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**A CORPUS-BASED STUDY OF AUSTRALIAN ENGLISH
OF THE 20TH CENTURY**

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INTRODUCTION

Australian English is probably one of the most fascinating varieties of English that enthralls with its unique accent and idiosyncratic lexicon reflecting the amalgamation of various linguistic influences and the multicultural heritage of its speakers. Despite being a relatively “young” variety, Australian English has evolved into a fully developed and independent variant since its inception in the late 18th century after the arrival of British colonizers and the establishment of a penal colony on the new continent. Just like any other variant of English, Australian English stands out for its notable deviations in pronunciation, vocabulary, and grammar, as well as socio-cultural aspects.

Australian English has undergone all stages of postcolonial language development, as outlined in Schneider’s Dynamic Model, and has attracted considerable scholarly attention worldwide. Researchers such as Moore, Fritz, Taylor, and Burrige have made noteworthy contributions to the understanding of Australian English. Their studies encompass various linguistic aspects, including the historical progression and distinctive features of the variety. Mitchell and Delbridge have conducted valuable research on the phonetic characteristics of the language and accent classification, while Baker and Manns provided significant insight into Australian vocabulary peculiarities. Collins, Peters, Pawley, and many others have conducted detailed investigations into the grammatical features of Australian English, providing thorough analyses of its syntactic structures and usage patterns. The comprehensive investigation of Australian English by these scholars has shed light on its intricate linguistic landscape, providing insights into its evolutionary trajectory and contributing to the broader understanding of language variation and development.

The research topicality lies in the fact that it elucidates the development of Australian English during a period that played a pivotal role in shaping national identity. By exploring the prominent grammatical and lexical characteristics of the

variety, this paper facilitates a deeper comprehension of the evolutionary dynamics within Australian English and enables the identification of its key linguistic trends.

The aim of the research is to conduct a comprehensive examination of the predominant grammatical and lexical characteristics exhibited by Australian English during various stages of the 20th century. This paper seeks to trace the major tendencies in language change and development on the basis of corpora materials. To achieve this, the following **objectives** must be accomplished:

- to delineate the key stages of the formation and evolution of the Australian variety;
- to elucidate the influence of different language varieties on the formation of distinctive Australian English features;
- to outline the main phonetic, lexical, and grammatical features associated with Australian English;
- to conduct an in-depth investigation of Australian language usage throughout the 20th century;
- to analyze the major grammatical features of the variety and track the trends in their evolution over the course of the century;
- to identify the principal lexical categories and trace alterations in vocabulary usage across different periods within the past century;
- to outline overarching trends and tendencies characterizing Australian English of the 20th century by synthesizing the obtained findings.

The object of this paper is 20th-century Australian English. **The subject** of the research is distinct grammatical and lexical features that set the Australian variety apart from other varieties.

The materials for this paper are taken from the Australian English corpora. To investigate the language patterns in the earlier decades, the Australian Brown corpus is utilized, providing valuable insights into speech characteristics during the first half and middle of the 20th century. For the latter part of the century, the Australian subdivision of the International Corpus of English serves as the data source.

The methodology employed in this research involves a combination of diachronic analysis and a corpus-based approach, which provide an opportunity to analyze the topics of interest on the basis of the data from the corpora and trace their changes in different historical periods. Quantitative data analysis techniques are employed to measure the obtained results. The use of quantitative data facilitates a systematic and objective approach to understanding the evolution of Australian English throughout the 20th century.

Despite the significance of Australian English as a distinct variety, it remains relatively understudied, particularly in comparison to British and American English. This research gap is especially evident among domestic scholars in Ukraine, where the topic of Australian English has received very little attention, which indicates **the scientific novelty** of this paper. **The practical value** of the research lies in its potential as a resource for studying the history of Australian English. By shedding light on the historical development of the Australian language and its linguistic landscape, this study contributes to a comprehensive analysis of the nation's linguistic past. Moreover, the findings of this paper can serve as a basis for future research, enabling further exploration and understanding of Australian English in both national and international contexts.

This paper is divided into three parts. The first chapter provides information about the main stages of the formation of Australian English, as well as the features of the already-established variety. The second chapter describes the research methods and materials. The third chapter presents a diachronic analysis of a number of grammatical and lexical features of the language. This paper also contains an introduction, conclusions, a list of references, a list of dictionaries, a list of materials, and a summary.

CHAPTER I. TRACING THE PATH OF AUSTRALIAN ENGLISH: ITS ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT

1.1. Linguistic History of Australian English

In the late 18th century, British colonizers made their way to Australia, bringing along the English language and introducing it to the continent for the first time. Initially, the English spoken mirrored the language used in Britain during that era. However, over time, it underwent transformations influenced by various factors. Contact with Indigenous languages in Australia, along with exposure to other English variations like Irish and Scottish, as well as non-English languages, actively contributed to the shaping of the new variety. In addition, Australia's geographical isolation from Britain and other English-speaking countries also played a pivotal role in developing a distinct form of English within the newly established colony.

1.1.1. Historical Background

Europe's expansion began with internal conquests, with warriors subduing border regions and creating new settlements, rehearsing the methods that allowed them to move north into the Baltic, east over the Urals, west into the Atlantic, and south down the African coast and across to East Asia. While these expeditions gained momentum from the 15th century, they initially involved only small numbers of people. The primary objective was an acquisition by trade and conquest, and European adventurers absorbed the knowledge, techniques, and foods of other civilizations.

As Stuart Macintyre, one of the most distinguished historians specializing in Australian history, points out, the main European maritime nations of Britain, France, Spain, Portugal, and Holland competed with one another, bringing about further development and growth of these states. Yet, the cost of this rivalry increased as well. In the 18th century, Britain and France were the two dominant powers in Europe, and their repeated battles on land and sea drained their resources. After the Seven Years' War, which lasted from 1756 to 1763, Britain gained control of North America and India. In the next round of conflicts, France seized several West Indian islands, and Britain lost most of North America to its own colonists during the American War of

Independence (1775–1783). France was on the verge of a revolution by this time, and Britain was struggling to sustain its imperial garrison state due to the constant need for money and people. Therefore, Britain's loss of its American colonies ushered in a new era of the empire towards the end of the 18th century. Owing to exigent circumstances, Britain shifted its focus from the Atlantic to the East, which led to the colonization of Australia as part of British expansion in Asia and the Pacific [35, p. 16–20].

Interestingly, Europeans may have known about Australia since the 16th century, but they chose to avoid it until much later, possibly because they were only concerned with trading for luxury goods in the region, which they did not think Australia could provide. Even though Portugal had a colony in Timor, which was only 300 miles from Australia, and Dutch ships visited Australia's west coast, they did not see any valuable commodities that could make the long sea voyage worthwhile. The Indigenous people were not traders or collectors of precious stones, and the land did not yield anything valuable in European markets, nor were there any valuable animals or fish [10, p. 12-14]. Moreover, the Dutch faced challenges in establishing a settlement in Australia due to the harsh climate, lack of water, and hostility of the indigenous population. Therefore, the Europeans were not interested in Australia until much later.

Starting from the late 1760s, the famous British sailor, explorer, and cartographer James Cook made several expeditions to the South Pacific, investigating and mapping new territories. England was still one of the dominant colonial empires, and the beginning of the Industrial Revolution and the rapid growth of international trade required a search for new lands that could be a source of goods for sale and potential commercial gain. During his first expedition in 1768–1771, Cook visited Tahiti, sailed around New Zealand, and mapped the east coast of Australia. In 1770, his ship *Endeavour* reached the southeastern coast of Australia, the explorers stopped at a place they named Botany Bay, while the entire eastern coast was decided to call New South Wales. Cook and his crew collected specimens of local vegetation as well as birds and animals previously unknown to Europeans, but, like the Portuguese and Dutch before them, concluded that the area would not be economically advantageous to Britain and would not be the best place to establish a settlement [35, p. 25-27]. Compared with the

Atlantic coast of North America, Australia was clearly a much poorer choice for the potential establishment of colonies: it was too far away, the journey there was much more dangerous and long, the region was not of commercial interest to the empire as it lacked fertile soil and exportable goods, as well as didn't provide opportunities for growing the necessary natural goods.

On his second (1772–1774) and third (1777–1779) voyages James Cook continued to explore the region, and after his tragic death on his third expedition, he was called the discoverer and founder of Australia for quite some time. However, Macintyre also mentions that modern historians criticize this idea, as well as the British claim of sovereignty over Australia since the territory had been inhabited long before the first Englishmen set foot on it: New Zealand had been visited by Polynesian sailors for over a thousand years before, while the aboriginals are thought to have inhabited the continent for about 40,000 years [35, p. 26-28].

Although Captain Cook was considered the discoverer of Australia, as mentioned above, this territory was originally considered unpromising, so it took another 18 years after the first landing in 1770 before the British finally decided to settle in Botany Bay. As was already stated, the conventional explanation for why the First Fleet sailed to Botany Bay in 1788 is that, following the American Revolution, Britain had lost its outlet for convicts and needed a new place to send them. The discussions about establishing a new penal colony were closely tied to Britain's broader goals in terms of strategy and commerce. According to John Gascoigne, a professor at the University of New South Wales, various locations were considered, including Senegal and Gambia in West Africa. Yet, Joseph Banks, the botanist aboard the *Endeavour*, believed that Botany Bay on the Australian coast would be the ideal location thanks to its fertile land, Mediterranean climate, and probable lack of opposition from the indigenous people [23].

