the only one he could remember was *launder* 'roof guttering'. (This is confirmed by Wright's *English Dialect Dictionary*, which gives *launder* 'A shute running under the eaves of a house' as Cornish.) However, he said this was not in general use at any time, and could not recall any other Cornish words.

SOUTHERN AUSTRALIAN GERMAN SETTLEMENTS

Clyne's study (1968) of German settlements in South Australia and western Victoria was concerned mainly with maintenance of German, but he also noted some points of relevance to the present study. Use of German declined as a result of anti-German feeling during and after World War I, and a further decline occurred as a result of World War II. However, by 1968 "many of the 55-and-overs in the Barossa Valley still regularly speak the language at home and with friends and relatives. Most of the 75-and-over generation still consider it to be their dominant language" (p.35). There has been considerable influence from English, with borrowing into German, and interestingly Clyne found that there was some regional variation within Australianised German. For example, in the Victorian settlements there were more borrowings from English than in South Australia. German in Tarrington, Victoria, was more consistent in how loans were integrated, and deviated more from standard German, than in any of the South Australian settlements (p.37).

Clyne discusses briefly some evidence for German influence on the Australian English spoken in the German settlements. There is some influence from German in the phonology of English spoken by bi-linguals, and some syntactic differences, e.g., *bring with* and *come with* (German *mitbringen* and *mitkommen*), also reported in this

study. He found evidence that German speakers in both South Australia and Victoria had "been trained to deliberately 'keep their languages apart' ... (with one language for home and community, another for the 'outside world')" (p.40). This may account for why there was not more German influence on local Australian English found in the present study.

In the Barossa Valley German settlements in South Australia, some enquiries were made during this project about the influence of German on local Australian English, in the categories of the lexicon likely to show regional variation. The towns of Tanunda, Nuriootpa and Angaston were settled by Germans from Prussia and Silesia from 1842. Cultural identity is strong, with the Lutheran church being a strong influence, regular wine festivals are held, and a museum at Tanunda commemorates the early days of German settlement. An informant at Tanunda, born in 1916, said "World War I cut down on using German and World War II finished it off". In his parents' day German was spoken in the streets, but since then only English has been spoken in public. Ramson (1966:155) points out that the ban on using German during World War I may have prevented Australian English from acquiring German words, at a time when the German settlements were becoming less isolated from the English speaking community. The informant could remember that yakkas were called by a German name [bʊmpskɒlʌ], but did not know of any of the other items in the survey having German names. He said that German things were called by German names, but Australian things were called by Australian names. Enquiries in food shops showed that foods commonly found in other parts of Australia have Australian names, but German foods, such as liverwurst, retain their German names. Ramson (1988a:148) thinks that South Australia *butcher* 'a small glass (170 ml) for serving beer', from German *becher* 'a convivial drinking vessel', may be the only word from the Lutheran settlements surviving in Australian English.

Although the examples of German influence on Australian English quoted by Clyne are small in number, they may have wider significance. One of the examples he quotes, *come with*, was also reported in this project, from near Berri, SA, ("Are you coming with?") and Broken Hill, NSW, which was settled from South Australia. Neither of these places was settled by Germans. The influence of German speakers may have extended into the wider South Australian community. Further studies of this influence would clearly be useful.

CESSNOCK, NSW

In her study of the speech of Cessnock, NSW, Shnukal (1978) examined several non-standard phonological and grammatical variables. Cessnock (which she compared with the Appalachian region of the US in this respect) was relatively isolated from the rest of the country for much of its history, and had a relatively stable and homogeneous population which was originally made up in large part of miners from the coalfields of the north of England, lowland Scotland, and Wales. She speculated on whether "it is possible therefore that certain of these 'archaic' grammatical forms: deletion of the subject relative pronoun; absence of the 'plural' morpheme; nonstandard concord between *we/you/they* and past tense *be*; confusion of 'expletive' *it* and *there*, and so on, ... are characteristic only of the Cessnock region within Australia. While I

should expect these variables to occur in other parts of the country, it could well be that a higher percentage of these nonstandard grammatical forms is a regional characteristic of the area" (pp.231-2). She also noted that the frequency of use of the nonstandard [ɪŋk] variant of the (THING) variable, may be a regional characteristic (1982:209).

Some of these forms do in fact occur elsewhere in Australia: in Sydney, for example, Eagleson (1976:12) found mismatched subject-verb agreement, Horvath (1985:101) found non-standard [ɪŋk], which Shnukal (1982:209) had also observed in country NSW and southern Queensland. Further quantitative studies of the type carried out by Shnukal and Horvath are needed in other places to discover whether the incidence of non-standard forms is higher in Cessnock than elsewhere in the country. For example, in Sydney Horvath found that middle-class speakers used the [ɪn] variant of (ING) in 15% of instances, compared with 21% for working-class speakers (1985:101), while in Cessnock the comparable figures are 5.3% for middle-class speakers and 36% for working-class speakers. (In passing, Bradley (1986:283) correctly points out that in Australian English the non-standard variant is usually [ən], not [ɪn] as in American English (and British English).) In Cessnock, a largely working class town, "a certain sense of community and working class solidarity ... may also be reflected in the linguistic behaviour of the community" (Shnukal 1978:90), leading to a higher incidence of the non-standard forms, such as [ɪn], associated with working class speech. However, the incidence of the non-standard form was considerably lower among middle class speakers in Cessnock compared with Sydney (5.3% and 15% respectively). This may point to middle class speakers in Cessnock taking care to avoid working class speech habits so as to differentiate themselves from the working class. Clearly, comparative studies of predominantly working class and predominantly middle class communities are needed.

REGIONAL VARIATION ACROSS AUSTRALIA

In general studies of regional variation in different aspects of Australian English, most of the work has focused on phonology. Regional syntactic variation is thought barely to exist, but from the slight evidence gathered so far it would seem to be worth investigating further. Regional variation in the lexicon has been noted but until now not studied systematically.

PHONOLOGY

Mitchell (1947), dividing the spectrum of Australian English accents into two parts, Broad and Educated, speculated that "In country districts we might find proportionately more Broad Australian, and in some suburbs of the cities proportionately more Educated Australian. ... In remote country districts some of the extreme characteristics of Broad Australian are to be heard" (p.15).

These impressions were investigated as part of Mitchell and Delbridge's large-scale survey in 1959-60, and proved to have some basis in fact. Their survey of 7,082 students in their last year of high school covered schools in parts of Australia almost exactly co-extensive with the parts investigated in this survey. Their criterion for

judging regional influence on their informants' speech was the schools they currently attended. "Attention here is concentrated on the school as the place where the pupil learns the speech conventions of his peers as well as of his teachers" (1965b:11). Using a three-part division of the spectrum of accents, Broad, General and Cultivated, they found that the proportion of speakers with General accents is the same among both urban and rural speakers, but the distribution of both Broad and Cultivated accents was different. Broad accents were twice as common in rural areas as in urban areas, while Cultivated accents were four times as common in urban areas as in rural areas (p.44). They also found two other regional features. These were South Australian [u], which was velarised and rounded in words like *school*, and South Australian [o] in words like *no* and *Borneo*. Although these were regional variants, they were socially distributed within the region. They were mainly used by girls at private schools, and seldom by girls from government schools or by boys (1965a:13).

However, when Bradley (1980) disaggregated Mitchell and Delbridge's (pp.70-74) figures, he found that another pattern of regional use was uncovered. A higher proportion of Broad speakers were in non-urban areas (38%) than in Sydney (22%), and a higher proportion of General and Cultivated speakers (61% and 17% respectively) in Sydney than in non-urban areas (55% and 8%) (Bradley 1980:79). This pattern was later confirmed in Bradley's own surveys (1989).

Bradley (1980) puts forward two reasons why regional phonological variation may have been overlooked in the past. Earlier studies "relied on taxonomic models rather than recognising the inherently variable, socially and stylistically as well as linguistically determined pattern found in Australian speech" (p.74), and "were confounded by the extent and generality of the sociostylistic pattern; once this is recognised and factored out, regional characteristics are easier to find" (pp.91-2). The other and "main reason is that the regional differences are less obvious than the pervasive, Australia-wide sociostylistic pattern of variation" (p.74).

Bradley's research in Brisbane, Sydney, Melbourne, Hobart and Adelaide found both proportional and absolute types of regional differences (1989:261). Two examples of the former are the degree of broadness in the accent in different parts of the country, and the rate of / ə / offglides from vowel nuclei. After allowing for the fact that males and also speakers of lower socio-economic status tend to cluster at the Broad end of the Broad-General-Cultivated-Modified spectrum of accents, Bradley (1989:262) found that "the range of variation is more towards the Broad end in Brisbane and more towards the Cultivated end in Melbourne, with Sydney falling between the two", and that country speakers in Victoria tend more towards Broad than Melbourne speakers. Although Broad speakers are found in all parts of the country, they are more likely to be found in country areas or in Queensland. The prestige form of four vowel nuclei with offglides, /ɪə/, /ʊə/, /ɛə/ and /ɔə/ is used by a high proportion of Brisbane speakers, with successively lower proportions in Hobart, Melbourne and Sydney (1989:264). This runs counter to the pattern for broadness, where Brisbane has a higher proportion of speakers at the lower prestige Broad end of the spectrum.

Absolute differences occur in the characteristics of the lax front vowels / ɪ/, /ɛ/, /æ/ and /ʌ/, particularly /ɪ/, which in Sydney is less front than in Melbourne, with Brisbane following the Sydney pattern and Hobart the Melbourne pattern, though both to a lesser extent. (This project has found a similar pattern in regional lexical variation, with Tasmania frequently sharing Victorian usage to form the South-East usage region, and Queensland largely sharing NSW usage to form the North-East usage region.) Another example concerns the degree of fronting and rounding of /u/ and /oʊ/. For Adelaide speakers, the distinctive /oʊ/ previously noted by Mitchell and Delbridge is more front and rounded than elsewhere in Australia.

These and the other regional differences discussed in detail by Bradley are sufficiently noticeable for some of his informants to be able to tell where in Australia speakers come from, at least with results slightly better than chance. His informants claim to do it on the basis of the stereotypes of degree of broadness, /æ/ and /a/, and /ul/, and they also use regional lexical differences (p.268).

Oasa's surveys (1989:272-287) included speakers from New South Wales, the ACT, Victoria, South Australia and Queensland and other unspecified regions. His findings concur with those of Bradley, e.g., in the variation between /a/ and /æ/ in words such as *castle*, Adelaide has the highest proportion of /a/, and Melbourne the highest proportion of /æ/ (Bradley 1989:263, Oasa 1989:287).

He found that the word-final /u/ offglide in *zoo* is a strongly marked regional feature. Two conclusions can be drawn from the information shown with a tentatively drawn map. Firstly, there is a regional difference between Sydney and the southern capitals In Adelaide, Melbourne and Hobart the offglide moves more forward than in Sydney, while in Brisbane both types were found. Secondly, Sydney pronunciation of this feature extends inland some distance to the north and west of Sydney, and south as far as the Victorian border. How far north Melbourne pronunciation extends is not known, as there were no informants between Melbourne and the border. On the map, Oasa shows an isogloss running roughly along the NSW/Victorian border from the coast to around Echuca (town names are not shown on the map). The position of this isogloss on the border can only be regarded as extremely tentative. It appears to be a guess based on the political border between States rather than on linguistic evidence. From the border near Echuca the isogloss, shown as becoming less certain, turns north through central western NSW, extending about 300 km beyond the point that could be sustained by the evidence. Formant readings for Queensland and the part of NSW to the east of the isogloss show one pattern, while those to the south and west of it show another. In extremely general terms, given the sparse geographical coverage of country areas other than southern NSW in his survey, and given the dubious positioning of what he regards as the most certain part of the isogloss, this division of the south-east mainland into roughly southern vs. north-eastern corresponds to some extent to a major division in lexical usage regions found in this project. However, there is no lexical evidence of a division of NSW into eastern and western parts corresponding to Oasa's phonological division. More detailed work in defining the regional phonological border is needed to reveal where the isogloss should be, and whether the phonological and lexical regions are co-extensive.

Bernard and Lloyd, in a comparative study of Sydney and Rockhampton English, found "overwhelming similarities and some small dissimilarities which it is hard to know how to evaluate" (1989:300). Instrumental analysis found that Rockhampton showed more fronting of /u/ and /ɜ/ as well as some less certain minor differences. However, the authors warn that "even if all this is true, it still remains to be established whether anyone can distinguish Rockhampton speech from Sydney on phonetic grounds alone" (1989:300). Both the places they studied are in the North-East lexical usage region defined in this thesis. Until further work is done on regional phonological variation outside the State capitals, it is not possible to say whether Rockhampton and Sydney are both in the one phonological region.

Cochrane points out when referring to the pronunciation of Australian English that there are Aboriginal communities on the mainland where there are regional varieties of Australian English which are "markedly distinct", though he does not identify them (1982:141). Nor does he indicate whether he is referring to standard Australian English spoken by Aborigines, or to a variety of Aboriginal English.

SYNTAX

Bernard (1989:255) notes that with the exception of two sentence particles, *dickin* in South Australia and *hey* in Queensland, "there is no syntactical variation at all" in Australian English". However, a few examples of regional syntactic variation have been observed in the course of investigating other aspects of the language. These indicate that further work in Queensland and South Australia, where the best documented evidence to date has been found, would be worthwhile.

Oasa (1980:9) also noted the Queensland *ay* or *hey*, used as a tag or interjection, uttered with a quick falling intonation (corresponding to the *but* tag in southern States), and "Where is he at?", also in Queensland. Turner (1972:164) thought "Where is he at?" was more common in Queensland than elsewhere.

In south-east South Australia Oasa reported "Where is he to?" (p.9). As noted above, Clyne (1968:40), in his study of German settlements in south-east South Australia and western Victoria, heard *bring with* and *come with* (from German *mitbringen* and *mitkommen*). Another example which reflects the influence of German syntax on speakers' English - "He enjoyed to praise his maker" - was heard in the Barossa Valley in South Australia. Bernard's South Australian *dickin* was reported in this project as being used by older South Australian speakers in emphatic expressions such as "Dickin I did!" (= "I definitely did!") and "Dickin!" (= "Really!"). Also reported from South Australia was the use of *at* rather than *in* in expressions of location, e.g., "We live at Unley"; cf. NSW "We live in Epping".

Two further examples of syntactic variation were heard frequently in the Riverina (the area between the Murray and Lachlan Rivers in southern NSW) in the early 1960s - "The girl of Smith" (instead of "the Smith girl") and "Helen Jones, Helen Magrath that was" (identifying a married woman by her maiden name).

LEXICON

Work before 1980

Many observers of Australian English had noticed examples of regional differences in the lexicon. At first they were principally quoted as isolated examples, though some later writers realised that systematic work needed to be done to investigate them.

Baker in *The Australian Language* (1945) had made an enthusiastic but not particularly rigorous collection of Australianisms which he had gathered from his own and others' observations, and from Australian literature and early wordlists of standard Australian English and Australian slang. He was principally interested in collecting expressions which distinguished Australian English from British and American English. The material was organised by topic into chapters with headings such as "The Bush", "Fauna and Flora", "The Underworld", with some attempt at setting the historical scene from which the expressions had arisen. In "People and Places", the only chapter which looked at regional differences within Australia, under the sub-heading 'Local Slang' he said "a certain section of our slang is definitely localised and not as easy to collect as more general expressions" (p.195). The greater part of his examples consisted of local names for well-known places in Sydney and Melbourne, e.g., *Footscray Alps* 'the elevated portion of Footscray' in Melbourne (p.196). The other examples he gave were a mixture of slang terms, e.g., *to do a gilgie* 'to withdraw, back out of anything (from the name of a small freshwater crayfish)' in Western Australia (p.197) and standard terms, e.g., 'an ice cream carton is called a *dixie* in Melbourne ... and a *bucket* in Sydney' (p.195). He did not distinguish between regional terms and occupational terms which are used only in the regions where the occupation occurs, e.g., *to tail chain* 'to haul out cane trucks over portable rails with horses' in Queensland (p.197). Nor did he realise that there might be systematic regional patterns of use of standard terms.

Following correspondence from readers of the first book, Baker in 1953 brought out *Australia Speaks*, which updated the collections in *The Australian Language*. This book was more anecdotal than the first, quoting from the letters he had received, apparently without any attempt to verify the data he had been given. In a chapter headed "Localised Words", the sub-heading 'Provincialisms' covered material as diverse as names for local train services, e.g., *The Fish* 'an express running between Sydney and the Blue Mountains' (p.145); a suggested new terminology for the 'credit crusade' economic scheme, e.g., *wice* 'the standard unit of labour for the standard week's work of 40 hours, giving the standard output of 80 grains of gold' (p.147); occupational terms from the paddle-boat trade on the Murray River, e.g., *low water boat* 'a river boat with a shallow draught' (p.148); fishing terms from northern Queensland, e.g., *weed* 'a fish that frequents seaweed' (p.151); expressions relating to Aboriginal customs, e.g., *dream time* 'the field of Aboriginal myths and legends' (p.151); and a section on regional terms from NSW, Queensland and South Australia. Some items from standard vocabulary are quoted, e.g., SA *donkey* 'a ride given to another by a cyclist, either on the front bar or, if it is a motor cycle, on the pillion (known as a *doublebank, double dink* or *dink* in other parts of Australia)' (p.155); others are slang, e.g., Queensland *chickenrock* or *roostercrooby* 'a hen's egg' (p.155);

or local place names, e.g., *The Gabba* 'Woolloongabba cricket ground, Brisbane' (p.155). There was still no recognition that this extended list of items could form regional usage patterns.

The new material from *Australia Speaks* was incorporated, with a few additions, into later editions of *The Australian Language*. The book was updated (1978) after Baker's death in 1976.

By this time Turner's *The English Language in Australia and New Zealand* had been published (1966). In it he claimed that "The homogeneity of Australian English is remarkable. It would be difficult to find elsewhere a geographical area so large with so little linguistic variation. The same accent is heard through widely different climates and there is little variation in vocabulary" (p.163). Nevertheless he was able to give several examples of regional terms. Unlike Baker, he realised that there is a distinction between regional and occupational usage: "Dominant occupations in different localities necessarily give rise to some regional difference too. Queensland sugar-cane fields have their own idiom ..." (p.163). He also distinguished local terms which originated from local place names - "Further variation arises from a natural use of locally familiar names in forming new expressions" (p.163), e.g., 'A youth who adopted American ways during the war was called a *Woolloomooloo Yank* in Sydney but a *Fitzroy Yank* in Melbourne' (p.163) - from regional terms with no obvious local origin, citing the Queensland use of *evening* to mean any time after midday, Tasmanian *tissue* for cigarette paper, and the Queensland "Where's he at?" and Tasmanian "He's a rum 'un' " as examples (p.164). These were not linked to any local phenomena which could have explained their regional distribution.

The following year Eagleson, suggesting plans for compiling a dictionary of Australian English, said "To date virtually nothing has been done to investigate the existence of regional variations in Australia. We are all aware of individual items. ... But such evidence as we have is random, scattered and unsystematic, and the task has still to be properly tackled" (1967:21).

Mitchell (1970:8) noted that when people said they could identify speakers from different parts of Australia, "they often say that a South Australian has a particular way of saying 'school' and the Queenslander uses the word 'port' where others would say 'case'. We know that there are lexical differences in usage between various parts of Australia".

Gunn (1989:255) had also observed regional differences:

> Homogeneity may apply to other aspects of the language, but in vocabulary it is not so definite. No scientific work has been done on this, and there is no suggestion of great interference with communication, but it is quite obvious that special naming does exist in different places. ... These differences may be geographical or social, or a blend of the two, with a strong influence of fad and fashions ... . Some clear boundaries may be definable, but, as with most colloquial English, there may also be a great deal of synonymy.

He gave an extensive list of suggestions for words worth investigating. Eighteen items from Gunn's list were used in the survey in this project, and several others could repay more investigation in a larger-scale survey.

Maley (1972:67) modified her initial assertion that "Though there is variety within the Australian language community it does not include any regional dialects", when she said "Yet small regional variations of a kind can be found in Australia" (p.68). Her evidence for this latter opinion was based partly on a confusion of types of evidence - urban versus rural speech, a genuine regionalism (the frequently quoted *port~suitcase*), and occupational terms. However, her observation of regional terms was more detailed than other such observations to date. "Everyone knows that a 'port' in Queensland is a 'suitcase' in New South Wales, but many Australians including many New South Welshmen use 'port' and 'suitcase' synonymously. All that can be said is that in such-and-such an area *there is a tendency* to use 'port' - or 'suitcase' " (p.68). This 'tendency' accords with the finding in the present survey that for some items there is a distribution pattern which includes both regional and Australia-wide words. This is discussed in Chapter 5.

Later publications

The first edition of the *Macquarie Dictionary* "made no comprehensive and consistent attempt to do justice to regional variations in language within Australia" (1981:14). Indeed it would have been difficult to do this. The first publication specifically on regional lexical variation (Bryant 1985) appeared four years after the *Macquarie Dictionary*, so that few examples of such variation were well known. The then better known examples of variation, such as *port* (Qld), *peanut paste* (Qld, SA), or *gilgie* (WA), were marked for region. Any dictionary is likely to have a more detailed collection of words collected in the area in which it was published, and this is true of the *Macquarie*, which was produced in Sydney. Given the limited resources available to the compilers, this bias would have been difficult to overcome without an Australia-wide network of contributors whose entries could have been cross-referenced for region. All the items in this project other than a few childhood activities are included in the dictionary, but almost without exception the main entry uses their NE names (Sydney is in the NE region). In instances where names from other regions are given but are not marked for region (e.g., *Salvation Jane*), the reader is directed to the NE name (*Paterson's curse*).

The current project used oral evidence from a statistically strong sampling of regional speakers, rather than written citations. Early results were published in 1985, establishing the four major lexical usage regions, demonstrating that they do not coincide with State boundaries, and giving examples (including the well-known *port*) from each region. It also offered theories, developed more fully in Chapter 7 of this thesis, on why regional variation had not been investigated until then.

The *Australian National Dictionary* (1988) treated regional terms warily. Items for which the written evidence was sufficiently reliable were marked for region, e.g., some species of flora and fauna, and a few items such as beer glass sizes (pp.vii-viii), although "*AND* attempted no greater precision than that of sometimes labelling by

State" (Ramson 1989:73). However, "for many more interesting items, words like *port* for instance, the evidence is unconvincing ... until there is a survey of regional usage which takes account of the spoken as well as the written word - and such a survey is a natural consequence of the completion of this dictionary - it must remain opinion" (Ramson 1988b:viii). However, it is difficult to see why the evidence for many regional words, particularly *port*, should be considered unconvincing, in view of the numerous published observations quoted above. These comments also overlook the current project, in spite of prior publication of early results of the work then in progress (Bryant 1985).

The *AND* began work on a preliminary reading program collecting written citations from about 70 regional newspapers in 1987. For this program, "the definition of 'regionalism' [was] deliberately left imprecise" (Ramson 1989:78). The results of this preliminary survey include occupational terms associated with particular regions, such as the apple-growing industry in Tasmania, and regional terms for items found over a wider area, e.g., *terrapin unit* 'a demountable school building' in Tasmania but a *relocatable* in Mildura, Victoria (p.79). This newspaper reading program is continuing.

The first full results from the current project, a 'spoken word' survey of the type since also aimed at by the *AND*, appeared in 1989. These defined the SE usage region in detail (Bryant 1989b). An account of the methodology of the project (Bryant 1991), and results from eastern mainland sub-regions (Bryant, in press), have continued to bring reports of the 'spoken word' survey up to date.

3 THE DESIGN
OF REGIONAL LANGUAGE RESEARCH

THE STAGES OF REGIONAL SURVEYS

All the surveys which investigate regional language use follow the same broad stages, although the details vary depending on local conditions. This chapter discusses these stages, and, in reviewing the literature on surveys carried out in other countries, examines the general principles involved in planning such research. To ensure that the results in Australia would be comparable with those of other surveys, the methodology had to be as similar as possible, within the constraints outlined in Chapter 1. Therefore from the overseas literature, examples most relevant to the conduct of the Australian survey are discussed. For example, the Australian survey covered only lexical items, and experience in other countries in eliciting these data and presenting the results is given more attention here than collecting phonological or syntactic material. Similarly, the Australian pictorial questionnaire administered by a fieldworker has more in common with oral questionnaires administered by fieldworkers than it has with written questionnaires filled in by intermediaries reporting the speech of a region. Hence most examples below refer to oral questionnaires. For some of the stages, experience in other surveys was not relevant to the Australian survey, so that new methods had to be devised. Details of the methodology employed in Australia are given in Chapter 4.

The broad stages of regional language surveys can be planned with more or less precision, depending on experience available to be drawn on from other surveys carried out in similar circumstances, the size of the survey being planned, and the resources available to it.

Two examples illustrate opposite extremes in the type of planning. In the first, the methodology was in part developed as the work progressed. This was the New England survey in North America in the 1930s. It was the first of its type in that part of the world and therefore had no local guidelines to follow. It was originally intended by the American Council of Learned Societies to be a linguistic atlas of the whole of the United States and Canada, but New England was selected as a trial area after the organising committee was requested to conduct "an experimental investigation over a restricted geographical area, to serve as a demonstration of the method to be followed, and as a basis for further estimates of the requirements of the undertaking" (Kurath 1939:xi).

At the other extreme, the Japanese Seto Inland Sea project was planned to progress in discrete steps - the project was commenced in 1950, small-scale testing surveys were completed by 1956, further testing was carried out in 1956-60, and final surveys were conducted in 1960-64. Plans for further research projects in the area were also established at the start. (See Fujiwara 1970.)

The Australian survey, like the New England one, was the first in its part of the world, and had no relevant guidelines to follow. This meant that modifications were made to the methodology as the project progressed. Later stages could not be planned in detail until solutions had been found to problems in the earlier stages, and in practice some of the early stages overlapped.

No matter which type of planning is used, exploratory or fully developed in advance, an underlying structure can be seen in the methodology for surveys of regional language use.

PLANNING THE SURVEY

"Paradoxically ... the investigator must know a good deal about the dialects he wishes to sample before he can plan the sample" (Francis 1983:52).

Each aspect of the planning depends in part on the resources available to the project, as well as on the amount of knowledge already available. All the studies described here were funded, by bodies as diverse as the American Council of Learned Societies and various universities in the United States, Leeds University in England, and the Ministry of Education in Japan. In all the studies, at least the fact that regional variation existed was known, and in many cases much quite detailed material was available. The studies were therefore aimed at defining the regions and discovering the nature of the variation.

In both these respects, the Australian survey differed fundamentally from other surveys. The work was not funded, and the amount of knowledge already available was negligible.

Area to be surveyed

When the area to be surveyed is large, e.g., North America, or there is a great deal of known regional variation in a small area, e.g., in the British Isles, it is not practicable to cover the whole area. The original plan in North America, in 1929, to cover the whole of the United States and Canada in a single survey, was soon broken down into smaller regional surveys, starting with New England as a test area, and the other surveys being carried out intermittently since then. By 1963 the idea of a co-ordinated linguistic atlas project for the whole of English-speaking North America had been abandoned (Kretzschmar 1988:201), but there are hopes that with the aid of computers, the regional surveys already undertaken and those yet to be attempted will produce a combined American English Atlas (p.200).

In Australia, it would have been more manageable to cover an area less than the whole continent. However, as the number of regions was not known when the project began, the survey needed to cover the whole country, to identify the regions.

Locations to be surveyed

Few surveys aim to cover every settlement in the area to be studied. Wenker, in his survey of Germany begun in 1876, managed to cover almost every locality which had a school, receiving replies from about 45,000 of the 50,000 schoolmasters he contacted (Chambers and Trudgill 1980:18), but this coverage was achieved at the expense of having to use postal questionnaires. The Japanese researchers originally planned to survey every community with more than 30 houses, but later decided to survey every place which was considered a settlement, 850 locations in all (Fujiwara 1970:52). However, the area to be covered was small, and the project apparently had generous funding.

It is more usual to select a sample of locations, aiming to cover the area more or less evenly, though this has usually had to be modified depending on local conditions. In the New England survey, the parts settled early in the history of the area were sampled at about 15 mile intervals, while parts of northern New England which were settled later were sampled less closely. Because of the topography of these parts and the unpopulated areas, the locations sampled were not evenly spaced. In the upper Midwest, the aim was to interview a representative sample of a population with very heterogeneous backgrounds. An initial rough grid was later modified to take account of factors such as varying population density in different parts of the area (Allen 1973:23). In the survey of rural Georgia, the area to be sampled was divided into a system of 30 mile grids, with all communities with a population of less than 2,500 to be sampled (Pederson 1975:40). In England, the network of localities was chosen "according to their geographical position isolatively and relatively to each other" (Orton 1962:15), while the accompanying map shows that in practice the localities form a fairly evenly spaced grid. The influence of natural features on the extent of dialect areas was also taken into account.

In Australia, the topography of the country, principally the deserts, leads to markedly uneven distribution of the population (see Map 4.1). Because of this, any uniform system would have to be modified extensively. A grid could have the entire population of a State capital in one square, for example, and virtually uninhabited areas in others. Other sampling systems, such as using postcode areas or electoral subdivisions, which reflect population distribution, were also considered. However, lack of resources led to an unstructured system (described in Chapter 4), based largely on the availability of informants, being used until the usage regions were broadly defined. This was one of the shortcomings in methodology caused by financial constraints. To define the NE/SE transition zone in detail, every settlement in that part of the country was surveyed.

In other surveys, particular attention was paid to two types of locations, those in rural areas and those in older-established areas. The emphasis on rural communities was not necessary in Australia where there are no rural dialects. Both older and newly settled areas were included, as early work for the project had shown that regional words are found in both types. One problem was found in surveying newly established areas - there were no older lifelong residents to interview. For example, the newest area surveyed was Coleambally (183) in NSW, which was established in

1963. This meant that the oldest life-long residents there were 25 when the survey was conducted in 1988.

Form of the questionnaire

Justification for the type of questionnaire chosen is not generally discussed in the literature, and the decision is no doubt dictated as much by the resources available to the researchers as by the size and scope of the survey planned. Comparability of all the data collected in the survey is an important consideration. There are two broad approaches, based on the traditions established in the first French and German surveys (McDavid 1978:29). In the French tradition, answers are collected directly from the informants by fieldworkers working directly with the informants, asking questions of them and writing down their answers. The use of one fieldworker travelling over the whole area using oral interviews, as in the survey of France (Chambers and Trudgill 1980:20 and 24), ensures that a moderately large number of informants can have their responses recorded consistently. To cover a large number of informants and/or a large geographical area, a number of fieldworkers, trained and monitored to ensure consistency of recording, can be used. This was done in the Upper Midwest survey, where seven fieldworkers used oral questionnaires (Allen 1973:26). In the Japanese survey, oral questions were apparently also used by the 20 or more fieldworkers (Fujiwara 1970:49 and 52). In the German tradition, questionnaires are sent to each district, where answers on local speech are given by representatives of the district (the local schoolmaster in the case of the German and Scottish surveys (Chambers and Trudgill 1980:18-9)) rather than by informants giving their own responses. This allows a large area to be covered in fine detail, although accuracy of recording is then less reliable.