Even though the committee charged with the matter was inclined to establish an African colony, which could become a new home for American Loyalists and reduce British dependence on the Dutch Cape of Good Hope in what is now South Africa, an exploratory voyage determined that the site was unsuitable because of a lack of fertile

land and places for ships to dock. At the same time, Botany Bay offered a number of advantages: the flax and wood needed to make the supplies could be sourced from New Zealand; growing spices in the new territory would provide greater British independence from the Dutch East Indies; and Australia could serve as a strategic base to challenge the Dutch and Spanish in the East Indies and South America.

Therefore, there were more and more supporters of the Botany Bay settlement proposal, who found ever more advantages to the idea. For example, the new location could be strategically useful for trade with South America. In addition, the establishment of a secondary settlement on nearby Norfolk Island, where flax and pines grew in abundance, could help with the resources needed for shipbuilding [23]. Establishing Botany Bay as a new supply base and port for ships would strengthen Britain's commercial empire in the East, particularly in the China tea trade, which was a vital source of British commerce. Additionally, ships could land at Botany Bay for fresh water, food, fuel, and supplies, while also seeking shelter during times of war. The settlement could also serve as a base for whaling ships and for British ships to engage in smuggling and privateering in the rich Spanish trade. These arguments, among many others, were sufficient grounds for the decision to establish the settlement at Botany Bay, which marked the beginning of the history of Australia.

1.1.2. Formation and Evolution of Australian English (Based on Schneider's *Dynamic Model*)

The formation of Australian English is a complex and ongoing process that can be traced back to the arrival of the first British colonists in 1788. The early settlers brought with them a variety of regional dialects and sociolects from different parts of Britain, which blended together and adapted to the new environment and social context in Australia. In order to analyze the evolution of AusE and its transformation into a separate variety of English, we will use the so-called "Dynamic Model" proposed by Edgar Schneider, a German linguist specializing in the study of world Englishes.

In his book *Postcolonial English. Varieties Around the World*, Schneider notes that linguists who have studied postcolonial Englishes have mainly focused on

particular varieties of the language, their characteristics, and the situations in which they have been used. Although some scholars have highlighted certain similarities between different varieties, these have been limited to particular regions (e.g., Southeast Asia) rather than to all the varieties in general. At the same time, there remains a general tendency to view the different varieties of English as separate linguistic phenomena influenced by unique factors such as geographic location, historical events, and others. Schneider himself, however, believes that all postcolonial varieties of English share a common process underlying and influencing their formation, which in turn explains the many similarities between the different variants of English [55, p. 29].

Schneider's Dynamic Model is based on the social dynamics of colonization, incorporating theories of sociolinguistic accommodation and identity symbolization. It involves the movement of settlers into a region with a different cultural and linguistic background, leading to an initial perception of distinctness between the two groups. Over time, these boundaries become increasingly blurred, and the groups move closer together socially and linguistically, recognizing the need for coexistence. The model posits that the political history of a country influences the identity constructions of the groups involved, which subsequently impact the sociolinguistic conditions of language contact, usage, and attitudes. These factors then contribute to the linguistic developments and structural changes in the language varieties involved [54, p. 416-417].

There are five phases involved in the process that begins with the introduction of English to a new territory, goes through a period of dynamic transformations in social and linguistic aspects, and finally reaches a stage of re-established stability in the form of a novel variety:

- Foundation, where English is introduced to a new territory, which leads to incipient bilingualism and triggers the borrowing of toponyms from indigenous languages, as well as other minor developments;

- Exonormative stabilization, where the linguistic norms of the country of origin become dominant and elite bilingualism emerges among certain representatives of aboriginal communities, while the process of lexical borrowing continues;
- Nativization, where bilingual speakers develop a new variety of English, heavily influenced by phonological and structural transfer; conservative speakers, however, tend to resist such changes;
- Endonormative stabilization, where a new linguistic norm emerges as a result of the process of nation-building; this phase is also characterized by increasing codification of the new variety, its acceptance by society, and use in literary representations;
- Differentiation, where internal social group identities become more and more significant in a stable young nation, resulting in increasing dialectal differences [55, p. 33-55].

Schneider also emphasizes that the process of evolution of postcolonial Englishes is closely linked to the so-called identity rewritings and various linguistic changes related to them. The whole phenomenon is seen as much from the side of the colonizers (so-called “settler strand, STL”) as from the side of the colonized peoples (so-called “indigenous strand, IDG”), who interact with each other, which in turn leads to certain linguistic modifications in the English language brought by the colonizers. Basically, this is related to the process of reconstruction of group identity and the concepts of “us” and “other.” If at the initial stage of language evolution, the colonizers see their country of origin as “us” and the aboriginal peoples in the new territory as “others,” everything changes with the passage of time and the settlers’ country of origin becomes “other,” while the new settlement becomes “us,” with the local indigenous population gradually becoming part of this notion as well.

Nevertheless, the author suggests that there may be variations in the identity construction and linguistic developments within the general pattern outlined. He underscores that the model presented is an idealized and simplified representation of

the development of postcolonial Englishes, and therefore, there may be more complex and nuanced aspects to consider [55, p. 29-33].

Schneider's Dynamic Model can also be applied to Australian English as one of the varieties of postcolonial Englishes in order to analyze its linguistic history.

1.1.2.1. Phase 1: Foundation (1788–the 1830s)

The first phase of the formation of Australian English began in 1788 when the First Fleet landed in Botany Bay and the first penal colony of New South Wales was established. Over the decades until the middle of the 19th century, more and more convicts were sent to the newly founded settlement. Many of them chose to remain there even after serving their sentences since the government allocated plots of land to those who were willing to stay there, as a result of which more and more children were born on the colony grounds. At the same time, the number of free settlers was also gradually increasing, which in turn caused the separation of distinct social classes. As the colony's population steadily increased, it became necessary to expand the colony boundaries, leading to the establishment of new settlements in the southeastern, western, and northern parts of Australia.

Since prisoners were mostly sent from the British Isles, it is obvious that most of them identified themselves as British, whereas local peoples were perceived as outlanders because of the great differences in the cultural and religious values of the colonizers and the colonized. As Schneider notes, contact with the local population was rather limited at this stage, but it is clear that the mass arrival of Europeans still had a negative impact on indigenous communities. They were driven off their territories and substantially decimated due to epidemic diseases, violence, and expulsion from their fertile lands [55, p. 118-120].

As for the sociolinguistic features of this process, first of all, we should note the contact of dialects, since the first settlers and prisoners came from the British Isles – mostly from different parts of England, but also from Ireland, Scotland, and Wales (although the number of the convicts from these regions was much lower). Among other things, some indigenous people learned English and were interpreters in

communication between the colonizers and the local population, which facilitated trade between the representatives of different cultures. Conversely, some Europeans attempted to learn indigenous languages, which was very rare though.

When it comes to the linguistic features of the founding phase, the main ones are the mixing of dialects and koinéization, a process that refers to the appearance of “the spoken language of a locality which has become a standard language or lingua franca” [73, p. 262]. Nowadays, this notion is used to describe situations where a new and stable dialect is created by blending and simplifying different dialect features during face-to-face interactions between speakers. Accommodation theory is critical to this process, as speakers of various regional and social backgrounds adjust their language to improve communication and reduce social distance. Accommodation leads to the reduction of differences and the emergence of a relatively uniform variety of language, where significant differences are avoided [7, p. 131].

Another important point that should be taken into consideration is the fact that Australian and British English share strong phonological similarities, hence it may be argued that the so-called “founder effect” played a crucial role in the development of Australian English. This theory suggests that the dialect of the earliest population largely determines the linguistic characteristics of the evolving variety of language [46, p. 26-27]. In addition, it is worth noting that almost all of the convicts came from various regions and dialects of the British Isles, which means dialect contact was frequent. As a result, the development of the Australian variety was facilitated by the merging and mutual adjustment of several different British varieties, leading to a “mixing, leveling, and simplification of language” [60, p. 278].

Finally, another important feature of this phase is the active use of place names derived from indigenous languages, such as *Wagga Wagga*, *Wodonga*, *Mundabullangana*, *Mungallala*, *Youangarra*, etc. In other aspects, however, the influence of local languages was minimal at this stage. As Baker notes in his study of the Australian language, about one-third of all place names in Australian English come from the languages of the indigenous population [2, p. 267].

1.1.2.2. Phase 2: Exonormative Stabilization (the 1830s–1901)

During the second phase of the development of the Australian variety, English continued to expand regionally as more free immigrants arrived in the country, resulting in the establishment of the new colonies of Victoria (1851), Tasmania (1852), and Queensland (1859) [21, p. 40-41]. British settlers still identified themselves as outposts of Britain and felt a sense of cultural belonging to their homeland, but the colonial experience also influenced their identity – something not shared by those who remained at “home.” Even though many expatriates intended to return to Britain, the idea of coming back turned into some sort of a myth, rather than a realistic intention. Meanwhile, children of British lineage, as well as those of mixed ethnic parentage, developed a hybrid cultural identity that included both their British heritage and their country of birth [55, p. 37].