In the Australian survey, the data for the whole country had to be collected by one person, so the method used in the Midwest and Japanese surveys was not possible. The ideal would have been to travel round Australia in person to collect data, but lack of resources prevented this. The use of written questionnaires was considered but it is fraught with difficulties. If they are filled in by a representative of a district, the representative needs to be a good observer and accurate recorder of local speech. Questionnaires distributed directly to the informants (if informants who met the selection criteria could be found without visiting the places to be sampled) may not have evoked a good enough response rate. For these reasons, written questionnaires were not used.

Using a pictorial rather than an oral or written questionnaire was the solution in Australia. This was a modification of the French method. Pictures shown to informants took the place of questions asked directly of them. In some cases informants wrote down their own answers; in others I wrote down the answers for them. In both cases, the answers came directly from the informants, not via an intermediary as in the German tradition. This was apparently the first time a fully pictorial questionnaire has been used.

Using pictures removes any ambiguity about the referent when the actual item is not available. It also overcomes the danger of putting words into informants' mouths

when the item is described in oral or written questions - "*The wording of the items in the work sheets*, especially also the variants listed in the work sheets, to some extent determined the method of inquiry and hence also, in a measure, the response" (Kurath 1939:47). Another advantage of using pictures is that it does away with the sometimes daunting task for the informant of reading a large amount of written material which asks for a lot of information; and it is attractive enough to keep informants interested while they supply the information.

Pictures and diagrams had sometimes been used in the English survey, which used an oral questionnaire, instead of pointing to the item to be named. However, "none of them were 'standard' " - apart from pictures of flora "only typical pictures with quite general significance" were used (Orton 1962:17), e.g., of a cowhouse (p.46), for which the instructions to the fieldworkers said "Show a picture of an old-fashioned cow-house" (p.49). The fieldworkers supplied their own pictures, and discarded them if better ones came to hand (p.17). Different field workers may well have had different ideas of what an old-fashioned cow-house looked like, and variations may have occurred even in successive pictures used by the same fieldworker. Experience in the Australian survey had shown the importance of having standard referents to ensure comparability of responses. In a trial survey, a photograph of semi-detached houses was shown (a pair of houses joined by a common wall). The results were confusing, given that both oral and written sources had indicated that in Sydney the response should have been *semi-detached,* in Adelaide *maisonette*, and in Perth *duplex*. Further enquiries found that in Sydney a semi-detached could be either one or two storeys, but in Adelaide and Perth a maisonette or duplex is single-storeyed. The photograph had shown a two-storeyed Canberra duplex. This had not seemed significant when taking the photographs for the trial survey, and if I had later found a better, one-storeyed, duplex to use after the trial had begun, the results would have been even more confusing for Adelaide and Perth.

Content of the questionnaire

Devising the content of the proposed questionnaire is considerably more difficult than deciding the form. Orr's Memorandum prepared in 1936 for the Language Survey Committee of the Scottish Archive for Ethnological, Folkloristic and Linguistic Studies, which was contemplating a linguistic survey of Scotland, listed as the first problem involved that

> it was probable that a full and definitive questionnaire could only be used after some considerable initial investigation because, in order to concentrate field-work to the best advantage, it was necessary to determine as far as possible in advance of the final and formal investigation 'where regional differences in speech are marked and numerous, and...where speech is less diversified' (Mather and Speitel 1975:6).

However, before this initial investigation leads to early definition of areas with regional differences, the items which will define the areas must be known. Orton, in the survey of English dialects, saw the primary task as the preparation of the questionnaire to be used, i.e., the need to know what items to include in the

questionnaire. "In a project for a linguistic atlas the questionnaire is the fundamental instrument. It must therefore be ready before anything else" (Orton 1962:44). To prepare the questionnaire, the researcher must have material to prepare it from. The various surveys were able to use data already available, though they approached the compilation of the questionnaire from various stages of preparedness.

The questionnaire used in each survey needs to be suitable for the linguistic and social conditions of that particular country. A country with a largely urban population would contain different items compared with a country with a mainly rural population, for example. Even within countries with similar types of conditions, different areas of the lexicon may show regional differences. It is therefore impractical to try to use the material prepared for earlier surveys elsewhere. Each survey's questionnaire must be prepared independently, though all surveys are likely to have some material in common, such as names relating to flora and fauna, or weather phenomena. Orton, who with Dieth compiled the questionnaire for the English survey, noted that "Before starting our task we acquainted ourselves with several of the questionnaires already published. Naturally we worked independently of them since each language has, and must have, its own questionnaire" (Orton 1962:44). In the Scottish survey, the compilers stated that "It cannot be constructed on generalised lines, but only with reference to the cultural and linguistic background of the region and people" (Mather and Speitel 1975:10).

The questionnaire that formed the basis of all the US regional surveys began with the aim of being comprehensive enough to be used over the whole of English-speaking North America. It was compiled and used by Kurath in the first of the American surveys, in the New England states. However, although it formed the basis of the later US survey questionnaires, it had to be modified in each case to suit the particular conditions of each survey area (Davis et al, 1969:vii-ix). Wise's survey questionnaire in Louisiana and Missouri, for example, was derived from Kurath's New England questionnaire via Lowman's South Atlantic states questionnaire, "with the addition of numerous items significant for the Gulf States and the Lower Mississippi Valley". This was modified further for LeCompte's Lafourche and Grand Isle surveys "with even greater attention to local culture" (Davis et al, 1969:ix). In effect, the organisers of the later surveys were compiling independent questionnaires, with some material in common with the original questionnaire.

Surveys carried out in countries with well recognised regional variation had data on which to draw in compiling their questionnaires. Kurath, when compiling his New England questionnaire, selected items from "an extensive collection compiled largely from the regional and local word lists in *Dialect Notes* and *American Speech*" (Kurath 1939:148). To enable comparison to be made with British dialects, Ellis's *On Early English Pronunciation*, Part V, including his Comparative Specimen, Dialect Test and Classified Word List, was also used. Kurath does not say on what basis the selection of items was made. The sources he drew on, however, were extensive - in *American Speech*, for example, 54 papers of direct relevance for dialect research were published from the first issue in 1926 until the early field testing began in late 1931. Further regional word lists continued to be published and were available for the compilers of the later US surveys to draw on.

Orton and Dieth in England "began by collecting likely notions, namely such as might be expected to be remunerative and to yield a large variety of typical dialectal forms, words and expressions" (Orton 1962:44). These "likely notions" were presumably in the area of farming terms as he later says "Dialect today is best preserved by the farming community. Our Questionnaire has therefore been specially constructed for the farmer, and deals mostly with husbandry, home life, and nature" (Orton 1962:44). They consulted dictionaries, including Wright's *English Dialect Dictionary*, and glossaries and dialectal monographs, and "Of course we also had our personal experience to fall back upon" (Orton 1962:44). The first version of their questionnaire contained about 800 questions.

The compilers of the Scottish survey "benefited largely from lexicographical knowledge available in Scotland and explored and developed possibilities which were known to exist" (Mather and Speitel 1975:10). The editors of the *Scottish National Dictionary* and the *Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue* supplied them with word lists of potentially useful items. They also used some questions from a questionnaire once distributed, but evidently not analysed, by the Language Survey Committee of the Scottish Archive of the Ethnological, Folkloristic, and Linguistic Studies some time after 1936.

The Japanese Seto Inland Sea survey took its initial data from one person's observation of language variation. Fujiwara was born and grew up in the area. The word list for the project was taken from his list of 240 items in his *Introduction to Dialectology* (1965), though he does not discuss the principles on which the selection was made (Fujiwara 1970:52).

One of the few surveys which did not have an existing body of data to draw on was the study of Arkansas dialects. After compiling a bibliography of the literature on Arkansas dialects "to get ideas useful in constructing the questionnaire for our survey ... There remains almost everything to learn about Arkansas dialects" (Underwood 1973:66).

This very accurately describes the situation at the start of the Australian project. The only regional material available at the start is described in Chapter 2. Later a list of Western Australian regional words of the type available to other surveys appeared in *Australian Folklore* (Seal 1990), unfortunately too late to be used for this project.

Types of informants

In all surveys, informants were to be locally-born, life-long residents. This minimised the possibility of outside influences on the informants' responses, and avoided the situation where they may have learnt other local words in other locations, since words are the most easily learnt and changed aspect of language. On other characteristics, Chambers and Trudgill (1980:33) summarise the type of informants selected as "*nonmobile, older, rural males*", which gives the acronym NORMS. For example, in England informants who had spent lengthy periods away from their locality "were constantly regarded with suspicion" (Orton 1962:15-16). The questions were aimed at "the older generation; ... it is they who are likely to have preserved the

traditional dialect best" (p.46), so that most informants were over 60. The questionnaire was intended for farmers, as "Dialect today is best preserved by the farming community" (p.44). Most informants were men as "men speak vernacular more frequently, more consistently, and more genuinely than women" (p.15). However, "the questions on housekeeping will be more easily handled by women", while questions on grammar "are best left to the more alert informant" (p.46).

In the New England survey, the field workers were apparently given inadequate instruction on the selection of informants. In fact, the poor organisation of the Handbook is evidence of the lack of clear thinking by the organisers on this point - information on selection of informants is scattered in four parts of the book, (Kurath 1939: p.x, pp. 39-44, p.49, pp.160-61), and not all, as could be expected, under "The Selection of Informants" (pp. 41-44). In one instance the information is contradictory, with two versions of which age group was to contain the simple but intelligent farmers who were to be interviewed.

In other surveys the selection criteria were more rigorous, although in practice some modifications had to be made. In the upper Midwest survey, age group, education, and length of residence (but not sex) were specified, but in practice the fieldworkers could not always find informants in each community who met these criteria and had to settle for others, e.g., people of the oldest age group (born about 1880) who had been brought to the district as infants instead of having been born there.

Exceptions to the NORM can be found, although they are comparatively rare. In the study of Arkansas, the organisers planned to interview white informants from lower class, working class and lower middle class groups, plus at least one Negro informant from the two lower groups in parts of the State with a significant Negro population (Underwood 1973:68). (However, they were realistic enough to realise that their plans may have needed to be changed after preliminary analysis of the data.) In rural Georgia, "two Caucasians and two Negroes, a better- and a lesser-educated representative of each racial caste" were to be interviewed in each place; however all were to be over 65 (Pederson 1975:40). In Japan the informants were "one woman in her sixties to represent the aged and two girl junior high school students to represent the youth" (Fujiwara 1970:52). The justification for this selection is not clear - "The selection of the young and old subjects was based on many points; for example, their sex and numbers" (p.53).

In none of the above surveys was there any attempt to achieve a balance of numbers of males and females. More emphasis was placed on finding informants from different age groups or educational backgrounds.

In Australia, regional words are used by all sections of the population, not only by older speakers and rural dwellers. A representative cross-section of the adult population was therefore aimed for, with roughly equal numbers of males and females, a range of ages from school-leavers to the elderly, and a range of occupations and educational backgrounds. Because of the lack of resources, this was achieved in the total sample, though not in each location surveyed.

Numbers of informants

In those surveys which give details of the numbers of informants interviewed in each location, the number is usually three, as in Japan (Fujiwara 1970:52) and the upper Midwest (Allen 1973:24-25). In Arkansas, at least three but as many as five were to be interviewed (Underwood 1973:68), and four in rural Georgia (Pederson 1975:40). In New England it is not clear how many were interviewed - the fieldworkers were instructed to find three (Kurath 1939:41), but this was later abandoned in order to be able to cover more locations (p.39). In England, the fieldworkers tended at the start to use too many informants (up to five in each place), but soon found that two or three sufficed (Orton 1962:16). In view of the fact that a full interview took four days to complete, this was not surprising.

The numbers of informants in Australia varied from 27 in Canberra and 15 in Sydney, to one in many of the smaller country towns. The average was 2.6 people per location. The numbers were determined by the numbers of available informants who met the selection criteria.

Selection of informants

In early surveys, the selection of informants was left to the fieldworkers. This was the case in New England (Kurath 1939:41), where knowledgeable local people such as the town clerk, local historians or librarians helped select the informants (p.x). In England, fieldworkers asked among the local inhabitants and talked with several possible informants to see who would be most suitable (Orton 1962:16). A statistically based sample was used in Arkansas, where the later date of the survey may have allowed techniques to be borrowed from sociolinguistic studies. A modified random sample of informants was selected - children were selected at random from school records, and they, their parents and older relatives were interviewed if they were native to the region (Dumas 1976:250-1).

Lack of resources in the Australian project prevented the possibility of a statistically-based random sample being used to select informants here. This was the other main shortcoming in the methodology caused by financial constraints. The method arrived at is described in Chapter 4.

TESTING

From the corpus of regionalisms, decisions must be made on what items to include in the survey, and where and how to test their validity. The method of carrying out the survey must also be tested. This testing of material and method forms the second stage of regional language research.

In Australia, where the material for the survey was drawn from non-linguistic sources, and this was the first survey conducted, testing the material and method was essential. However, in the literature there is little information on how this second stage was carried out in other surveys. All were preoccupied with the methodology of the final survey, and with the interpretation of the results. This is perhaps understandable in surveys in which the initial compilation of a tentative questionnaire

could be readily accomplished from published sources and from authorities on the language being surveyed. With more or less authoritative material ready to use, the importance of the testing stage no doubt did not seem significant enough to describe in detail. All surveys do record, however, that some process of testing took place before the survey proper began. Testing was carried out in six counties in England by a team of investigators (Orton 1962:44), for example, and on selected islands over a four-year period in the Japanese project (Fujiwara 1970:51).

The testing falls into two stages: trial runs are carried out, then modifications are made in the light of the results of these. These stages may need to be repeated several times if the modifications are extensive. Modifications may be needed either because some items prove not to have regional names, or because the method of eliciting the answers is unsatisfactory.

Testing the material

Several trials were needed in other surveys. The questionnaire for the Survey of English dialects was final in its sixth version, for example. In the Japanese survey, the material was tested on a small scale on sample islands in the area, and the items to be used were sifted. The author does not say how the material was tested, or what items were sifted, or why. He is more than usually vague here ("we tried to master our survey method and to pave the way for co-operative research" (Fujiwara 1970:51)). However he does state that "the preliminary and practical surveys of the items selected" were repeated (p.51), though how successive improvements were effected he does not say.