Additionally, in the middle of the 19th century, the discovery of gold in different parts of Australia ignited a gold rush that reverberated throughout the country. This phenomenon had far-reaching effects on the social, political, and linguistic landscape as it enticed immigrants from around the globe and sparked significant population movements within the country. This resulted in further diversification of English and other languages, as different languages influenced the dialects that were forming. The sudden influx of many languages disrupted the social and economic patterns, causing a shift in the development of Australian English in a new direction [33, p. 76].

As for the IDG strand, Edgar Schneider emphasizes that there is limited information available on the attitudes of the indigenous population towards the European settlers during this period. Language exchange continued to some extent, but the cruelty and indifference the Aboriginals faced from Europeans were not conducive to positive relations between settlers and locals. Despite this, the English language gradually spread among the Aboriginals as they became increasingly reliant on the settlers’ communities for their survival. Some Aboriginal people began to work for the white settlers in exchange for food and basic necessities, and the establishment of Christian missions and schools further exposed them to the European language.

When it comes to the linguistic changes happening at this stage, the main lexical processes taking place at the time were the borrowing and coinage of words for fauna and flora, such as *kurrajong*, *waratah* (names of trees), *lowan*, *boobook*, *curra wong*, *kookaburra* (kinds of birds), *wobegong* (type of fish), *kangaroo*, *dingo*, *koala*, *wallaby*, *woylie* (small rat-kangaroo), *gum-tree*, *grass-tree*, *bottlebrush*, *whipbird*, *redbill*, *laughing jackass*. In addition, elements of the indigenous culture, including *nulla nulla* (Aboriginal club), *wurley* (Aboriginal hut), *kylie* (boomerang), *cool amon* (hollowed out knot of wood), as well as objects related to the new environment, such as *bush*, *outback*, *station*, and *backblock*, were also incorporated. Hence, the names for fauna and flora, as well as elements of Aboriginal life' were some of the most significant categories of early borrowings [55, p. 120-121].

1.1.2.3. Phase 3: Nativization (1901–1942)

The third phase, marked by the country's practical independence, began in 1901 with the formation of the Commonwealth of Australia. Despite this, Australia remained closely tied to Britain in terms of politics, economics, and culture throughout the first half of the twentieth century, as it was a dominion and later a member of the Commonwealth. The involvement of the Australian and New Zealand military in World War I contributed to the country population's sense of nationhood. During this period, Australians began to identify more with their place of residence rather than their country of origin.

As for the peculiarities of the indigenous community over these years, marginalization persisted, and the problem with the rapidly decreasing population finally stabilized. Indigenous men served in the military, and some were granted citizenship afterward. Regular interactions between Europeans and Aboriginals had become routine, leading to bilingualism among the indigenous population. As a result of the pressure to conform, many Aboriginals eventually underwent a massive shift towards English, causing many indigenous languages to become endangered or extinct. At the same time, while nativization and indigenization were taking place in the STL

strand, the external British language norm remained mostly unchallenged in formal contexts.

On the linguistic level, local forms and patterns emerged, including unique grammar features of AusE related to the intersection between grammar and vocabulary. These features include a preference for *different to*, the use of *less* instead of *fewer* with plural countable nouns, and a reluctance to use *shall*. These developments were documented by various scholars in the field of linguistics, including Horvath (2004), Bradley (2004), Turner (1994), Collins and Peters (2004).

Aboriginal English, which evolved from the earlier New South Wales pidgin and later developed into nonstandard English, emerged as a new ethnolect. This notion referred to various IDG strand varieties differing in certain regional characteristics: as some linguists point out, some of the features were specific to certain areas (Malcolm 1995). Aboriginal English typically exhibits distinctive phenomena in its pronunciation, grammar, and vocabulary, but most importantly, it has unique rules for organizing information cognitively and using texts pragmatically, reflecting different discourse conventions, textual schemata, and a distinct worldview [55, p. 121-122].

1.1.2.4. Phase 4: Endonormative Stabilization (1942–the 1980s)

As Schneider notes, the fourth phase is usually marked by the so-called “Event X,” an incident that reveals to settlers that there is an unequal relationship between themselves and the mother country. This can cause initial feelings of isolation but ultimately leads to a reevaluation of their position and the creation of a new, locally based identity. In Australia’s case, World War II was such an event: in 1942, the fall of Singapore left the country unprotected from potential Japanese attacks, revealing to the population that their relationship with the “mother country” was imbalanced. This realization led to the development of political self-reliance and a new regional national identity.

However, other linguists such as Moore (2008) and Collins and Yao (2018), claim that the decline of Britishness in Australia occurred slightly later than the time mentioned by Schneider, with a series of events in the 1960s/70s seen as the catalyst.

Collins and Yao point to a rise in nationalistic feelings during this period, which was exemplified by the popular “Ockerdom” movement of the 1970s, promoting the image of “ocker” (the stereotypical rough and uncultivated Australian male character in Australian TV shows of the time) [7, p. 132].

During the latter half of the 20th century, Australia established a new identity consistent with phase 4. This identity was founded on the idea of a self-reliant nation that was connected to its surrounding Asia-Pacific region and had a multicultural society. This cultural shift also included the acceptance of Australian English as a source of regional pride. This acceptance of Australian English as a norm of orientation has been recognized internationally, especially in Asian countries, where it is becoming a possible reference variety. The Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC) also shifted its conventions towards endonormativity between the 1940s and 1980s [55, p. 122-124].

According to research, the linguistic characteristics of this phase, which include claims to homogeneity and the early stages of codification, are strongly evident in Australian English. Despite social class differences, there was a notable regional homogeneity in Australian English, even given the large size of the continent. This observation has been widely accepted and is often cited as evidence of the extreme uniformity of Australian English. George Turner, for example, 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” [61, p. 163]. The same point of view was supported by J. R. L. Bernard in his introduction to *The Macquarie Dictionary*: “The picture is of a widespread homogeneity stretching from Cairns to Hobart, from Sydney to Perth, a uniformity of pronunciation extending over a wider expanse than anywhere else in the world” [4].

The high mobility of working-class Australians in the second half of the 20th century is thought to have contributed to such homogeneity by ensuring that regional differences remained small. Another factor that may have contributed to the homogeneity of Australian English is the deeply entrenched egalitarianism in the

Australian culture, also known as the “tall poppy syndrome.” This refers to the inclination to stigmatize over-achievers and overly ambitious people [55, p. 124].

The process of linguistic codification has significantly advanced in Australian English, with new national dictionaries providing the authority needed to underline the autonomy of a new variety of English. Moore observed a shift in attitudes towards Australian English during the 1970s, coinciding with a surge in cultural nationalism. This was reflected in the publication of the first Australian dictionary, the *Australian Pocket Oxford Dictionary*, in 1976, which was edited in Australia and intended to represent the Australian language. It was soon followed by the *Macquarie Dictionary* (1981), which can practically be regarded as an explicit declaration of linguistic independence, and the *Australian National Dictionary*, first published in 1988. These dictionaries reflect the growing acceptance of a local linguistic norm in Australia [43, p. 52-53]. Other sources and bodies, like the *Style Manual* (1988), the *Australian English Style Guide* (1995), and the Australian Broadcasting Corporation, have also promoted endonormative orientations.

Regarding the grammatical features of Australian English, certain distinct patterns have been studied and recorded. However, it is improbable that a unique grammar for AusE will emerge soon, as the rules of its grammar mostly comply with the rules of standard English [55, p. 125].

1.1.2.5. Phase 5: Differentiation (the 1980s – present day)

The fifth phase is usually characterized by the continual development of new dialects. Contrary to the previously mentioned belief that the Australian variety was uniform, internal variation has recently attracted the attention of the general public and that of academics. Trudgill was one of the first to make this observation: “It is interesting to note, however, that the relatively new, mixed, uniform Australian variety is now showing definite signs of beginning to develop regional differentiation” [58, p. 145].

Interestingly, Australians assert that they can tell a fellow Australian’s region of origin from their accent when it comes to pronunciation. The divide between “Broad,”

“General,” and “Cultivated” accents, which represent social class variation, has always existed in Australia and is still connected to certain levels of formality and the person’s education. Aboriginal English, the ethnic variant that has developed under the IDG strand settings, is also included in the list of social variations. In terms of vocabulary, extensive research was conducted by Bryant (1989, 1997), as well as Jauncey (2004), providing valuable data related to the regional lexical units of Australian English.

Diversification in Australian English has resulted in the emergence of regional and indigenous varieties, as well as new ethnic dialects associated with immigrant groups who retain features of their heritage languages when speaking English. The term *wog* was originally used disparagingly to refer to Australians of non-Anglo (mainly southern European) descent but has now been reclaimed by those people as an affectionate self-designation. Meanwhile, the term *wog speak* is used to describe the distinctive accent of these groups. These new dialects are becoming symbols of group membership and are positively evaluated. This has led to a fragmentation of Australian English along ethnic lines [55, p. 125-126].

According to Collins and Blair, the last phase of the evolution of the Australian English variety is characterized by a set of binary oppositions. On one hand, language serves a dual social function in Australia, acting as a badge of social identity. The various English varieties spoken in Australia serve as cultural and social markers of such factors as ethnicity, social class, gender, and age. On the other hand, however, the prestige dialect of AusE serves as an indicator of “Australian-ness” that is increasingly recognized by speakers of other English varieties globally [12, p. 11].