The New England survey's first questionnaire was prepared by Kurath (though on what principles he does not say), and tried out at the stage (1929-30) when it was still intended to survey the whole of English-speaking North America with the one questionnaire. Hence the area in which it was eventually used, New England, was not the area in which it was given a trial run. The area chosen for this was Ohio (Kurath 1939:148), which is south-west of the New England region and not contiguous with it. Although the details of the trial are not given, presumably most difficulties with the wording of the questionnaire would have been rectified at this stage (though some remained even when the survey proper had started). Kurath does not mention whether any problem was encountered with items not showing regional variation in Ohio which later were found to have regional variation in New England, or vice versa. Field trials, and suggestions from the committee in charge of the project, led to an improved version of the questionnaire, which was then used in training the field workers with informants from different parts of the country. This led to further improvements by eliminating unproductive items, and by creating better definitions of other items. It is an indication of the exploratory nature of the early stages of the US work that it had apparently not yet become clear that the material needed to be tested in the area in which it was to be used. At this stage, the tentative questionnaire was in its third version. This formed the first edition of the work sheets (the questions and instructions for oral questioning) for the survey proper, and the full-scale field work began. The work sheets contained 915 expressions, all of which had presumably been tested in Ohio and later with informants from other parts of the country. But after four

months' field work with the work sheets in New England, some further changes were necessary - 131 items were dropped and 35 added. Some items were dropped because insufficient informants were familiar with them, some because the form of the questions did not obtain the desired answers, and some because the distribution of responses was not regional. However, a number of previously unknown regional expressions were discovered during the testing, and these were added to the work sheets. The new version of the work sheets, with 819 expressions (about half of them lexical items), and finally suitable for use in New England, were issued to the field workers in January 1932 (Kurath 1939:148-9.) The revision after the project had begun led to a slight problem with the results. The new material was fitted into the gaps left by the omitted material, and this left a messy numbering system with numbers having to be skipped because there were 96 fewer items in the final version. Then the early material collected for items that were later omitted was sometimes fitted in to the results, in the commentaries on maps showing related expressions, e.g., different pronunciations of *July* were later listed with notes on the pronunciation of *April* (Kurath 1939:149). The difficulties in establishing the final form of the questionnaire arose because the organisers of the project were refining the methodology of the survey as it progressed, with no models from previous similar surveys in that country to follow.

In Australia, the same material was to be used for the whole country, so that there was no problem with testing it in the area where it was to be used. Three trials were necessary before the final form of the questionnaire was arrived at. All but one of the items in the final questionnaire were tested.

Testing the method

Most of the accounts of the testing process refer to checking the material in the questionnaires, though in a few cases the instructions to the fieldworkers refer to method. For example, in the rural Georgia survey, for the question "What do you call the time of day when the sun first appears? You might say, 'I got up this morning before ...' ", fieldworkers were instructed to "Get an expression with 'sun' in it" (Pederson 1975:50). This anticipated a problem with the method of elicitation that might lead to answers such as *six o'clock* instead of the hoped-for *sunrise* or *sunup*. Also in rural Georgia, a group of questions seeking the names of colours (using pieces of coloured paper) had to be dropped, because "inadequate lighting and varying degrees of colour blindness among the informants made that part of the fieldwork unproductive" (Pederson et al 1975:48).

None of the methods of testing used in other surveys was suitable for the Australian survey. The method of testing used here is described in Chapter 4.

CONDUCTING THE SURVEY

In spite of planning for the survey, and the testing carried out, problems can still arise during the course of the survey. The main problems in other surveys concerned the selection of informants not being as easy as the planners had thought, and discovering previously undetected difficulties with the elicitation of data.

Problems with selection of informants

The New England survey had hoped to interview three types of people - an elderly descendant of an old local family, a middle-aged person who had received education as far as high school or academy, and a cultured person with a college education or equivalent. However, the fieldworkers did not always succeed in finding these types, such as the middle group. At times the difficulty lay with the preferences of the fieldworkers. They had to use their own interpretations of the rather vague definitions of the types of informants sought, and some preferences for particular types occurred, as with two fieldworkers who selected middle-aged informants in preference to other types. In a few cases, an auxiliary informant gave some answers, which were indicated on the maps by an asterisk, and at times a supplementary informant also answered the questions, but these are not indicated. The difference between an auxiliary informant and a supplementary informant is not clear. In the upper Midwest, supplementary informants with similar characteristics to those of the main informant were used if the main informant could not answer the questions, e.g., women who were not familiar with farm terms or boys' expressions (Allen 1973:25).

The situation was more complicated in the English survey - "the field-recordings are mostly composite, made with the collaboration of more than one speaker" (Orton 1962:16-17). In fact the choice of different speakers was governed by the content of different parts of the questionnaire, with women answering the questions on housekeeping, and the men those on animals (p.46). The organisers did not consider this a disadvantage, since all the informants at each location were considered to be suitable to represent it (p.17).

In Australia, the main difficulty was in finding enough informants who met the selection criteria. Only the responses of the informants were used in the analysis of the results, and any extra information they gave on other people's usage is recorded in the notes on each item.

Problems with eliciting responses

Contrasting approaches to this problem are seen in the New England survey and the English survey. The New England fieldworkers did not all use the questions in the order in which they were set out in the worksheets. Some started with familiar items around the home to put their informants at ease, then covered the morphological material later. This does not seem to have concerned the organisers or affected the results. The worksheets showed only the information sought e.g., "cow stable [shelter for cows; describe]" (Kurath 1939:151), and the fieldworkers devised the form of the questions themselves to elicit the desired answers - "Although no two of them used exactly the same words in phrasing their questions, the general purport of these questions was in nearly all cases the same" (Kurath 1939:148). Again this does not seem to have affected the results. By contrast, in the English survey the questions were "drawn up in full and the fieldworkers were directed to ask each question in the form set out in the *Questionnaire*" (Orton and Wright 1974:1). This was to ensure that answers collected by different fieldworkers would be comparable. The rigour of this approach contrasts with the acceptance of several informants' answers being used on a

single questionnaire, and with using possibly varying pictures and diagrams.

The pictorial form of the Australian questionnaire eliminated the difficulties in either of these approaches.

Duration of the surveys

The timespan over which surveys have been conducted varies widely. "For the sake of homogeneity in the survey, it was considered necessary to compare data which had been obtained during the shortest possible interval of time" (Fujiwara 1970:53), so the Japanese survey was conducted over a five-year period 1960-64. Data collection in the United States surveys ranged from 25 months in 1931-33 in the New England survey (Kurath 1939:xii), to 17 years 1933-1949 in the Middle and Southern Atlantic States surveys, with material added since 1965 being largely from older informants whose responses would be roughly comparable with material collected earlier (McDavid and Davis 1973:332). The various surveys in the United States have continued from the early 1930s until the present day, so that if the results are ever collated, the picture they present will be a diachronic one.

The Australian survey gives a synchronic picture of regional language use in the late 1980s. The material was collected in three stages: the initial field survey, carried out in a three week period in December 1986 to January 1987; supplementary material on Queensland collected during the 1986 and 1987 academic years by students of Dr Anna Shnukal and her colleagues at the University of Queensland; and the final survey for this project, conducted over a 14 month period from March 1988 to April 1989. The total duration of the survey, then, was from March 1986 to April 1989, a period of just over three years.

ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION OF RESULTS

Analysis of raw data

In the surveys discussed above, there is little mention of how the raw data were handled to produce maps. Presumably the results were tabulated for each location for the answers to each question, to avoid the compiler of the maps having to handle each answer sheet for each person for each place for each question while placing the symbols on the maps. In the Scottish survey, the books containing the responses were cut up to form cards which were filed (Francis 1983:68), an efficient solution to the problem of arranging data into analysable form. Fortunately, computers are now available to tabulate the raw data. Kretzschmar (1988:203) estimates that in the data from the Middle and South Atlantic States surveys, there are one and a quarter million answers to questions, and that if these are each analysed into their phonetic constituents, there are 10-15 million individual pieces of information waiting to be sorted. By 1988, the Gulf States project was the only major American survey to have been entered into a database (p.206).

Although the Australian survey was limited in size, computer analysis was an advantage in producing results quickly.

Presentation of results

Some surveys have presented the material in list form, either alone (e.g., the basic material of the English survey) or in conjunction with maps (e.g., the atlas of Swiss German) (Francis 1983:120). In spite of the cost of printing maps, and their often unwieldy size, the most common way of presenting the data is to use a series of maps. The material is easier for readers to follow if it is presented on maps rather than in lists, especially if the readers do not have a detailed geographical knowledge of the region and may not be able to visualise the relationship of places named in the lists. If maps are to be used, a decision is needed on whether simply to show the raw data, or whether to draw conclusions from them and show these on interpretive maps. In the Australian survey, both types of maps were used.

Raw data maps

The first type, raw data or display maps, were used in most of the surveys discussed here. At every location surveyed, the information collected was shown, either written in in full, as in Gillieron's maps of France, or converted into symbols, as in the lexical maps for the upper Midwest. Maps showing the distribution of lexical items particularly lend themselves to the use of symbols, as the pattern is then more easily seen than with words used in full. Using raw data maps allows readers to see the information in its original, unedited form, and to draw their own conclusions from it. However, in a mass of finely detailed information, it is hard for readers to discern patterns of distribution. There is also the disadvantage that it is very time-consuming to put the symbols on the maps, or to produce computer programs to do this.

Interpretive maps

The conclusions drawn from the raw data are shown on interpretive maps. A decision will have been made, for example, on where the bulk of occurrences of a particular feature ends and scattered insignificant occurrences begin, i.e., the extent of the region has been determined. Inevitably some decisions in less clear-cut cases will be open to question, and without the original information being shown, readers cannot decide for themselves whether the decisions may be valid. However, if resources are limited, interpretive maps may be used because they are cheaper and quicker to produce, as they only involve drawing lines on the maps. Interpretive maps were made from the basic material originally published in list form from the English survey. Orton (1971:81) explained that "The maps [are] to be interpretive and isoglossic, with the areas of distribution clearly labelled, and with minimal explanatory legends, so reducing the cost of preparation".

Isoglosses and heteroglosses

If the extent of regions is to be shown, lines are conventionally used to mark their limits. Although this has been much criticised in the literature, the use of lines is the most comprehensible way to show the interpretation of the raw data. The criticism stems from the fact that lines appear to imply that regions have clearcut boundaries, when in fact usage from one region usually merges into usage from the next. Francis (1983:1-2) believes that "dialect boundaries are usually elusive to the point of non-

existence." Nevertheless some way, however imperfect, is needed to indicate what conclusions on the existence of regions can be drawn from the data collected - this, after all, is the purpose of collecting the individual pieces of data. The distribution of the symbols on the raw data maps shows that dialect regions do exist, and lines are an attempt to indicate their existence and location, rather than an assertion that their boundaries are clearcut.

The first type of line is the isogloss (from the Greek *iso* 'equal' and *glossa* 'word'), which is a line separating two localities which differ in some feature, e.g., different names for an old-fashioned cow-house. This use of *isogloss* is somewhat confusing, as other *iso-* compounds are lines joining places with the same feature, e.g., an *isobar* joins places with the same barometric pressure. Orton and Wright (1974:3) use *isoglosses* to mean lines which "enclose areas throughout which a particular expression is found". Chambers and Trudgill (1980:103) define an isogloss as "a single line drawn between the locations of any two speakers exhibiting different features". They explain the confusion in naming, which dates from the first use of the term in 1892 by Bielenstein - "Presumably, the term is intended to convey the fact that a line drawn across a region will show two areas on either side of it which concur on some aspect of linguistic usage but which disagree with each other". However, *isogloss* has been used in this confusing way for a hundred years , and the convention for its use is well understood.

There are some disadvantages in the use of isoglosses. Where two regions abut, a line is drawn between them, indicating that the speakers on one side use one term, and the speakers on the other side a contrasting term. Unless every speaker along the border area has been surveyed, where to place the line is only a guess, and it is conventionally placed halfway between the regions. It is not intended to imply that the exact border is known, when in fact it is very unlikely that, for example, every farmhouse has been visited to discover exactly where one region's usage ends and the other's begins. A further disadvantage is that they do not take account of transition zones, having to cut through them although words from opposing sides are used on either side of the line. This implies that the southern limit of one term is the northern limit of the contrasting term, when the limits may enclose a transition zone.

The other type of line is the heterogloss (from the Greek *hetero* 'different' and *glossa*), which is a line joining places which use the same language feature. Again, the confusion is obvious - *heteroglosses* would be better called *isoglosses*, and in fact sometimes are, e.g., by Speitel (1969:52). Because heteroglosses join places with the same feature, one heterogloss forms the border of one region, and the other heterogloss forms the border of the adjoining region. Heteroglosses thus occur in pairs (unless there is an uninhabited area beyond the border of a region). Between them is a region where nothing is known about the usage of the speakers. Although heteroglosses, like isoglosses, are only abstractions, they give a more accurate representation of what is known of usage in border areas. Because they reflect the reality that transition zones exist, they are a better theoretical tool for describing regions.

The use of isoglosses is not appropriate for Australian conditions, for two reasons. The first concerns geographical conditions. Parts of Australia are sparsely inhabited or uninhabited (see Map 4.1), with Western Australia separated from the rest of the country by desert. Yet because people on both sides of the continent speak the same language, it must be considered as a whole, and a way must be found of indicating the extent of the regional varieties, while recognising the reality that there is practically no-one who could be surveyed in the geographical area between the two sides. An isogloss separating SW from SC usage, e.g., SW *polony* and SC *fritz* (Map 5.13), would run through the virtually uninhabited Great Victoria Desert.

The second reason concerns a linguistic condition, the nature of one transition zone in Australia. This is the very wide transition zone between the focal areas of the NE and SE. Maps from dialect surveys in other parts of the world show that transition zones for any one item, let alone a composite made up of the transition zones of all items surveyed, are fairly limited in geographical extent compared with the focal areas on either side. In Australia, on the other hand, the NE/SE transition zone at its widest is approximately 400 km across, wider than the focal area for the SE (Bryant 1989b:132). Isoglosses, which imply that the southern limit of one term is the northern limit of the next, would run midway between the southern limit of the focal area for NE terms and the northern limit of the focal area for SE terms. Thus the existence of the transition zone would not be apparent. This would ignore the nature of regional usage in the most densely populated non-metropolitan area of Australia.

Heteroglosses more nearly suit the Australian situation. They join towns where speakers share the same feature "when those speakers are contiguous to the other group, that is, when they are at the interface between the two regions"; and "Heteroglosses are neutral with respect to any claim about the linguistic feature that occurs in the region between the speakers who were actually surveyed" (Chambers and Trudgill 1980:104-105). In the above example, one heterogloss marks the eastern limit of SW *polony*, and the other the western limit of SC *fritz*. This recognises that no-one was surveyed between the two heteroglosses.

In Australia, this definition of *heterogloss* does not always apply. It is common to have the southern limit of a northern term cross south of the northern limit of a southern term. An example of this is the area on Map 5.1 between the southern limit of NSW *slippery dip* just north of the Murray River to the northern limit of SE *slide* at Weethalle (155). The area between the heteroglosses is clearly seen as the transition zone.

Another situation concerns two special cases of the example above of heteroglosses indicating the limits of widely separated usage regions. In the first, there is only one heterogloss because the language region ends, as it has reached the limit of one settlement and not enough is known of the next to be able to draw a limit to it. Map 5.1 illustrates this situation, where the settled area from Wentworth (144) to Hay (170) is the last surveyed before the NE begins somewhere in the far west of NSW. It is reasonable to assume that NE usage extends into the far west of the State (it is found in Booligal (146) and Broken Hill (143)), but where its southern limit lies is not known, so a heterogloss cannot be drawn. The other special case is found on the

western side of the NE region, and the northern side of the SW and SC regions, where no heteroglosses are shown. Not enough places were surveyed to know where these regions end. (This is also true of the eastern side of the SW region and the western side of the SC, where not enough places were surveyed to know where the regions end. However, in that case it is known that there is contrasting usage in the two regions, so it is reasonable to assume that they must have limits, and the heteroglosses are drawn on the best information available.) We do not know if there is contrasting usage further to the west of the NE or to the north of the SW and SC, and until it can be shown that there is, it is unrealistic to draw heteroglosses that would imply that contrasting features are found beyond them. (From what is known of the settlement and trade patterns of the Northern Territory and the north of Western Australia, there is probably a mixture of regional terms brought in by a migratory population, but this has not been quantified by a survey.)

In none of these situations can the term *heterogloss* as usually defined be used. For Australian conditions, it is necessary to modify the definition to delete "at the interface between two regions", so that heteroglosses here simply join towns using the same term, whether it is at an interface, a crossover, or an outer limit of a known region.

Where isoglosses or heteroglosses run more or less together to mark the limits of regions, there is the problem of how to show this on a composite map. Two solutions are possible. One is to produce a stylised representation of the isogloss bundles. An example is Speitel's composite map (1969:63) of the Scottish/English border. Fewer than five isoglosses running together are ignored, and a progressively thicker line represents 5-10 isoglosses, then 10-20 and so on, up to a bundle of over 50 isoglosses. This produces a neat but oversimplified map. Isoglosses rarely run exactly together, so that some modification to individual lines must be made to produce a neat composite line. The other solution is simply to show all the lines. An example of this is Speitel's map (1969:65) showing 16 isoglosses crossing the Scottish border near Northumberland. This method was used in Australia to show the limits of regions and hence also the transition zones (see Map 5.73). Because the composite map shows the limits of 180 regional names, the build-up of lines is not tidy, but shows more accurately the extent of the borders, bearing in mind that the borders for the total of all items are in reality no more clearcut than for individual items.

Ranking of heteroglosses

There has been some discussion in the literature on the relative importance which should be placed on different types of isoglosses (or heteroglosses), to indicate "how completely (or incompletely) the linguistic data divides the region" (Chambers and Trudgill 1980:120). See these authors (pp. 112-6), for example, for a critique of attempts to rank the relative importance of lexical, phonological, grammatical and semantic isoglosses.

In surveys where only one category of linguistic data, such as lexical data, has been studied, all the resulting isoglosses can be regarded as having the same status. This eliminates the need to grade isoglosses for different degrees of effectiveness in dividing the area studied, unless some individual regional words could be shown to be

more important than others as identifiers of regions. In a farming area, for example, farming terms could be considered more important than other terms, and their isoglosses weighted accordingly. However, in surveys of a more general nature, such as the Australian survey, the isoglosses are equally effective socially and culturally in dividing the area.

One attempt at producing a ranking of lexical heteroglosses has particular relevance to the current project, as the same possibilities for combinations of regional and non-regional words apply here. This attempt was made by Speitel (1969), using Linguistic Survey of Scotland data from near the English/Scottish border. (This is also discussed by Chambers and Trudgill (1980:116-120)). He grades heteroglosses to take into account whether there are different words, whether dialect or standard, on either side of the political border, or the same on both sides; and also the geographical extent of the heteroglosses across the region studied. However, a non-linguistic dimension complicates the picture in Speitel's gradings, as he looked at differences and similarities on either side of a political/geographical border which is not always co-extensive with the lexical boundaries. His explanation for doing this is that "the Scottish-English border is probably one of the most striking geographical linguistic divides in the English-speaking world" (p.55). This adds difficulties to an otherwise relatively straightforward linguistic situation. He considers the strongest divisions between regions to be those which have the greatest number of differentiating words, whether dialect or standard, on either side, with the presence of unifying words, whether dialect or standard, diminishing the differentiating effect. His classification is a complex one, involving four types of divisions, with up to five sub-types, using formulae with different symbols for unifying and differentiating words, whether standard or dialect. These are set out and explained in the text accompanying the maps, but as the formulae do not involve numerical weightings, they leave the reader little the wiser as to the relative importance of the different types. Moreover, the maps themselves do not offer visual evidence for the importance of the different heteroglosses.

Heteroglosses in Australia

In Australia, as in Scotland, the political borders and the lexical borders do not coincide. However, the political (State) borders are less striking, geographically and politically, than the border between Scotland and England, so that no special need has been seen for including them with linguistic data in defining language usage regions. They have therefore been disregarded because they are irrelevant to the linguistic situation, except in the few instances where regional words are dictated by State government authorities, such as *playground duty~yard duty* in schools. Australia-wide words are unifying at both political and language borders, and hence do not need to be taken into account. This leaves regional words to indicate linguistic divisions.

All that is necessary in deciding the degree of importance of linguistic borders, both for individual items and for the total of all items, is to count the number of heteroglosses that mark the borders. The relative importance of the borders can be seen on the maps without having to refer to any explanatory text. For Australia, this can be seen on Map 5.73.

4   METHODOLOGY
OF THE AUSTRALIAN SURVEY

At the beginning of this project, few examples of possible regional words were known, and it was not known whether there were patterns of regional usage. This meant that it was not known how many regions there were (if any), or where their borders might be.

Two stages were therefore necessary in this project that were not necessary in surveys in other countries - a pilot study to find out if there was regional variation, and if so, roughly where the regions were; then work to collect a corpus of regional words on which to base the survey.

THE PILOT STUDY

The pilot study was an essay written as part of the Linguistics Department's B4 Dialectology course in 1979. It consisted of a survey of 86 items with possible regional names. In addition to a list compiled from personal observation sporadically since the 1950s, it included many of the items suggested by Gunn (1970:64-5). The items being investigated were shown to the informants where possible (e.g., sandshoes*, rubber bands), or a picture (e.g., stroller, swimming costume) was used - always the same picture, unlike the approach to this in the English survey. If neither the item nor a picture was available, the item was described, as in the New England survey (e.g., bleeding nose, peewee). Of the 86 items, 41 showed a clear pattern of regional distribution. Some proved not to be regional; others for which the evidence was not clear were marked for further investigation later. In the course of the interviews, informants suggested other words they thought might be regional, and these were also investigated later. There were 26 informants, aged 21-54, from all States but not the Territories. Their length of residence in what they regarded as their home towns varied from 2 years to 31 years. In spite of this motley assortment of informants, a very clear picture of regional lexical variation emerged. The four usage regions defined in more precise detail in this project were broadly delineated - the south-west of Western Australia, South Australia, 'greater Victoria' (i.e., Victoria, Tasmania and the Riverina district of NSW), and NSW/Queensland; and there was not enough information to assign the north-west of Western Australia or the Northern Territory to regions. It was found that language boundaries did not coincide with State borders. Some idea was also found of the existence and extent of the transition zones between regions. Clearly, a fuller investigation needed to be conducted.

---

* Items which have both Australia-wide and regional names are referred to by their Australia-wide names. Items which have regional names only are referred to by the names used in the NSW part of the North-East region.

COLLECTING A CORPUS OF AUSTRALIAN REGIONALISMS

"It is hard to design questionnaires that elicit data when one does not know for certain what is out there to be found" (Hausmann 1988:302n).

Methods of collecting a corpus of regionalisms on which to base the survey in Australia had to be developed. Personal observation continued throughout the collection period, and other methods were added as the project progressed. Some were exploratory, but most nevertheless yielded useful data, which confirmed items already observed and supplied new information.

Personal observation was the main source of the data on which this survey is based. This differed from the English survey, in which Orton and Dieth could say "Of course we also had our personal experience to fall back upon", after being able to take the main body of their initial data from previously collected material (Orton 1962:44). The location of this project in Canberra made it possible for personal observation to be made of interstate usage here, as it is a demographic characteristic of Canberra that much of the adult population has come from elsewhere in Australia. Serendipity played a large part in finding the data. Likely items heard were followed up with questions to the user to elicit information on regional distribution. For example, a customer in a sandwich shop was heard to ask for "a peanut paste sandwich". When the shop assistant asked what he meant, he rephrased his request as "a peanut butter sandwich". When asked, he said that he was from Adelaide, and that he had been in Canberra for seven years, but still occasionally used South Australian words. Opportunities were also taken to apply the same process when travelling interstate, principally in southern NSW, Victoria and South Australia.

In addition to chance discoveries, a program of investigation sought regionalisms from informants. A list of resource people known to have moved to Canberra from interstate was compiled. They were asked what usages they had noticed were different. In all, about 180 people gave oral information.

The items suggested by Gunn, which had been successful in the pilot study, were added to the list of regional words found to date. Some which had been discarded were reinstated, such as *potato flakes~chips~crisps~chips* and *sealed~bitumen* (road).

The items found so far were classified into categories of words that were likely to have regional names. A questionnaire based on these categories was compiled for use with interstate informants. They were asked the names of things in each category in the place where they grew up. Questions such as "What weeds grew in the area where you grew up?" were asked, and informants were also asked to draw the items to aid identification. The questionnaires served five purposes - they provided new regional names for known items, provided new items with regional names, confirmed data already given by oral informants, helped establish the extent of usage regions, and collected new data in an open-ended section at the end of the questionnaire. In all, 109 people filled in the categories questionnaire.

Written sources when tried proved not to be an efficient way to find regional data in a small-scale survey, though they may confirm items already known. Although "newspapers directed at local or regional audiences are an obvious first source in any investigation of regionalism" (Ramson 1989:76), a search of 34 local newspapers in southern NSW and western Victoria was not cost effective in terms of the amount of time spent in finding positively identifiable regional words. In written material, recognition of unknown regional words may be difficult. Is an unknown word the name of an unknown item, or is it an unknown regional name for a known item? Ramson (1988a:145) refers to "... the difficulty of making regional attributions on the basis of evidence drawn from written sources intended for a general and non-specific audience." Unless the writer specifically comments on local usage (as in *The Bulletin* (20 October 1987:88), which mentioned that the potato, *Solanum tuberosum*, is called an *English potato* in rural Queensland), it is difficult to be sure. Writers may not realise that their own regional words may not be appropriate for where the article or story is set. An instance of this is the introduction by Dunstan (a Victorian) to Baker's *A Dictionary of Australian Slang* (1982:7), in which he refers to *yonnie* and *ging* as if they were Australia-wide words, evidently not realising that they are SE words. The doubts which apply to written sources also apply to oral usage on radio and television.

A wider range of sources was needed. Dr Karl Rensch suggested that an article be printed in the *ANU Reporter*, describing the project and requesting people to come forward with regional words. The article was taken up by the interstate media and brought in 271 letters from all parts of Australia volunteering regional information. Much of the information was already known, in which case the letters confirmed distribution and also gave an indication of how well-known the items were. However, new information was also volunteered from the parts of the country about which I knew least, the north and west (e.g., *bungaree* (northern WA), 'goanna').

In summary, the methods used in collecting material for the corpus, in ascending order of fruitfulness, were -

1. A literature search.
2. Questionnaires used with interstate informants.
3. Information elicited from people in the resource file.
4. Items from Gunn's suggested list.
5. Letters from informants following media coverage of the project.
6. Personal observation of regional speech, both in Canberra and elsewhere.

In all, about 560 people contributed to the corpus of data on which the project is based. This was added to the data collected from personal observation. These data are summarised below.
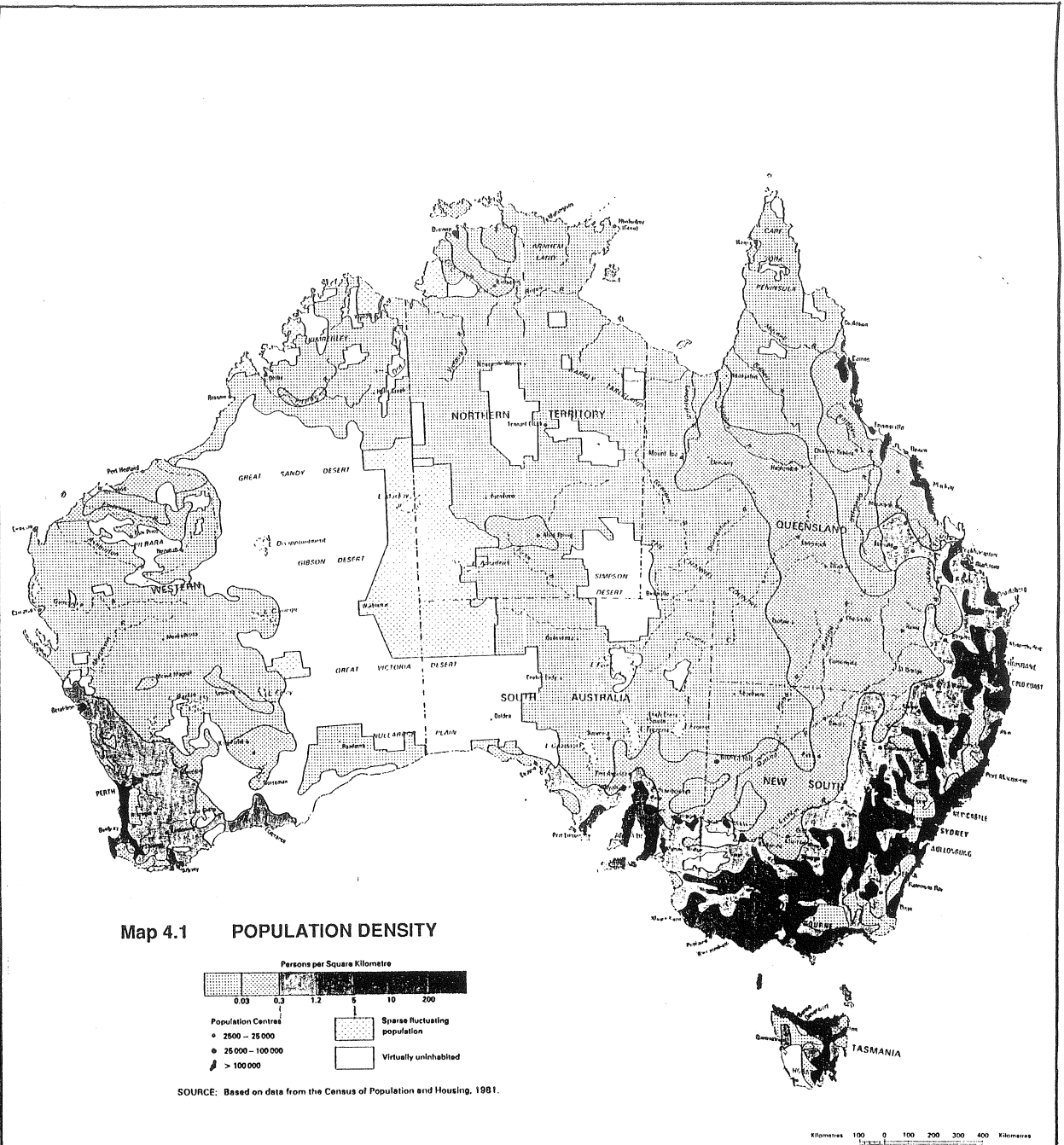
Table 4.1 Categories of Australian regionalisms

Category	No. of items	No. of references
1. Birds	29	57
2. Fish and shellfish	27	71
3. Animals and insects	22	28
4. Plants	41	136
5. School	28	127
6. Children's activities	27	129
7. Houses	31	83
8. Food	109	576
9. Clothing	26	185
10. Personal items	13	99
11. Household items	77	226
12. Vehicles	15	37
13. Farming	47	77
14. Occupations	11	25
15. Weather	5	25
16. Roads and roadsides	10	59
17. Geographical features	8	24
18. Businesses and services	11	54
19. Miscellaneous	159	252
Totals	696	2271

Although the number of items reported appears to be roughly comparable with the number of lexical items tested in the North American and English surveys, in fact 461 were reported only once. This does not mean that they may not be regional. However, in an exploratory survey with no resources, in which only a limited amount of material could be tested, most of these items were put aside to be tested at a later date.

PLANNING THE SURVEY

Area to be surveyed

The whole of the country was to be included in the survey. However, much of the country is sparsely populated, with most of the population living on the fringes of the country. See Map 4.1. In practice this meant that it was the more densely populated parts of the country that were surveyed.