1.1.3. Contributing Varieties

The English language was brought to Australia at the same time that the first British penal colony was established in New South Wales in 1788. Additional colonies were later set up in Tasmania (1803) and Queensland (1824), with isolated settlements appearing in Victoria, South Australia, and Western Australia. Although the latter communities were initially founded as free colonies, a significant number of convicts were later transported to Western Australia between 1850 and 1868.

According to Robson, the Australian historian who published a pioneering study of the origin and character of the convicts transported to the Australian colonies in 1787–1852, the total number of convicts was approximately 163,000, with around 25,000 of them being women [53, p. 4]. These prisoners mostly came from the British Isles: about 67 percent of them were tried in England (29.5 percent in London and southeast, 13.6 percent in northern parts of England, 9.9 percent in the southwest and Cornwall, about 9 percent in Midlands, and 5 percent in Eastern England), 24.3 percent in Ireland, 5.2 percent in Scotland, 1.2 percent in Wales, 1.9 percent overseas, and 0.4 percent in places unknown [18, p. 20].

The English spoken by the convicts and settlers who arrived in Australia was heavily influenced by regional dialects from all over England, as well as by slang and colloquialisms, which resulted in a diverse range of accents and dialects among the early colonists [13, p. 118]. Furthermore, many convicts came from working-class backgrounds and may have had limited formal education, so their speech may have reflected this as well. These people often used prison slang and vulgar language, as they commonly used the former as their shared language and the latter as a result of their harsh living conditions and cruel punishments. They were particularly adept at adjusting to their new environment and creating terms to describe their living conditions and new phenomena. Their influence on the development of the Australian language was extensive, as their “proverbial cant” left a lasting impact.

Interestingly, visitors to Australia often notice that Australians seldom use the word *convict* to refer to a criminal or a prisoner, as the term has acquired a specific historical meaning. This avoidance of the word is not a recent phenomenon; early writers noted that Australians were sensitive about using the term even at the beginning of the 19th century. In 1826, Cunningham, for instance, talked about “the term convict being erased by a sort of general tacit compact from our Botany dictionary as a word too ticklish to be pronounced in these sensitive latitudes” [17]. As a result, a variety of synonyms for *convict* became common, including *canary*, *transport*, *old hand*, *crossbred*, and *legitimate* (someone with a legitimate reason for coming to Australia), *demon* (a Van Diemen’s Land convict), *cockatoo*, among others. These terms were later

replaced by euphemisms such as *exiles*, *absentees*, *empire builders*, *patriots*, and *pioneers*, reflecting the descendants' sensitivity towards their convict ancestry. The latter even perceived the phrase *First Families* as suggesting mocking [2, p. 39-42].

After transportation to New South Wales ceased in 1840, the number of free settlers surpassed that of convicts and emancipists. However, it wasn't until the mid-1800s that their numbers became significant. These settlers came mainly from Britain and Ireland through government-sponsored passage programs. The discovery of gold in Victoria and New South Wales resulted in a massive wave of immigration in the latter half of the century, which had a profound impact on Australia socially and economically. A significant number of immigrants from England, Ireland, Scotland, and North America came to Australia during this time, and Chinese miners introduced a significant Asian presence for the first time [7, p. 131].

As the population of Australia grew and became more diverse, the English spoken in Australia developed into a distinct dialect, influenced by various regional accents, indigenous languages, and other languages spoken by immigrants. Today, AusE is a unique dialect with its own vocabulary, grammar, and pronunciation.

1.1.3.1. Peculiarities of English Dialects in the 18th and 19th Centuries

As mentioned above, in the early decades of Australian history most of the convicts were brought from England, so the mixing of English dialects was of paramount importance. In terms of linguistics, the development of English in the 18th and 19th centuries took a distinct path compared to the previous centuries. The significant grammatical changes that occurred during the Middle and Early Modern English periods have been completed, as evidenced by the fact that the 18th century inherited a mostly organized grammar from Early Modern English. Denison describes this period as follows: “Since relatively few categorical losses or innovations have occurred [from the late 18th century onwards], syntactic change has more often been statistical in nature, with a given construction occurring throughout the period and either becoming more or less common generally or in particular registers. The overall, rather elusive effect can seem more a matter of stylistic than syntactic change” [18,

p. 93]. Consequently, attention in contemporary publications on the state of the English language has shifted to new areas, particularly standardization in the form of prescriptive codification. For the first time, pronunciation dictionaries and grammars were published for the average person [64, p. 916].

In previous centuries, it was believed that English grammar should strive to emulate Latin grammar. However, during the 18th and 19th centuries, a more practical approach emerged. According to Görlach, several language patterns emerged during that period that were not based on Latin grammar and had no parallel in it. These patterns included the development of the purely syntactic uses of *do*, the establishment of a fixed word order, and the consolidation of aspectual distinctions [24, p. 483]. Yet, at that time, discussions of regional accents and dialects were mostly prescriptive and focused on avoidance strategies [64, p. 917].

English dialects in the 18th century were characterized by a number of distinct features, which varied depending on the region and social class of the speaker. Ihalainen conducted an extensive study of the various dialects of the British Isles in the 18th and 19th centuries and provided a list of the most common phonological and morphosyntactic features of the various regional dialects at the time. In the Northern dialect, examples include the lack of rounding in words like *work*, *oo*-fronting in *moon* and *soon*, and the pronunciation of *name* as [nɪəm]. Other features include the monophthongization of /ai/ in words like *fine*, yod-formation in words like *one*, and *l*-vocalization/dropping where *old* is pronounced as “au’d.”

According to Ihalainen, the West Midland dialect exhibits *ngg* in words like *strong* (pronounced as [stɹɔŋg]), rounding of vowels before nasals, *ai*-rounding (which can be heard in the pronunciation of *right* as “roit”), and the use of *hoo* instead of *she*. Meanwhile, the Southwestern dialect features periphrastic *do*, universal *-th* in verbs (“He go’th” and “Folks go’th”), and pronoun exchange (“Her told I” instead of *She told me*). Also, the East Anglian dialect is characterized by the “Norwich *a*” sound (where *Norwich* is pronounced as “Narwich”), the use of *that* instead of *it*, and uninflected present-tense forms of verbs. At the same time, the Southeastern dialect includes the interchange of /v/ and /w/ sounds (as in the words “wery” for *very* and “vet” for *wet*),

and the diphthong shift, which can be heard in phrases like “ladies in the bowt” (meaning *ladies in the boat*). All these features highlight the phonological diversity and regional variations present in English dialects of that time [31, p. 213-215].

In addition to regional dialects, Ihalainen also mentions so-called “common vulgarisms” that were prevalent in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. One such characteristic is *r*-dropping, where words like *farm* are pronounced as “fahm.” Another peculiarity is hyper-rhoticity, where words like *fellow* are pronounced as “fellar” and *Belinda* as “Belindar.” Moreover, speakers tend to use the intrusive *r*, so words like *saw it* are pronounced as “saw-r-it,” as well as *y*-tensing (when *charity* is pronounced as “charitee”) [31, p. 215-217]. Besides that, other scholars distinguish such features of vulgar speech as *h*-dropping (saying “ammer” instead of *hammer*), and the merger of /ʌ/ and /w/ sounds, which was seen as a Cockney “vulgarism” [3, p. 100-104]. While some of these features were well-established dialect characteristics, others were unsettled, as their social status was not entirely clear. Overall, the phonological features of English dialects in the 18th and 19th centuries were diverse and varied and reflected the complex linguistic history of the English language.

As has already been mentioned, the initial influx of convicts to Australia from various regions of the British Isles introduced a diversity of dialects to the new colony. Numerous linguists have attempted to examine the origins of Australian English and determine the degree to which specific dialects and varieties influenced the development of this novel form of the language.

According to Mitchell [40] and Mitchell and Delbridge [41], Australian English developed primarily from a mixture of London English with Irish English. Meanwhile, Bernard suggests that the Australian variety of English resulted from a combination of different English dialects, with London English being the dominant influence, and developed independently in each major settlement around the continent [57, p. 318]. Moreover, Blair claims that the merging of British dialects as a basis for Australian pronunciation occurred in the colonies rather than in London, based on comments from early printed sources [5, p. 26].

Other scholars, on the other hand, assume that the mixing of dialects occurred at an earlier stage – in England. Thus, Collins claims that it happened in the Southeast Midlands [30], while Turner sees mainly London English as the foundation of Australian English [62, p. 35-36]. At the same time, Hammarström supposes that the Australian accent is primarily based on London English alone [26, p. 66-67]. Having reviewed all the evidence, Cochrane supports the latter group’s perspective, suggesting that the accent essentially derives from the London accent of the late 18th and early 19th centuries, with only minor influence from other British varieties or developments within Australia itself [11, p. 176-186].