Map 4.1   POPULATION DENSITY

Persons per Square Kilometre

0.03	0.3	1.2	5	10	200

Population Centres

○ 2500 – 25 000

◉ 25 000 – 100 000

⬤ > 100 000

☐ Sparse fluctuating population

☐ Virtually uninhabited

SOURCE: Based on data from the Census of Population and Housing, 1981.

Kilometres   100   0   100   200   300   400   Kilometres

WESTERN AUSTRALIA

. 1

. 3

. 2

. 4

Perth ●. 5
     .. 6

. 7

. 8
. 9 . 10
. 11
  . 13
      . 12

. 14

. 15

Map 4.2a   LOCATIONS SURVEYED - Western Australia

Underlining indicates current speaker(s) included from this town
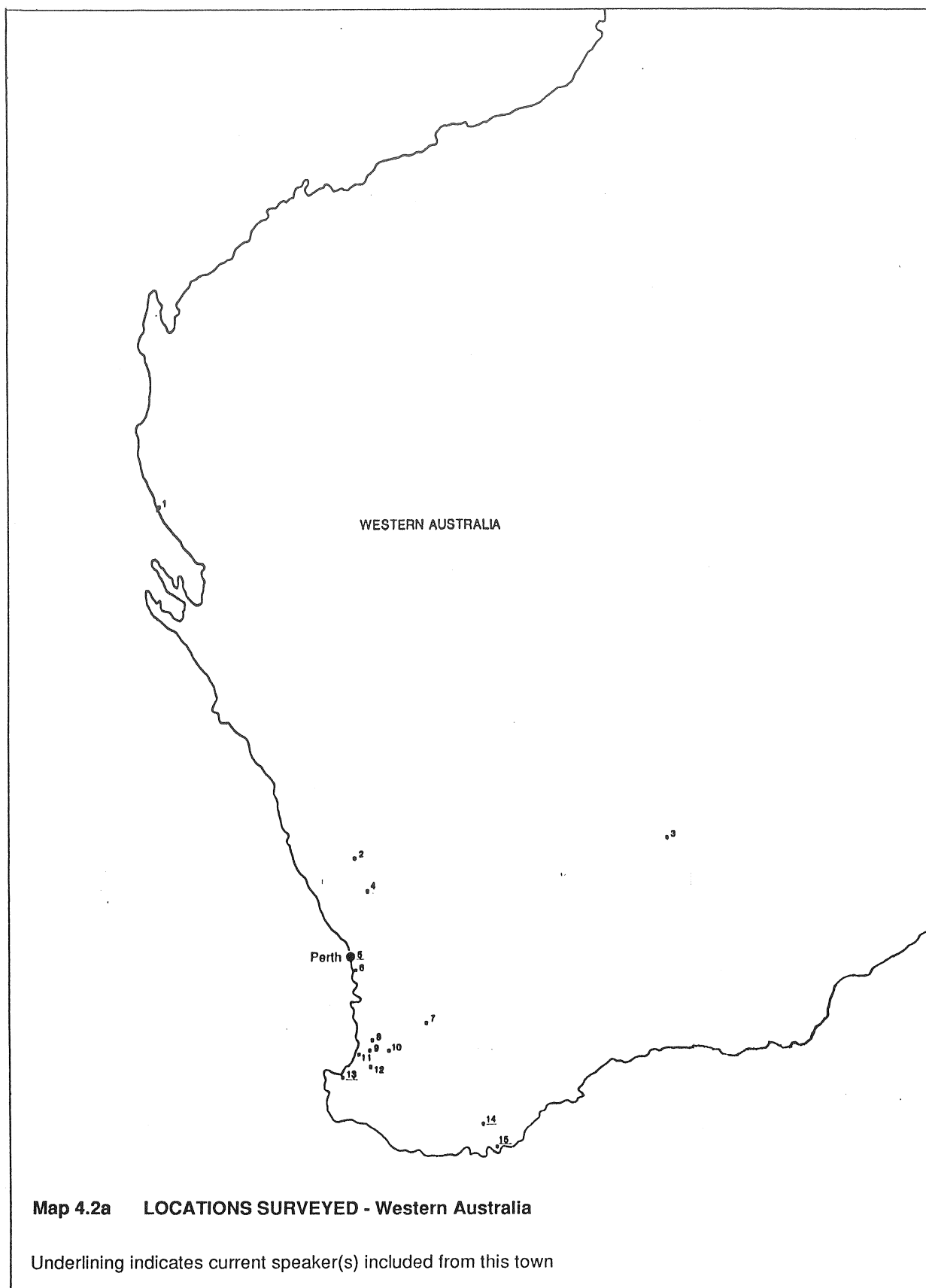
Map 4.2b   LOCATIONS SURVEYED - Northern Territory

Underlining indicates current speaker(s) included from this town

Darwin
18

NORTHERN TERRITORY

67

17

SOUTH AUSTRALIA

Map 4.2c   LOCATIONS SURVEYED - South Australia

Underlining indicates current speaker(s) included from this town
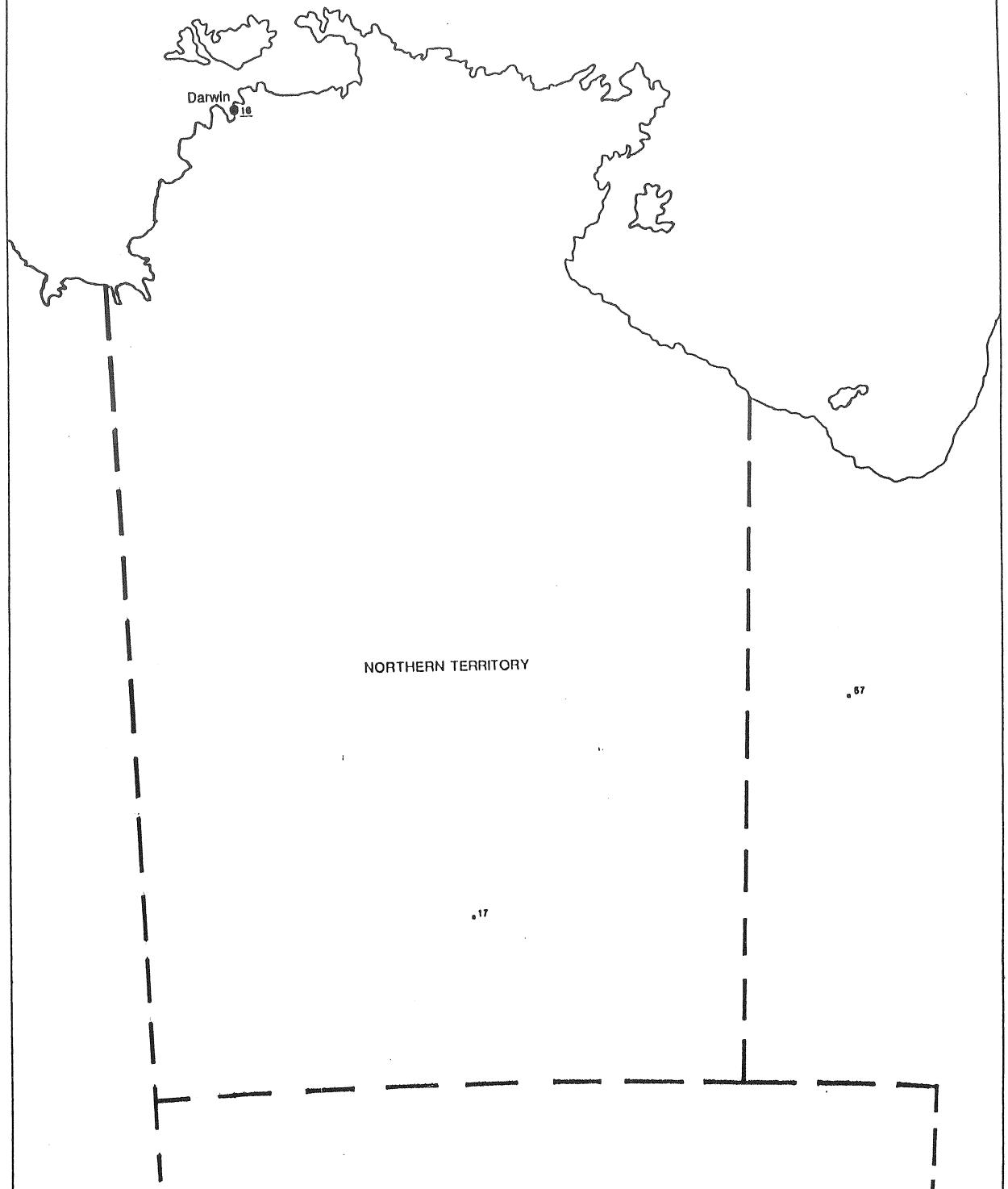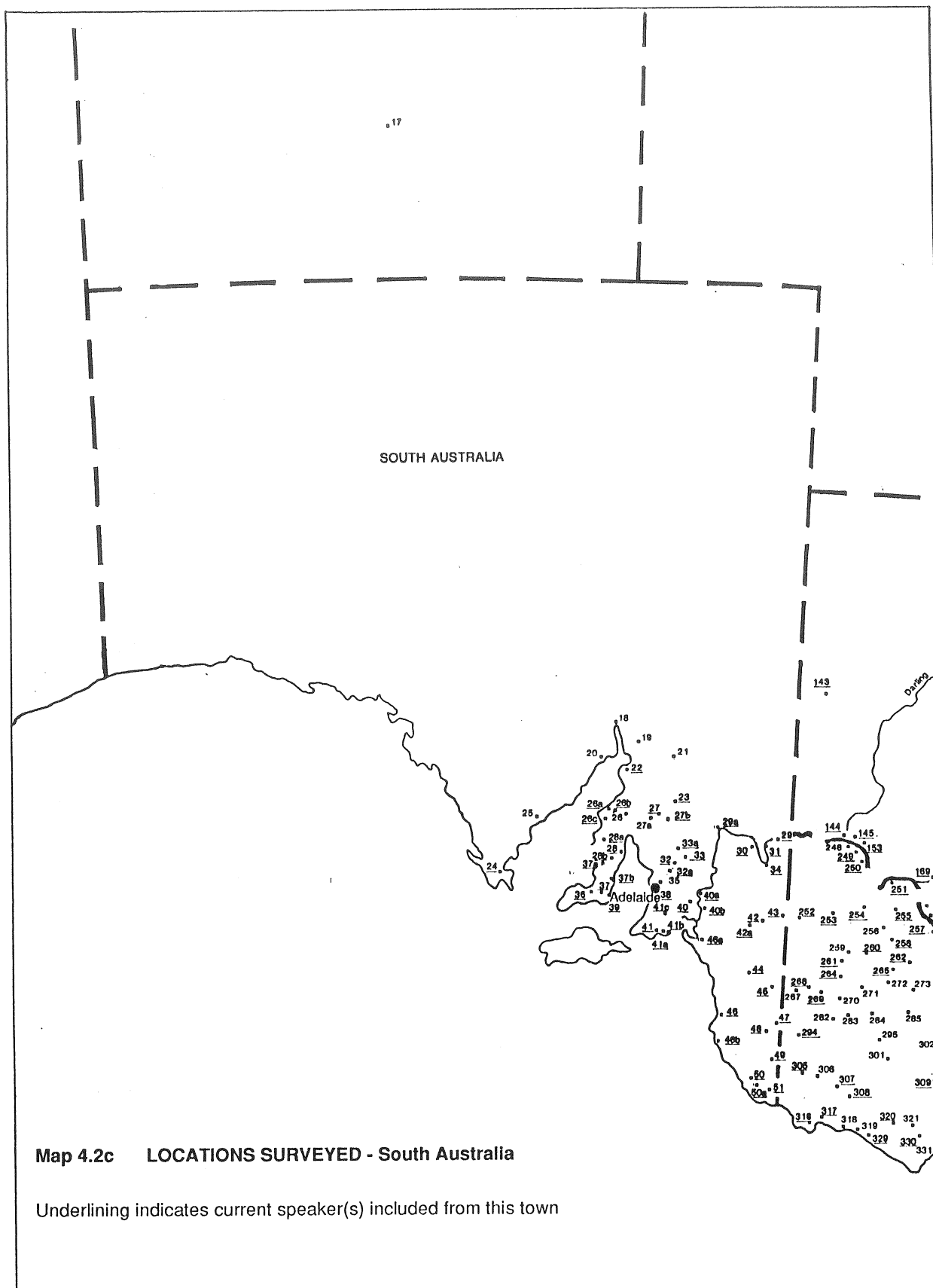
Map 4.2d   LOCATIONS SURVEYED - Queensland

Underlining indicates current speaker(s) included from this town

QUEENSLAND

52
53 54
55
56
57
58
59
60
61
62 63
64
65
66
67
68
69
70 71 72
73 74
75 76 77 78 79
80 81 82 ● Brisbane
83 84 85 86
87
88
89
90 91 92
93 95
94 96 98 97
100 99
101

Map 4.2d(q) LOCATIONS SURVEYED - Queensland
supplementary material

All informants were current speakers.