At that time, London English was generally associated with a Cockney accent. The earliest examination of the features of Cockney can be traced back to the works of James Elphinston, who was primarily concerned with grammar and spelling reform and often focused on the various vulgarisms present in the London dialect of his time. More interesting to us, however, is John Walker’s *A Critical Pronouncing Dictionary of the English Language* (1791), in which four pronunciation faults characteristic of Cockney were identified: the interchange of /w/ and /v/ sounds (for instance, pronouncing *veal* as “weal” or *wine* as “vine”), the loss and addition of initial *h* (saying “art” for *heart* or “harm” for *arm*), the pronunciation of initial “wh” as /w/ (pronouncing *while* as “wile”), and the introduction of a vowel before the plural of words ending in *-st*, such as “postes,” “fistes,” etc. [63, p. 7-8]

1.1.3.2. Irish Features in 19th-Century Australia

During the early days of Australian history, convicts were sent from various parts of the British Isles, mostly from cities. However, birthplace records of 20,000 convicts sent to New South Wales from 1817 to 1840 indicate that most of them came from the heartland of England, as well as eastern Ireland. According to Fritz, since the 1820s about 1,000 new Irish convicts arrived in Australia each year, resulting in representatives of the Irish population comprising about a quarter of all prisoners transported to the new continent [22, p. 18]. The proportion of people of Irish origin declined rapidly in the second half of the 19th century, but there was still a significant Irish presence in the

early years of dialect formation. The speech of both convicts and free immigrants reflected the regional diversity of that time, creating a linguistic “melting pot,” with a mix of dialects mainly from southeastern England, Scotland, and Ireland, and features of London English being prominent [8, p. 25]. In Trudgill’s examination of dialect mixing in Australia, however, the influence from other varieties such as Scottish and Irish English is considered peripheral, not only in terms of accent but also with regard to the grammatical and lexical features [58, p. 129-130]. Nevertheless, Mitchell still believes that the influence of the Irish variety on Australian English should not be underestimated [42].

Linguists find certain commonalities between the Irish and Australian varieties, although one cannot always be sure that a particular feature of Australian English is derived from Irish and not from other English dialects. For example, Horvath mentions features such as the use of different singular and plural forms for the second person pronoun (*you* and *yous/youse*), the use of the final adverbial *but* with the meaning of *however, yet, or though* (as in *I didn’t do it, but*), and the epenthetic /ə/ sound in words like *film* [filəm] that could have originated from Irish English. Moreover, she suggests that the intonation patterns of Australian English (high-rising tone) may also be related to the Irish variety [29, p. 39]. Besides that, Taylor mentions a common in Australia phrase of praise or congratulation *Good on you*, which comes from the Irish Gaelic *maith ort* (*maith* “good,” *ort* > *or* “on” + *tu* “you”) [57, p. 321].

In addition to the features already mentioned, Burridge and Musgrave identify other grammatical peculiarities of Australian English that may have been inspired by Irish English. The *it*-clefting, for instance, is a common structure in different varieties of English, but Irish English uses it in a more unique way both in terms of structure and function. Thus, research conducted by Filppula suggests that Irish English uses *it*-clefting more frequently than other varieties of British English [20].

The so-called “hot news” or immediate perfective *be after [VERB]-ing* is another construction that may be found in Australian English and is usually identified as a direct borrowing from Irish. It refers to a past event that occurred very recently to the moment of speaking. Although in earlier Irish English this structure had a wider range of

meanings, it gradually narrowed to immediate past reference during the 19th century – right at the time when the Australian variety was forming. An example of the use of this construction from the Australian corpora may be the sentence “I am afther thinkin’ about yerself jist now” (meaning *I’ve just thought of you now*) [8, p. 29-30].

Hickey also mentions the use of epistemic negative *must* (meaning *it is concluded that...not*) to infer something founded upon the speaker’s assumptions (for instance, *He mustn’t be in the office today* meaning *He can’t be in the office today*). In standard English, however, such meaning is typically conveyed through the use of *can’t*. This grammatical feature is common in Australian English, and it is thought to represent Irish influence [28, p. 109-110].

Nevertheless, it should also be noted that Burrige and Musgrave come to the conclusion that it is reasonable to assume that these provide illustrations of the speech of the Irish settlers in the form of artistic stylization or so-called linguistic stereotyping, rather than actually represent what Australian English sounded like at the time. This can be explained by the fact that very few examples of spontaneous writing from the first generations of settlers in Australia are available, while most of the texts found in the corpora comprising samples from the early 18th and 19th centuries are examples of Australian literature. In spite of this, scholars note that since the early 20th century some of the features mentioned above have increasingly been used as markers of Australian identity, thus indicating the integration of these structures into the new developing variety of English [8, p. 38-41].

While trying to explain the relatively low influence of Irish English on the Australian English variety, Hickey mentions the low status of the Irish community in early Australian society as one of the main reasons for this. As the language of rural Irish immigrants was easily identifiable as a distinct variety of Irish English, its features were likely avoided by other English-speaking Australians. This view is supported by the fact that the characteristics of Australian English that are likely of Irish origins, such as the negative epistemic *must* and the plural form *youse*, are found in non-standard, informal usage [28, p. 109-110].

Similarly, Kiesling suggests that there has been a subtle introduction of Irish features from informal registers into Australian English. The Australian self-image has been closely associated with the vernacular, and the Irish have contributed to this image to a certain extent. However, the few similarities between Australian and Irish Englishes are not unique to the Irish, but rather characteristic of the broader vernacular varieties. Additionally, while spoken Australian English is said to use clefting more frequently than other varieties, there is no clear evidence that Irish *it*-clefting has a higher overall frequency, so the influence of Irish on this feature is uncertain [32, p. 426-428].

As for borrowings from the Irish vocabulary, Moor notes that there are only a few lexical items in Australian English that can be definitively traced back to Irish English [44, p. 90-91]. Again, confirming the view that Irish features can be found in colloquial speech, Ramson lists some Australian slang words that may have originated from Irish English and were used by the settlers: *to bone* (“to steal”), *caulker* (“a drink”), *to cook* (“to kill”), *corker* (“dust-up”), *to hum* (“to deceive”), *to mag* (“to talk”), *to nick* and *to nobble* (both meaning “to steal”), *to peg out* (“to die”), *purler* (“a fall”), *scran* (“food”), *to take a rise out of someone*, and *tootsy* (“foot”) [51, p. 51-52].

In addition, Manns and Burridge also mention that the initial Irish immigrants, who were mainly speakers of Irish, were met with suspicion and ridicule, as can be seen in the early Australian English terms used to describe them. The term *Patland* (a combination of *Paddy* and *land*) was used to describe Ireland; the Irish were thought to be guided by the *paddy's lantern* (the moon), their homes were decorated with *Irish curtains* (cobwebs), and their hotheadedness resulted in them *having a paddy* or *paddying out*. Additionally, the name *Sheila* was commonly used as the female counterpart to *Paddy*, a general term for Irish men. Another example of an Australian slang word that is believed to have originated from Northern Irish English is *to barrack* (“to brag or boast about one’s fighting abilities”). The word has evolved to have opposite meanings in different English-speaking countries: in Australia, *barrackers* loudly support someone, while in Britain, *barrackers* criticize or protest [37].

1.1.3.3. Early interaction of Australian English with American English

Although the major influence on the development of Australian English, especially in the early stages, was the British variety, its vocabulary was also influenced to some extent by American English. Early contacts between these two varieties date back to the 1800s when American ships started landing at Port Jackson; those were mostly sealers and whalers, traders, speculators in the rum traffic, or merchants bound for China. However, such interactions did not provide conducive conditions for active linguistic borrowing. In the mid-1800s, many Australians traveled to America after the discovery of gold in California in 1849. When the gold rush began in Australia in the 1850s, most of them returned along with a large number of American miners (around 16,000), who came to try their luck in Australia, which, in turn, contributed to a more active process of linguistic exchange between representatives of different varieties of English [57, p. 322].

In his extensive historical study on the development of the vocabulary of Australian English, Ramson divides the interactions with American English into two periods: contacts before 1850, which brought few words of American origin to the Australian vocabulary, and interactions after 1850, which are characterized by a larger number of loan words, primarily associated with the discovery and mining of gold.

Before 1850, only several words were recorded as borrowings from American English. The first four of them, *block*, *location*, *section*, and *township*, were used in the surveying of land for settlement, while the other words, such as *bush*, *bushranger*, *landshark*, and *squatter*, were also used in a similar context. It is improbable, however, that these words were borrowed from American traders or whalers in Sydney because they had already been used before both in formal and informal contexts. The fact that these words appeared early in letters from London indicates that they were borrowed through Whitehall. This means that British colonial administrators, who were already familiar with American practices, used these words in their planning of settlement expansion in New South Wales.

Probably the most interesting example from the first group of four words is *township*, the term that had a specific meaning in the United States since the late 18th century and referred to an area of land measuring six miles square divided into thirty-six square miles called sections. This concept became a basic unit in the American land system. In Australia, however, the word was used in two meanings: in the specific American sense and in the more traditional and common English sense of a “town” or “village.” This caused some confusion over the word’s meaning in the first fifty years [51, p. 133-138]. The Oxford English Dictionary even includes a definition of *township* specific to Australia that reflects this confusion: “In Australia. A site laid out prospectively for a town, meanwhile often consisting of a few ‘shanties’ grouped around a railway station, store, hotel, post office, or the like; a village or hamlet” [76].

The other words from this group (*section*, a portion of land one-mile square, forming 1/36 of a township, as well as *block* and *location*, both used to describe tracts of land of no fixed size) were assimilated in their original meaning as used in the United States, so there were no such misunderstandings associated with them. Nevertheless, the original specific meanings became weaker over time as they were more commonly used in Australian English. For example, the American meaning of *township* conflicted with the already established British usage of the word, resulting in confusion in the colony. The other four words (*bush*, “uncultivated area; woodland or forest” [76]; *bushranger*, “a woodsman”; *landshark*, “a person who makes inordinate profits by buying and selling land” [72]; and *squatter*, “a person who inhabits unoccupied premises without permission” [76]) were borrowed in a similar way but quickly became more widely used in Australian English [51, p. 138-140].

The second set of borrowings from American English consists of words related to the American gold mining vocabulary, which came into use in the 1850s. The first instances of the use of such words are found in accounts of the Californian goldfields published in Australia. As time went on, many other American terms used in the Australian goldfields became fully incorporated into Australian English.

It is interesting to note, however, that some of the words borrowed from California were not newly created words in American English, but had already existed

in British English and gained renewed popularity on the American goldfields. For example, the word *cradle* was recorded in the Northumbrian dialect of English but was likely borrowed into Australian English from American English. Similarly, *digger* was a word that had been used in English since the 16th century but gained popularity in America in the early 19th century as a term for *prospectors*, and was later brought to Australia where it was initially used to refer to all gold-seekers before being restricted to those searching for gold in shallow alluviums. Other words, such as *prospect* and *dirt*, also underwent changes in meaning, with *prospect* coming to mean a place where gold is likely to be found and *dirt* transitioning from its original meaning of excrement to a reference to earth, mud, or soil, and eventually gaining a mining-related meaning, as it was in American English.

The miners used words such as *digger* and *dirt* in their everyday language. Additionally, various compound words such as *golddigger*, *gold-diggings*, *gold district*, *gold washer*, *gold fever* (also *yellow fever*), and *gold seeker* came into use during the goldrush period, but these words are now only found in historical contexts. A rather interesting and likely outdated phrase is *to salt a claim*, which means to sprinkle salt over the dirt to create the impression of gold dust and make it seem like the miner found a place rich in gold.

Moreover, some words gained new and metaphorical meanings and some of them even remain part of the everyday vocabulary today. For example, *find* referred to a good prospect, *pile* was the miner's dream of striking it rich, and *rush* referred to the gold rush. In addition to the colloquial terms, technical terms, such as the names of equipment and techniques used in mining (*dipper*, *pan*, *bowie knife*, *corduroy road*, *johnnycake*, and *split-rail fence*) were adopted [51, p. 145-151].

1.2. Establishment of Australian English

1.2.1. Phonetic Features of Australian English

Like any variety of English, Australian English has a number of unique features that distinguish it from other variants. This concerns both grammatical and lexical peculiarities, but primarily – the phonetic ones since it is the pronunciation that

immediately helps the listeners understand that the speaker comes from Australia. Such features include the pronunciation of vowel and consonant sounds, their combination into syllables, words, and sentences, voice quality, pitch variation, and articulatory timing. All of these factors affect a person's accent and help identify someone as having an Australian accent.

As Cox points out, the accent is an integral part of the national identity of Australians and is used by most residents who were born and/or raised in Australia. Similarly to other types of Englishes, the Australian accent is a broader concept that comprises several dialects and variations. Thus, three main accent groups are often identified: Mainstream Australian English used by the majority of the country's population, the various Australian Indigenous Englishes, and a range of ethnocultural varieties. In this paper, however, we focus on mainstream Australian [16, p. 15].

1.2.1.1. Broadness Continuum

The end of the 19th century was marked by the active development of Received Pronunciation among the educated classes, which was considered the "correct" form of language and symbolized the high status of the speaker. In Australia, where more and more new immigrants were arriving, RP was accepted by some residents but rejected by others, which led to a gradual division in the local accent. According to the Broadness continuum principle, it is considered that the Australian accent should be into three types: Broad (spoken by about 30% of the population), General (spoken by the majority of the population), and Cultivated (spoken by about 10% of locals) [68, p. 33].

Mitchell and Delbridge conducted an extensive study that was published in 1965 and described the features of the Australian accent as a socio-stylistic continuum, which ranges between the three types already mentioned above: Cultivated, which is most similar to Standard Southern British English and considered the most prestigious, General, and Broad, the most pronounced Australian dialect also known as "Strine." The three accents are mainly differentiated based on the variation in the vowel realization in words like *fleece*, *goose*, *face*, *goat*, *price*, and *mouth*, which are deemed

the indicators of broadness. The selection of a particular accent depends on factors like education, gender, and location. Although some Australian vowels share similarities with British English, some vowels (such as those in *boot*, *cup*, and *hard*) differ significantly [7, p. 136].

Since more than 50 years have passed since Mitchell and Delbridge's study, Cox emphasizes that the accent has changed markedly since that time. The linguist names the rise of republicanism, increased immigration from non-English-speaking countries, and multiculturalism as major factors that have affected Australian society. This has led to a shift away from the "extreme points" on the broadness continuum: more and more people now prefer General Australian English to Cultivated or Broad. But the most important and interesting tendency in this respect is the formation of a new variation that cannot be placed within the already accepted framework of the three types of accents [16, p. 16-18].

1.2.1.2. Vowels

The differences between Australian English and Standard Southern British English are mainly related to the phonetic features, particularly the vowels. While some aspects of Australian English resemble the pronunciation of the London area of England, there are many differences, as well:

- Similarly to south-of-England non-RP accents, words like *very* and *many* are pronounced with the /i:/ sound rather than /ɪ/ in Australia. Therefore, both syllables of *seedy* have the same vowel sound, while the vowels in *city* are pronounced in different ways.
- Another feature of Australian English similar to south-of-England non-RP accents is the use of /ə/ instead of /ɪ/ in unstressed syllables (as in /vɪlədʒ/, /bægɪn/), which is also known as Weak Vowel Merger.
- Australians tend to pronounce words like *laugh*, *path*, and *grass* with the same long /ɑ:/ vowel sound as in RP, but for words like *dance*, *sample*, *plant*, and *branch*, it is more common to use the /æ/ sound, just like the speakers of north-

of-England non-RP accents do. However, there is some variation in pronunciation based on regional differences.

- RP smoothing of /auə/ > /ɑ:/, etc., does not occur [59, p. 24].
- In words like *bird*, the rounding of /ɜ/ is present.
- One of the distinct attributes of Australian centering diphthongs is the usage of a monophthong /ɔ:/ in words like *poor*, *moor*, and *tour*. The /ʊə/ glide typically occurs after /j/, as in *cure*. Moreover, speakers of the Broad accent may use monophthongal variants like /ɪ:/ and /ɛ:/ in words like *near* and *square* [7, p. 136-137].

Furthermore, Australian English front vowels are often pronounced with the tongue closer to the palate than in RP. This can make words like *bid* sound more like [bid]. It should also be mentioned that some diphthongs are wider than in RP, and the first element of diphthongs is often longer. Moreover, the /ɑ:/ vowel is pronounced as a very front /a:/, which is different from most other varieties of English, while the /ʊ/ sound is usually more rounded than in British English [59, p. 25].

1.2.1.3. Consonants

As for the consonants, the Australian accent has its peculiarities in this respect as well:

- Australian English is non-rhotic and features the use of linking and intrusive /r/.
- The intervocalic /t/ in words such as *city* and *better* may sometimes be pronounced as the voiced flap /ɾ/, as is common in North American English. However, this is not as consistent as in the American variety, and the /t/ sound is also frequently used in this context. The /t/ sound may also be glottalized, especially in the pre-consonantal position (*not now*) [59, p. 25-26].
- The /l/ sound is often pronounced darker than in RP, sometimes it's vocalized into something similar to /u/ (*milk* [mɪuk]), which is common in all accent varieties.

- Yods (/j/) are often dropped after alveolars before /u/ ([njud~nud]); a competing change is a coalescence (*assume* [əsjum~əʃum]).
- *H*-deletion is common in unstressed function words like *him*, but not in content words like *helmet*.
- *TH*-fronting ([fiŋk] for *think*; [mʌvə] for *mother*) is more widespread than is usually recognized [7, p. 136-137].

1.2.2. Grammatical Features of Australian English

This section discusses certain grammatical features of Australian English that are unique to this variety or are more common or less common compared to other varieties of English. Especially interesting and noteworthy in this respect are the features of non-standard vernacular since it is this particular variant that is characterized by more frequent use of a range of phonological and grammatical structures that are rare or absent in more standard varieties [49, p. 611]. It is quite obvious that such speech is more characteristic of rural areas, although social factors should be taken into account as well for a better understanding of regional variation. Generally speaking, representatives of higher classes of society tend to use more standard language, while non-standard features are typical of lower socioeconomic classes.

1.2.2.1. Pronouns, Nouns, and Noun Phrases

One of the most notable features of colloquial Australian speech is the use of plural second-person pronouns such as *yous/youse* or *you guys*, which is often regarded as an Irish influence. Interestingly, the word *youse* can also refer to singular addressees, and when it is necessary to emphasize plurality, additional marking is often used, such as *all youse*, *youse all*, *youse guys*, *youse lot*, and *youses* [7, p. 138].