QUEENSLAND

NEW SOUTH WALES

Brisbane

Sydney

Canberra

VICTORIA

Melbourne

TASMANIA

Hobart

Map 4.2e   LOCATIONS SURVEYED - New South Wales, Victoria, Tasmania

Underlining indicates current speaker(s) included from this town
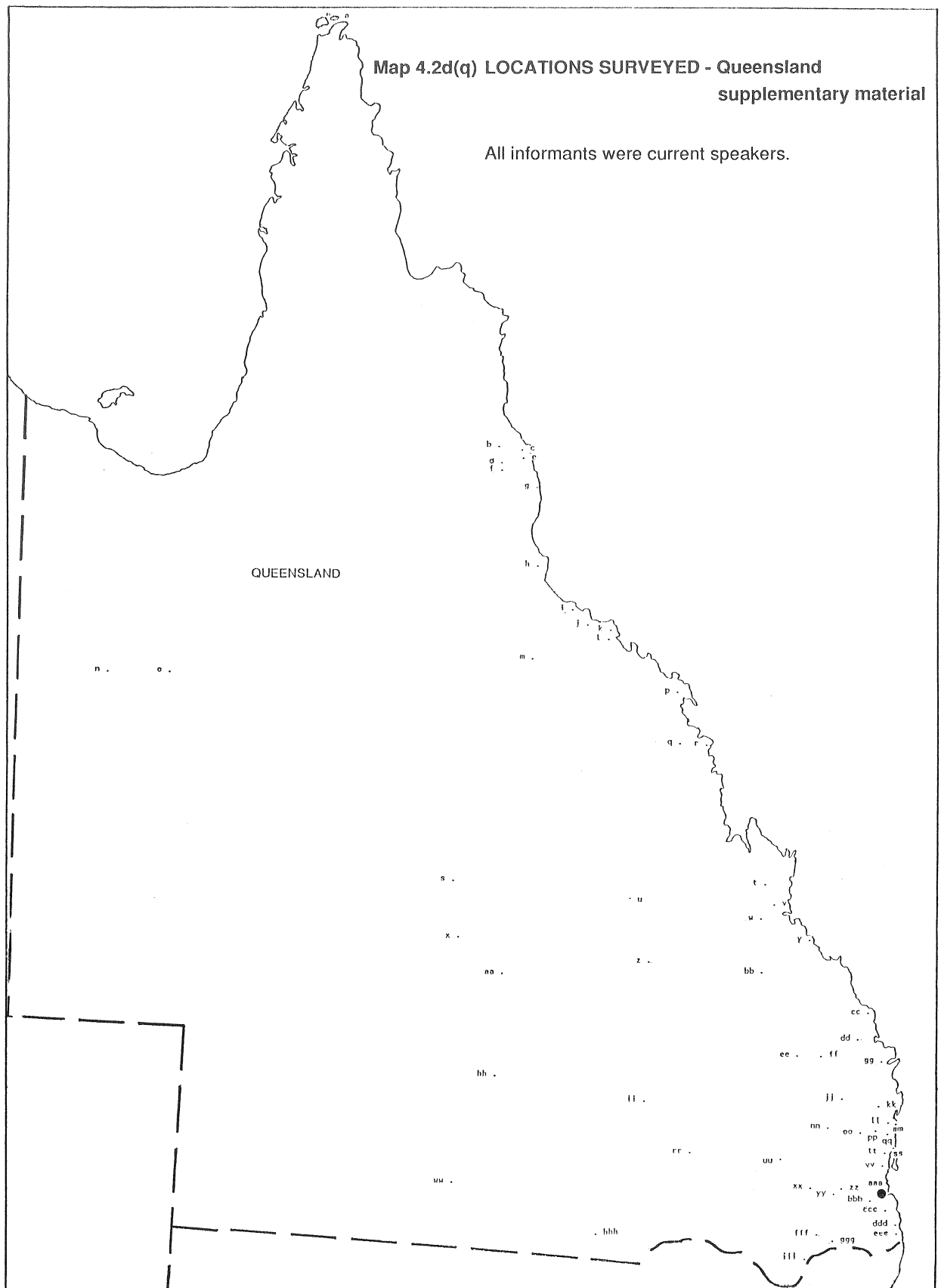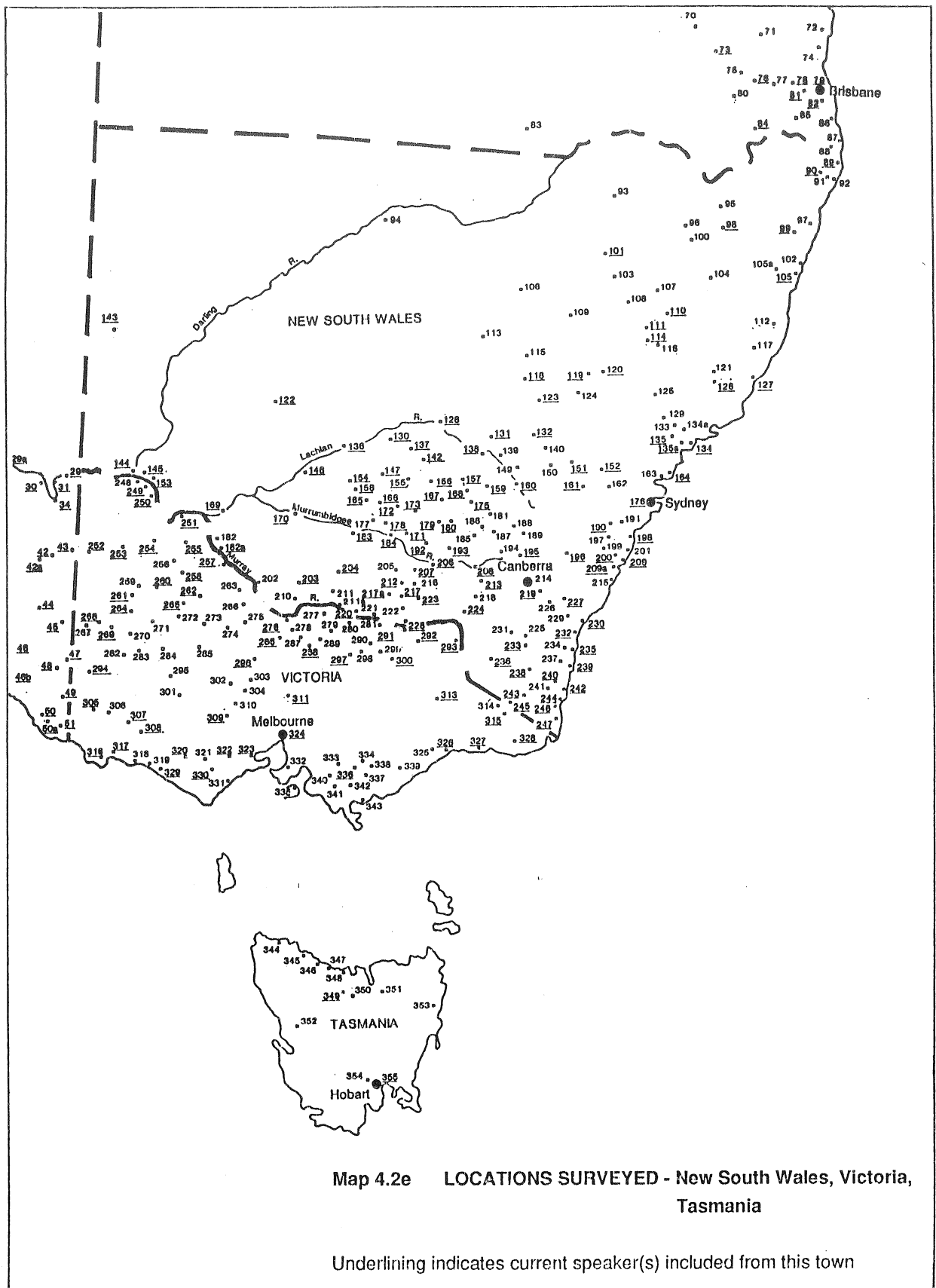
Locations to be surveyed

The spread of places sampled was governed by who was available - people from other parts of the country who visited Canberra, and people within reach of Canberra on short field trips. As it turned out, a reasonably satisfactory coverage was achieved, with most of the major and many of the minor population centres being covered, particularly in the south-east of the mainland which is the most densely populated non-metropolitan part of the country. A comparison of Map 4.1, showing population density, and Map 4.2a-e, showing locations surveyed, shows that the level of coverage in this survey generally approximates population density.

In the trial surveys, a fairly broad-grained coverage of the populated parts of the country was achieved. In the final survey, an initial broad-grained survey was followed up with a fine-grained survey of the transition zone between the NE and SE.

Form of the questionnaire

The questionnaire was a pictorial one, which was produced in two formats. The first was designed for use with a large number of people at once. The trial surveys in Orientation Week at the Australian National University and the Canberra College of Advanced Education (now the University of Canberra), where the majority of informants was found, were carried out in a single day at each place, and this did not allow for individual interviews. The questionnaire was in the form of a display, consisting of a large box on which were fixed numbered colour photographs of the items to be tested. Informants wrote their responses on forms with numbered spaces corresponding to the numbered photographs. In the second format, the photographs were placed in an album for use with individual informants.

All but one of the photographs were coloured, as colour is an identifying feature of some items, e.g., Paterson's curse, or smoked cod. (It also made the display more attractive to passing potential informants.) The only black and white photograph was the parking inspector. The colour of their uniforms gives parking inspectors two of their regional names, *brown bomber* and *grey ghost*, and the wrong colour could have stopped some informants from giving these.

The pictorial questionnaire was ideal for eliciting data about nouns, but frame sentences were needed with the pictures for other parts of speech. For example, to elicit the verbs *lock, latch* or *snib*, there was a picture of a hand engaging the latch under a door handle, with the frame sentence "She is _____ the door". Fortunately, almost all the lexical items under investigation were nouns.

Content of the questionnaire

The initial data were tested progressively as they accumulated. Only items which fitted the definition of *regional* given in Chapter 1 were included. Several types of regional items were not used - items which could not be photographed, e.g., weather phenomena such as breezes; items whose names changed frequently, e.g., pejorative names for louts (currently *bevan* in Brisbane~*booner* in Canberra, for example) ; or items which are no longer in current use, e.g., *swag~bluey~matilda*. Three items not

reported initially, fairy bread, garbage bins and straw broom, were used to test the hypothesis that any items in the categories in Table 4.1 are likely candidates for regional variation. The first two of these items proved to have regional names, which suggests that many more items from these categories may also be worth investigating. In all, 186 items were tested.

In other surveys, there was an emphasis on questions relating to farming, as in England, where the questionnaire consisted mainly of questions on husbandry, home life and nature (Orton 162:44). The Australian survey differs markedly in this respect. This category is represented by comparatively few items in the initial data, as only 13.9 % of the population lives in rural areas (ABS 1986). For this reason, though rural terms may have regional variation, most are not well enough known by the population generally to include in this survey. It concentrates on terms more likely to be known by both urban and rural dwellers.

Types of informants

There were three selection criteria. The first was that all respondents in the trial surveys and the final survey should be native speakers of Australian English. The second was age. All informants had left school. This meant that the youngest informants were 16. In other surveys, particular attention was given to older speakers to preserve their speech before it died out. In Australia where there is little difference in the speech of older and younger age groups, at least in the type of items investigated here, there was no need to concentrate on older speakers, and in fact a spread of age groups was preferable so that any variation of usage with age could be detected.

The third criterion concerned informants' length of residence in their home towns. In the parts of the surveys conducted in Canberra with people found in Canberra, the respondents fell into two types - those who had grown up in other parts of Australia but were now living in Canberra and whose home-town language use was therefore recollected; and those newly arrived in Canberra whose home-town language use had not had time to be contaminated by outside influence and was therefore current. The first type were required to have lived in their home towns at least during their school years, though many had actually lived there longer. People who had gone to boarding school, or had lived temporarily in another town while at high school, were excluded (some small country towns do not have high schools). This criterion was arrived at after experience with initial informants had shown that those who had lived in their home towns during their school years had good recall of local words, even if they had learnt other words later, whereas those who had moved during those years tended to be confused about which words they had learnt in which town.

The second type were required to have lived in their home towns all their lives. This severely limited the number of informants available in this category, given the mobile nature of the population. For example, in the twelve months from May 1986, 6.2% of the population had moved between metropolitan and non-metropolitan areas (ABS 1988).

The trial surveys conducted in Canberra relied largely on the first type, the recollecteds. The initial field survey and both parts of the final survey, which was conducted partly in Canberra and partly in the field, used data only from the second type, the currents. Data from the recollecteds in the Canberra-based stage of the final survey was used initially to help define the NE/SE transition zone where field trips were planned.

In other surveys, rural speakers were particularly sought, e.g., England (Orton 1962:44). In Australia, where there are no rural dialects, rural speakers did not need particular attention. A cross-section of Australian society was sought. Speakers came from a variety of occupational backgrounds, which are listed in Appendix C.

In almost every variable studied in relation to social dialects in Australian English, the sex of the speaker has been a significant factor - see, for example, Mitchell and Delbridge 1965a and 1965b, Shnukal 1978 and 1982, Shopen 1978, Bryant 1980, Wald and Shopen 1981, Horvath 1985, Eisikovits 1987 and 1989. The difference is so marked that Mitchell and Delbridge (1965b:38-9) consider that "the sex difference must be an important, perhaps an overriding, influence in the distribution of the varieties of Australian speech". With this in mind, particular effort was made to interview approximately equal numbers of each sex.

Numbers of informants

The intention was to interview four people from each place, two men and two women, one of each over 40, and one of each under 40. In practice, fewer than this were interviewed from most places. In the Canberra-based parts of the surveys, as many people as possible who presented themselves were interviewed for each place. In the field surveys, it often proved difficult to find informants who met the selection criteria, particularly in small country towns visited at weekends. In places which were known to be in transition zones, such as Mt Gambier in South Australia and Portland 110 km away in Victoria, particular efforts were made to interview more than four people, to gain a better sampling of variation between the usage of the regions on either side.

Selection of informants

In the surveys conducted in Canberra, using the pictorial questionnaire in its public format, informants offered themselves. Passers-by were attracted by the pictorial display or wanted to see what the crowd was gathered round. Any who wanted to take part and met the selection criteria were interviewed. In the part of the survey conducted on field trips, potential informants were found in local shopping centres. Likely-looking people of the right age and sex were approached, and interviewed if they met the selection criteria and wanted to take part.

TESTING

Making use of the fact that much of the adult population of Canberra grew up elsewhere in Australia, three trial surveys were carried out in Canberra, each testing part of the data. These surveys largely used speakers' recollection of their home-town

language. Because this was an innovative solution to a methodological problem, a check was made of current usage against recollected usage in some country towns.

Compiling trial questionnaires

The compilation of the trial questionnaires was done progressively as items for the corpus came to hand. The collection phase proceeded over a lengthy period, so that testing began before collection was completed. Some items which looked promising but needed further testing were used in more than one survey, e.g., bindi-eye, for which it proved difficult to take a satisfactory photograph.

Trials in Canberra

The surveys were carried out principally in Orientation Week at the two universities in Canberra, to reach students who had recently arrived from their home towns. Some had left their homes as recently as three days before. However, many people who had been in Canberra longer were also surveyed as they passed. In addition, the surveys were done at the Australian Defence Force Academy and with interested community groups such as the Home Tutors scheme, and finally with individuals. A total of 767 informants tested the data over the three trial surveys. Of these, 80% gave recollected usage of their home-town speech (excluding informants who had grown up in Canberra, who were over-represented in the sample). The remaining 20% were newly arrived students and visitors to Canberra. There was also supplementary information from 362 informants who did not meet the length of residence requirement but who added to the corpus of regionalisms.

Testing the material

Words which proved not to have regional distribution were eliminated. Some were synonyms, such as *light bulb~light globe*. Some items were known by too few people to be worth investigating, e.g., fish and many birds.

Two other problems were found with the material. One was the need for captions or arrows on a few photographs, to make it clear what was being asked for. Frame sentences when eliciting verbs have already been mentioned. Some other items were answered better with an explanatory sentence underneath, in cases where an activity was shown (e.g., Item 68, the game of hit and run), or where scale was hard to judge (e.g., Item 26, the peewee, which is similar to a magpie except in size), or where attention needed to be drawn to a particular part of the photograph (e.g., Item 46, where the required answer was *swimming costume*, not *a girl next to a swimming pool*). The other problem concerned the identifiability of some of the photographs. The worst was the bindi-eye, as the seed is the only part recognised by most informants. The plant grows in lawns or among other weeds where the leaves are barely noticeable so that the sharp seeds are the only salient feature. Photographing the seed while still on the plant made it hard to see, and photographing it on a plain background left it without contextual clues. The photograph eventually used was recognised by all but informants with poor eye-sight.

By the end of the trials, all 186 items had been tested, 13 of them more than once.

Testing the method

The pictorial display proved to be a very effective way to attract potential informants. They had the purpose of the survey briefly explained to them, and were invited to take part if they met the selection criteria. While they were filling in the answer forms I spoke to as many as possible, to follow up any extra information they offered. Particular care was taken to ensure that informants did not contaminate each others' responses by discussing the pictures until after they had filled in the answers. In the few cases where discussion did take place, forms from those informants were not used. The pictorial display technique was originally intended only as a means of doing the trial surveys, but proved so successful that it was also used in the final survey.

Several helpers assisted with checking potential informants' backgrounds, giving out forms, and checking that all sections had been filled in. All enquiries were referred to me, so that the helpers were not required to answer any questions on the material in the questionnaire.

The forms used with the pictorial display contained brief instructions at the top, numbered spaces in which the informants wrote the names of the numbered items, and a section for informant details. The details asked for grew with experience over the three trials. In addition to questions on informants' age, sex, and length of residence in their home town, the second survey included a question on where parents of Canberra informants had grown up (to help account for the wide variety of interstate usage among Canberra residents). The third survey asked for this information from all informants, as out-of-area usages occasionally occurred in other places besides Canberra, particularly with the names of household items which would have been learnt from parents. There was an open-ended question at the end asking if informants knew of any other regional words.