Another prominent feature is the gender marking of both animate and inanimate nouns, also known as “animation.” According to Pawley, for example, names of plants and animals of unknown sex tend to be masculine (*I had a **Golden Snail** and **he** climbed all over the place*), while the names of inanimate elements of the natural

physical world, situations, vehicles, or buildings are usually feminine (...*that river, she is dangerous with all them crocodiles*) [49, p. 616-622].

Similarly to other varieties, the more formal word *whom* is becoming less common than *who*, which is getting more preferable in all Englishes. In addition, there is a strong tendency to use oblique personal pronouns rather than nominative pronouns after *than* (*He's bigger than me*), and accusative pronouns before gerund participles (*He was angry at me winning*), which is common even among the speakers of standard Australian English.

Moreover, some Australians use non-standard pronoun forms, such as *them* instead of *those* (as in *one of them things*), *me* instead of *my* (*He's me youngest*), and object forms in reflexive pronouns (*meself*). Coordinated pronouns may also use object forms (*Me and Fred are coming too*) and *us* may be used instead of *me*, particularly after verbs of giving and receiving (*Give us a light for me pipe*).

As for the nouns and noun phrases, Australian vernacular speakers tend to use the adjective *old* or *ol'* before definite common nouns and personal names to describe the characters that are important in a story or narrative. Additionally, the vernacular is often characterized by the use of doubly marked comparatives and superlatives, such as *most rottenest* [7, p. 139].

1.2.2.2. Verbs and Verb Phrases

The majority of distinctive grammatical features of everyday Australian English concern verbs and verb phrases. Thus, for example, there is a trend of using progressive verb forms with stative verbs like *hear* and *think*, as well as the preference for the present perfect in situations where other varieties would use the simple past. A study conducted by Engel and Ritz suggests that there are three contexts in which the use of present perfect is common: “(1) in combination with past temporal adverbials; (2) in sequences indicating narrative progression; (3) in alternation with the simple past and the present tense to express stylistic contrast.” The researchers found that this form was frequently used in Australian radio chat shows, where it was used interchangeably with the simple past tense and the “historic present” tense [19, p. 119].

The list of other salient features of Australian vernacular includes the omission of the auxiliary verb *have* (*I only been there a couple of times*), the use of the “mandative subjunctive” (*I recommend that he talk to a specialist*), as well as increasing use of *of* instead of *have* after modal verbs like *could*, *should* and *would* (*I would of waited*) [7, p. 139]. Peters and Collins also suggest that, like speakers of other Englishes, Australians use the word *shall* much rarer, but it is in Australia that this trend is most pronounced. Besides, linguists note an increasing popularity of the *get*-passive in both spoken and written communication, which is still considered a more informal variant, however. In addition, *may* and *might* are no longer marked for tense in Australian English and are used to express both past and hypothetical possibilities [14, p. 598-601].

Another interesting characteristic of Australian speech, which is believed to have originated from Irish, is the use of epistemic *mustn't* in contexts where *can't* is normally used in other varieties (*He mustn't have arrived yet* instead of *He can't have arrived yet*). Australian English also shares trends with American English in the preference for using *do* to support marginal modals such as *have to*, *need to*, and *dare to* (*He doesn't need to leave* instead of *He needn't leave*). Moreover, in vernacular Australian English, the omission of the auxiliary verb *have* has led to *better* and *gotta* being used as modals (*we better go*).

It is also noteworthy that the discussed variety displays the ongoing process of regularizing strong verbs that has been occurring since Old English times. This can be seen in the shift of strong verbs to weak and the loss of preterite and past participle forms. For instance, *came*, *did*, and *saw* are being replaced by the participle forms *come*, *done*, and *seen*. Furthermore, Australians tend to use the form *was* for both singular and plural subjects (*You was late*). Singular marking in existentials with plural subjects is also common, especially in the contracted form (*There's many reasons*) [7, p. 139-140].

1.2.2.3. Negation, Interrogatives, and Composite Sentences

Speaking of forms of negation in colloquial Australian, first of all, we should note the use of *don't* even in the singular, where grammatical rules require the use of *doesn't* (*'E don't run away with it, y'see*), as well as the use of *ain't* as a negative auxiliary for *be* and *have*. As with other varieties, double negation is common in vernacular speech, particularly involving indeterminates (*I never said nothing*). Additionally, Burke mentions various examples of taboo negation, which include expressions like *I (don't) know bugger all/fuck all/shit, I don't give a rat's arse/a toss, etc.* [6, p. 52-24].

When it comes to interrogatives, Australians, similarly to speakers of other varieties, may form *yes-no* questions with the help of rising intonation (*So, you want to become a benthic geologist?*). Moreover, the use of the invariant negative tag *isn't it* is becoming more common, even among standard speakers (*You're going home soon, isn't it?*).

Finally, the vernacular form of language is typically characterized by the omission of subject marking in relative clauses (*I knew a girl \emptyset worked down the street*), as well as the use of relative *which* to provide additional discourse functions, elaborating on a previous stretch of information and reiterating earlier information (*... unless you get 88 which some universities are not going to give those marks*) [7, p. 140].

1.2.3. Lexical Features of Australian English

Apart from pronunciation, vocabulary is one of the most distinguishing characteristics of English varieties around the world. When the English language is brought to new territories, its speakers require new words to refer to the flora and fauna they encounter, as well as for the new products, activities, national attitudes, and experiences. In what is now called the first “scholarly dictionary” of Australian English, E.E. Morris acknowledged this need for a specialized vocabulary: “There never was an instance in history when so many new names were needed, and that there never will be such an occasion again, for never did settlers come, nor can they ever

again come, upon Flora and Fauna so completely different from anything seen by them before” [75, p. xii].

As settlers arrived in Australia, they needed to form a new set of vocabulary, borrowing words from Indigenous Australian languages, giving new meanings to existing words, and creating new words to describe their new environment and experiences. Later generations of Australians continued this process as new migrants arrived and new experiences occurred, thereby shaping the overall cultural identity of Australians.

The development of the economic, social, and political life, the emergence of Australian national literature, and the compilation of dictionaries devoted to the peculiarities of the English language in Australia are the events that accompanied the process of formation of the Australian nation and the establishment of the status of the Australian variant of English as the national language. The formation and development of the Australian variety continue to this day, which can be explained by the relatively short history of its existence and, as a result, the instability of the language norm [70, p. 164].

In general, the vocabulary used in Australia is more similar to British English than American English. However, there are also many unique features of the Australian lexicon that have attracted the interest of both Australians and people from other countries. An examination of Australian vocabulary exposes both the positive and negative aspects of Australian history and culture. Some words such as *mateship*, *battler*, and *a fair go* embody positive ideals like equality and diligence. Conversely, words such as *pom* (“person of British descent”), *wog* (“person of Mediterranean descent”), *chink* (“person of Asian descent”), and *seppo* (“person of US descent”) may represent periods in Australian history when the country has not been accepting of new arrivals [38, p. 84-58].

When analyzing the theoretical materials on the lexical features of Australian English, the most interesting groups of its lexicon are words that exist only in the Australian variant (so-called “Australianisms”) and words that exist both in Australian

and British/American varieties but have a different meaning or vary in frequency of use.

1.2.3.1. Australianisms

People from other countries are often introduced to the Australian lexicon through media, books, and films, which often rely on stereotypes. This is how people may become familiar with some typical Australian words such as *cobber* (“mate” or “friend”), or *bonzer* (used as a positive exclamation). Additionally, such sources may also depict Australian language processes like rhyming slang (*Captain Cook* meaning “to have a look”) and idioms like *dry as a nun’s nasty* (“thirsty”). However, it should be noted that some of these “Australianisms” actually have their origins in British English [67, p. 7].

Overall, “Australianisms” can be divided into several categories depending on their origin and structure:

- vocabulary borrowings from the indigenous languages, such as *boomerang*, *jackaroo* (“a man who is learning to work on a sheep or cattle farm” [71]), *kangaroo*, *kookaburra* (bird species);
- new combinations, such as *bushman* (“a person who knows their way around the bush”), *bushranger* (“an armed bandit”), *convict overseer* (“a convict assigned to supervise other convicts”), *station black* (“a worker on a ranch hired among the indigenous people”);
- new fixed expressions, such as *black bream*, *black swan*; *colonial ale*, *colonial tobacco*; *native plum*, *native potato*; *red ash*, *red cedar*; *white box*, *white cockatoo*; *wild banana*, *wild spinach*;
- new expressions, such as *emancipist* (“a released convict”), *go-slow* (“a form of protest when workers work slower and with less effort than usual to try to convince their employer to agree to higher wages or better working conditions”), *woop-woops* (“a place that is a far distance from anything”) [68, p. 31].

While Indigenous borrowings are widely recognized and best known among Australian words, Australian English has borrowed relatively few words from the

Indigenous languages, with only around 500 words, which is fewer compared to borrowings in American and New Zealand English [38, p. 85-86]. The list of borrowings from Aboriginal languages is mostly limited to species of local flora and fauna. For example, the names of plants (*bindieye*, *calombo*), trees (*boree*, *banksia*, *quandong*, *mallee*), birds (*budgerigar*, *currawong*, *galah*, *kookaburra*), animals (*wallaby*, *wombat*), and fish (*barramindi*). The influence of the indigenous languages is much more noticeable when it comes to place names since about a third of them originate from the languages of local communities (*Amaroo*, *Dongara*, *Moama*, *Tumut*) [68, p. 30].