The short format of the trial questionnaires - no more than 72 items in any one trial - suited the method of data collection in which passers-by volunteered to take part. A lengthier questionnaire would probably not have been completed by enough informants in the casual atmosphere at Orientation Week market days, with the crowd wandering from stall to stall. As it was, not all informants completed the surveys.

No problems were found with the method of the second stage of each trial survey, when the photographs in an album were used with individual informants.

Initial field survey

As a check on the validity of the results of the Canberra-based trials, a small initial field survey was also carried out. The area chosen was where NSW, Victoria and South Australia meet, where there should be characteristics of three regions' usage, though not necessarily coinciding with the State borders. As part of the same survey, the Yorke Peninsula in South Australia, which was expected to have homogeneous usage, was also investigated. This field survey aimed to check how the results of the surveys carried out in Canberra, with informants' usage remembered from their home

towns, correlated with usage actually gathered in those towns. This would show how accurate the Canberra surveys were (or how accurate people's memories are). An assessment of this accuracy was needed to know if the content of the final survey could be based on mainly recollected usage by the trial informants.

From the first two Canberra trial surveys, 42 items were selected, all of which showed either definite or probable regional variation in the area to be surveyed. On average, three people were interviewed per town in 55 towns; 144 of the informants had lived in their home towns all their lives, and the remainder had lived there during their school years. Informants were interviewed individually, and had their answers written down for them, using the same photographs and answer sheets that had been used in the Canberra trial surveys.
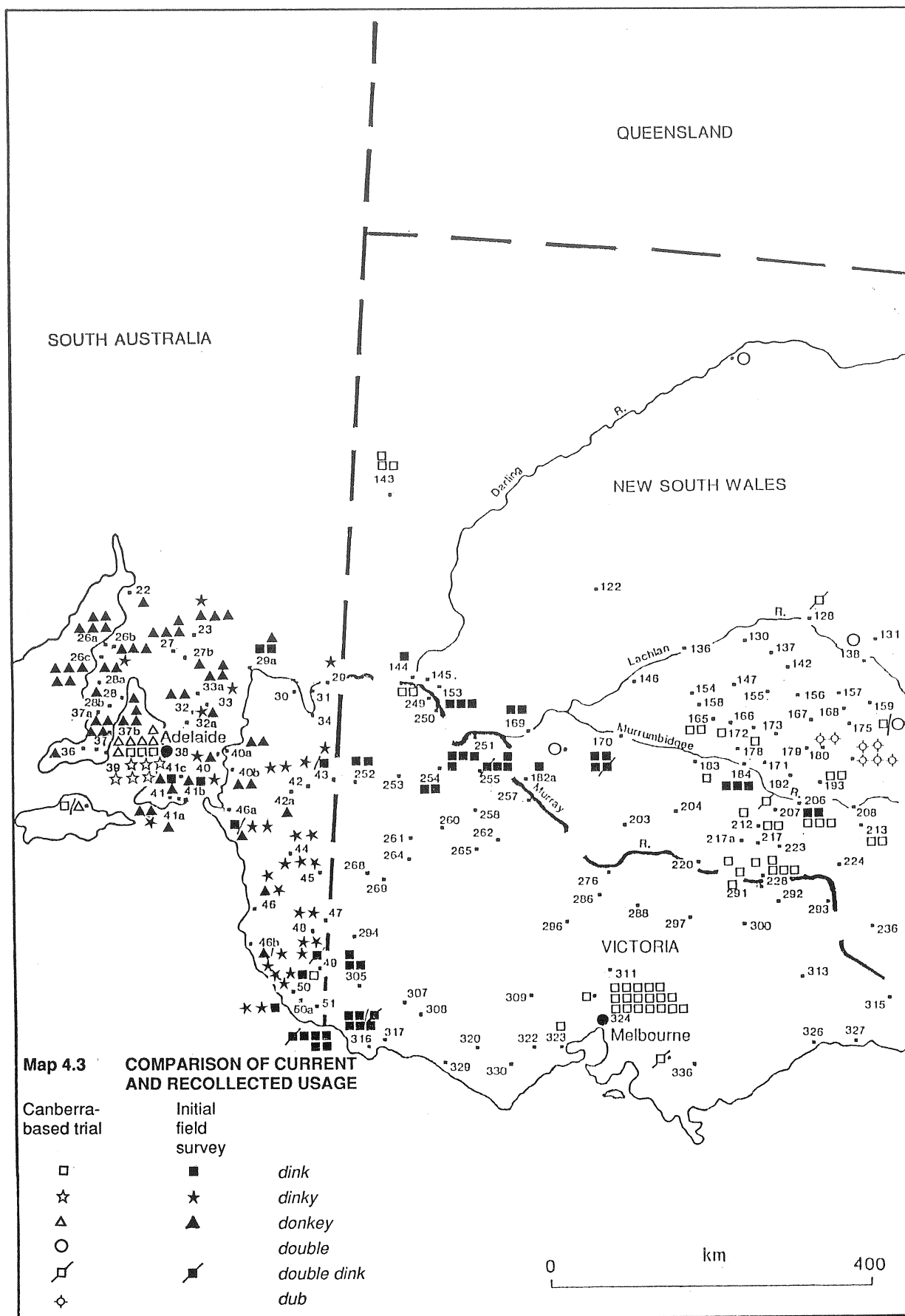
Testing the method

At the first interview in the initial field survey, it became apparent that a quick way to capture potential informants' interest was needed. From the second interview, as I explained that I was researching the names of local things, I showed the photograph of devon. Invariably the informant's interest was caught at once.

Comparison of Canberra-based trials and initial field survey

A comparison of the Canberra-based trials and the results of the initial field survey showed that the Canberra survey findings were valid and could be confidently used to select the items to be included in the final survey. Map 4.3 illustrates this. Within regions, usage by current and recollected speakers coincided. For example, SE *dink*, recollected in the Riverina, was confirmed by current speakers in the same region, and SC recollected *donkey* and *dinky* were confirmed by more detailed current usage. Two terms given in the Canberra based trial, *double* and *dub*, were not found in the field survey, which was conducted south of their range.

Some out-of-area usages were given by the current speakers surveyed, e.g., Victorian *dink* used by some South Australian speakers in areas with no links with Victoria. Discrepancies which in the Canberra-based trials had been attributed to faulty recall now appeared to be out-of-area usage. This was confirmed by some work done later on a sample of 18 items from the final survey to compare out-of-area usage by recollected and current speakers. Of current speakers, 1.5% used out-of-area terms, compared with 3.5% of recollected speakers from the same regions, i.e., there was a 2% error rate among recollected speakers. Even this figure may be on the high side, as some responses classified as out of area may turn out with further work to be part of minor sub-regions. It is safe to say that the error rate for recollected usage was 2% at the worst. It was therefore safe to select the content of the final survey from the largely recollected answers given in the trial surveys.

Map 4.3   COMPARISON OF CURRENT AND RECOLLECTED USAGE

Canberra-based trial	Initial field survey	
□	■	*dink*
☆	★	*dinky*
△	▲	*donkey*
○	●	*double*
⌂	⌂	*double dink*
◇		*dub*

QUEENSLAND

SOUTH AUSTRALIA

NEW SOUTH WALES

VICTORIA

Adelaide

Melbourne

Darling R.

Lachlan

Murrumbidgee

Murray

km
0   400

CONDUCTING THE SURVEY

Content of the final questionnaire

From the 186 items tested in the trial surveys, 72 items went into the final survey. The items selected fell into three types: those which from the trials could be seen definitely to have regional variation (47 items); those for which fairly strong evidence in the trials was supported by multiple reports in the corpus of regionalisms (24 items); and a supplementary question on an item reported too late for the trials (one item).

Form of the final questionnaire

Other surveys grouped the items by category, with for example all the items relating to the household together, although there does not seem to be any advantage in this other than orderliness. In this survey, the questions were arranged in a less formal way. This was because there were three pairs of items with the same names in some regions. These were *footpath* (the name of both the concrete type and the grassed type in the NE), scallop (the name of both the shellfish and the potato type in the NE), and *Santa Claus* (NE) and *Father Christmas* (southern regions) for both the mythical gentleman and the fluffy airborne seed. If both types of footpath, for example, being in the same category, had been placed together, informants who had never realised that they used the same word for two different things may have started to wonder if this could be correct and perhaps change one response. Hence these pairs were separated, even though this meant that in the first two instances items from the same category were separated. If two categories were broken up, there was no reason to keep other categories together, so the photographs were simply arranged to make an interesting display that would attract potential informants. This type of arrangement did not seem to have any effect on responses.

Conducting the final survey

Like the trial surveys, the final survey was conducted first in Canberra, then in the field. It began with a coarse-grained coverage of the country, conducted in Canberra, but this time other venues round Canberra were also used, as well as a network system of contacts. Most of these informants gave recollected usage, as in the Canberra trial surveys.

However, two additional sources of informants were available in Canberra for the final survey. The first was the Australian Bicentennial Castrol World Rally, to which participants travelled from all over Australia to Canberra in March 1988. The second was the Visitors' Information Centre, which for many interstate visitors is their first stop in Canberra. At both these venues, all informants were current users of their home-town language. For most of them, I wrote down their answers and asked follow-up questions.

From all these sources, an adequate coverage was achieved of most of the populated areas except the States furthest from Canberra. Obviously areas nearest to Canberra provided the greatest number of visitors, so that New South Wales and Victoria, which in any case are the most populous States, were best represented. This

was important for definition of the NE/SE transition zone. The trial surveys and the initial field survey had shown that this was the most complex zone.

By the end of the Canberra-based stage of the final survey, it had become obvious that this transition zone was even more extensive and more complex than previously thought. Near the junction of New South Wales, Victoria and South Australia, it appeared to extend into north-western Victoria for some items; and further east, it was not always between the Murray and Murrumbidgee Rivers as the trial surveys had suggested, but for some items as far north as the Lachlan River. These findings were the result of covering more towns in the final survey than in the trial surveys.

The second stage of the final survey consisted of four short field trips to define this transition zone more exactly. A fine-grained survey of the type conducted in the initial field survey was carried out, interviewing informants in every town. All were lifelong residents.

Inclusion of initial field survey results

Of the 42 items tested in the initial field survey, 36 were used in the final survey. Because 144 of the informants in that survey met all the selection criteria used in the final survey, their results were included in the final survey, although this did not provide a full set of 72 responses for these informants. Many of the towns visited in the field trial were not covered in the final survey, so this provided some material from them.

Supplementary Queensland material

As part of their survey of Queensland speech, Dr Anna Shnukal, Prof. Bruce Rigsby and Dr David Lee had their first year students interview two people each on the names they used for fifteen children's activities. The twelve items in their questionnaire which were also in the final survey allowed the results in Queensland for this project to be more finely detailed than elsewhere.

To ensure that the results from the Queensland survey are as comparable as possible with the results from this project, material was used from interviewees who met the same selection criteria. For the age criterion, informants who were over 17 and had presumably left school were selected. For the length of residence criterion, those who gave only one town under "Town where brought up", and whose age was the same as the number of years lived in Queensland, were assumed to have lived all their lives in that town. They were also assumed to be native speakers of Australian English.

The Queensland questionnaire was a multiple choice one, with space to write in additional responses (see Appendix B (II)). Interviewees made use of this opportunity, with the result that two Queensland terms not given as choices were written in frequently for two items. These were Question 4, on the game of hit and run, for which the volunteered Queensland term is *tipsy* or *tipsy run*; and Question 7, on the person whose turn it is in a game, for which the Queensland term is *up*.

Table 4.2 Summary of informants for final survey

A. CURRENT USAGE

	Main survey		Initial field survey		Total
	Males	Females	Males	Females	
ACT	15	12			27
NSW	93	78	8	8	187
Vic	37	33	11	10	91
Qld	10	7			17
SA	18	9	51	56	134
WA	4	3			7
Tas	3	2			5
NT	0	1			1
Total	180	145	70	74	469

B. RECOLLECTED USAGE - supplementary data

	Males	Females	Total
ACT	5	4	9
NSW	90	142	232
Vic	55	63	118
Qld	24	32	56
SA	24	27	51
WA	13	11	24
Tas	13	14	27
NT	1	2	3
Total	225	295	520

C. QUEENSLAND - supplementary data

	Males	Females	Total
Qld	51	107	158

| **TOTAL** | | | **1147** |

In the material supplied, Brisbane was over-represented, so a sampling process was used to reduce the number from 151 informants to 29. The Brisbane interviewees were divided into male and female, each in order of age, and every fifth form was used. All material was used from country informants who met the selection criteria. In all, material from 158 interviewees was used.

Although the methodology of the two surveys was different, the results appear to be comparable. The main survey found that there was little variation within Queensland, and the supplementary material confirmed this. In the one instance where there was a local term within Queensland - *by jingo* 'ice block' in northern Queensland - the supplementary material showed this in more detail.

ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION OF RESULTS

This work combines a new technology, computer analysis of data, with a traditional technique, maps compiled by hand. As with many aspects of this project, the choice was governed by resources. A large quantity of data can be analysed on a small personal computer, but maps cannot be created on one.

Analysis of raw data

Data input

For the data from the 989 informants in the main survey, two tailor-made computer programs were written by Dr Kevin Bryant. The first program organised entry of informant responses to a set of data files. The initial entry, for each informant's completed questionnaire, was of details on sex, year of birth, home town and its postcode, length of residence there (i.e., lifelong residents or those who no longer lived there), occupation, type of secondary school attended, mother's home town and father's home town. Then each answer to each question was entered, including multiple answers where offered, e.g., several names for devon were given by some informants in towns in western Victoria. The program numbered all new responses, so that the entry was simply a number where a prior informant had used the same response.

Data analysis

The second program, designed to facilitate mapping and analysis, organised retrieval of information from the data files and its presentation in tabular form. The data, in postcode order, were tabulated by length of residence, sex, year of birth, and location. Locally-born life-long residents are shown in Appendix C (Ia), and informants who had spent their school years in their home town but no longer lived there in Appendix C (Ib).

The data from the other two sources - the initial field survey, and the supplementary material from Queensland supplied by Dr Anna Shnukal *et al* - were tabulated by hand as there were relatively fewer informants (144 and 158,

respectively) than for the main survey. Details of these informants are given in Appendixes C (II) and C (III) respectively.

Preparation of the maps

Current usage only, from the main survey and the initial field survey, was used in the preparation of the maps. Recollected usage is occasionally referred to in the accompanying notes to provide supplementary data.

Raw data maps

Using the tabulated data, the maps were compiled by hand. Letraset symbols were placed at each numbered location for each response from each informant. Answers from informants who gave more than one response are shown with their responses separated by slashes. Not all informants had a response to each question, resulting in absence of symbols at some locations. (Responses that were clearly erroneous, such as those from informants with poor eye-sight who thought that the bindi-eye was a blowfly, were omitted.)

For the sake of clarity, items which had variants of a main term are all shown by the one symbol if there was no pattern to the distribution of the variants. For example, for Item 25, the NE elective regional term *haddock* and its variants *smoked haddock* and *Scotch haddock* are all shown by a circle.

The supplementary Queensland material is shown on separate raw data maps, immediately following the maps for the relevant item in the main survey.

Interpretive maps

The interpretive maps follow the raw data maps for each item. When interpretations other than the ones shown on the maps are possible, these are discussed in the notes accompanying the maps.