The words *boomerang*, *dingo*, *kangaroo*, *koala*, and *wombat* are probably the most well-known Indigenous borrowings that can be found in dictionaries of English and other languages and have taken on idiomatic and phrasal meanings in Australian English and beyond. Indigenous terms not only include words related to flora and fauna but also words such as *cooe* (“a call”), and *corroboree* (“an Aboriginal dance ceremony”), borrowed from the Dharuk language, as well as the word *yakka* (“work”), borrowed from the Yagara language. In addition, Australian English makes use of calques, such as the word *dreamtime*, which comes from the Arrernte word *altyerre*, as well as Aboriginal English words like *walkabout*, which means “to travel around one’s country, especially without restrictions.” Some other examples of typical “Australianisms” include such words and phrases as *outback* (“the areas of Australia that are far away from towns and cities” [71]), *fair dinkum* (“honestly or really”), *G’day!* (used when meeting or greeting someone).

Moreover, Australian English is known for its clipped words, such as *bickie* for *biscuit*, *cardie* for *cardigan*, or *arvo* for *afternoon*. These abbreviated forms, often ending in *-ie* or *-o*, are commonly referred to as “hypocoristics” (Kidd et al., 2016; Simpson, 2008) and are widely used in Australian English. Interestingly though, they have also been called “depreciatives,” “diminutives,” or even “the incredible shrinking words,” although the term “hypocoristics” is still the most widely accepted one [38, p. 86-87].

Research into Australian hypocoristics has identified several variations based on their meanings, geographic regions, and social contexts. Some studies suggest that the *-o* form is typically used to refer to a person (*sicko*, “someone mentally unwell” as opposed to *sickie*, “sick day”) and that the *-ie* form is a more sympathetic one (*kiddie* and *kiddo*). However, these observations have been questioned due to the existence of co-occurring pairs such as *weirdy* and *weirdo* for “a weird person” [56, p. 653-654]. Interestingly, studies also suggest that young people are inclined to use the *-o* ending less frequently than the previous generation, indicating that it may be losing popularity [38, p. 87].

1.2.3.2. Words That Are Common in Different Varieties of English

It is obvious that the Australian lexicon is distinguished not only by unique local expressions but also by the use of words typical of other varieties, which in Australia occupy a special place and perhaps have a different meaning. Thus, for example, certain words are considered important for understanding Australian culture and history. According to Wierzbicka, studying these words can reveal the underlying cultural values and worldview of their speakers [65, p. 1168]. While some scholars oppose Wierzbicka’s approach, certain words are still highly regarded by linguists and the public as being distinctly Australian. One such word is *mate*, which, despite being generally used in all other varieties as well, reflects Australian ideals of companionship and equality. It is commonly used in conversation to greet others, express disagreement, tease playfully, and draw attention to a topic.

Another notable feature of Australian English is its tendency towards swearing. A group of “b-words” like *bastard*, *bloody*, *bugger*, and *bullshit* is frequently used and considered central to the Australian vernacular. Interestingly, while *bastard* can be used with a negative connotation, it can also be used affectionately, much like the word *mate*. *Bloody* is often viewed as a quintessential Australian adjective, used to express defiance in the face of perceived injustices, assert belonging to everyday people, and promote an active stance against negativity and injustice.

One more noteworthy word in the Austrian lexicon is *bush* which has a special meaning that refers not only to a geographical landscape but also to cultural and human geography. The term has many derivative words, with the Macquarie dictionary listing 97 entries under *bush*. These derivatives reflect various aspects of Australian history, culture, and geography, such as *bushranger* (“a person who roams the bush and robs people”), *bush tale* (“a folk tale of the bush”), and *bush lawyer* (“a person who claims legal knowledge without the relevant qualifications”). Additionally, the terms *bush*, *wild*, and *native* are used together to label the flora and fauna in Australia [38, p. 87-88].

Among other things, the Austrian lexicon also includes a number of words that originate from various British dialects or Irish English, such as *dunny* (“a toilet”), *larrikin* (“a hooligan”), *wowser* (an exclamation used to express surprise), *barrack* (“to cheer for”).

Chapter Conclusions

This chapter focuses on the emergence and formation of Australian English, its linguistic history, and the contributions of other varieties to the formation of the new variant, as well as the main phonetic, grammatical, and lexical features of the already established Australian variety in modern times. The linguistic history of English in Australia is relatively short, as the continent was not colonized by Europeans until the late 18th century. Needing more land after the American Revolutionary War, the British Empire decided to establish penal colonies on the eastern coast of Australia, resulting in over 160,000 convicts being transported to Australia within several decades. The new settlers came from different regions of the British Isles and accordingly spoke their own dialects, which mixed to form the Australian variety as we know it today.

We have examined the evolution of Australian English within the framework of Edgar Schneider’s Dynamic Model, which suggests that all postcolonial Englishes go through similar stages of development, each characterized by specific processes and phenomena.

The first phase, foundation, began in 1788, when the First Fleet arrived in Botany Bay, and lasted until the 1830s. This period was characterized by the contact of the dialects of those who came from various parts of England, Ireland, Scotland, and even Wales, as well as by the processes of koinéization and borrowing from indigenous vocabularies to incorporate words denoting geographical locations. Since the British and Australian variants are largely similar to each other in terms of pronunciation, linguists also note the so-called “founder effect,” suggesting that the dialect of the earliest settlers influenced significantly the formation of the new variety.

The second phase, exonormative stabilization, lasted from the 1830s to 1901. Although the settlers still perceived themselves as British, the gradual formation of a new identity began during this period. Due to the gold rush in the middle of the century, many people from different countries came to the country, which also influenced the creation of a new variety. In addition, indigenous languages served as a source for new words, mostly denoting flora and fauna as well as elements of aboriginal life. This was followed by a third phase, nativization, which lasted from 1901 to 1942. Australians increasingly identified with their new place of residence, and local forms and patterns began to emerge at this time, e.g., the preference for *different to*, the use of *less* instead of *fewer* with plural countable nouns, and a growing reluctance to use *shall*.

The fourth phase of endonormative stabilization lasted from 1942 to the 1980s and was characterized by the final formation of the Australian national identity. In terms of linguistic features, this period was marked by a process of codification and noticeable uniformity of language across the continent. The last phase, differentiation, began in the 1980s and continues today. Notable for this period is the beginning of regional differentiation, the emergence of regional and indigenous varieties, as well as new ethnic dialects associated with immigrant groups.

Furthermore, there are two main theories concerning the varieties of English that contributed to the development of the Australian variant: on one hand, Australian English is seen as the “melting pot” of all the dialects that were brought to the continent; on the other hand, London Cockney accent is often considered the main source of influence on the new variety. Of all the convicts brought in, most came from

England (67%), about 25% were from Ireland, around 5% from Scotland, only 1% from Wales, while the rest were brought from other countries.

As stated above, Cockney has significantly influenced the formation of Australian English, the main features of this accent at the time being the interchange of /w/ and /v/ sounds, the loss and addition of the initial *h* (“art” for *heart*, “harm” for *arm*), the pronunciation of initial “wh” as /w/, and the introduction of a vowel before the plural of words ending in *-st* (*postes*, *fistes*).

In addition, the influence of Irish English is also noticeable, for about a quarter of the transported convicts were speakers of this variety. However, many linguists consider the Irish impact to be only peripheral. Some of the most notable Irish features in Australian speech are the use of separate second-person pronouns for singular and plural (*you* and *yous/youse*), the final adverbial *but*, the more frequent use of *it*-clefting, constructions like *be after [VERB]-ing*, the epistemic negative *must*, and a number vocabulary borrowings (*caulker*, *to nobble*, *scrans*, *Paddy*, *Sheila*, *to barrack*).

Moreover, the influence of American English may be seen when considering the Australian lexicon: this was especially noticeable during the gold rush period when many foreigners came to Australia. The borrowings from American English include such words as *township*, *bush*, *bushranger*, *landshark*, *squatter*, as well as a number of terms related to gold mining: *digger*, *prospector*, *gold washer*, *pile*, *bowie knife*, etc.

All in all, over more than 200 years, the version of the language we know today has formed. Modern Australian English is first of all distinguished by its pronunciation: linguists differentiate three types of accent, namely Cultivated, General, and Broad. Some major phonetic features of Australian speech include the use of /ə/ instead of /ɪ/ in unstressed syllables; pronouncing words like *laugh*, *path*, and *grass* with the long /ɑ:/ sound, and words like *dance*, *sample*, *plant*, and *branch* with the /æ/ sound; pronouncing the /ai/ diphthong as /oi/ in certain words, such as *mate* or *bike*; non-rhoticity; pronouncing the intervocalic /t/ as a voiced flap /ɾ/; yod-dropping after alveolars before /u/; *h*-deletion in unstressed function words.

As for grammar, the distinctive features of Australian English primarily concern vernacular speech. Thus, representative are the following peculiarities: the use of plural

second-person pronouns *yous/youse*; the gender marking of both animate and inanimate nouns; the use of oblique personal pronouns instead of nominative pronouns after *than*; saying *them* instead of *those*, *me* instead of *my*, *us* instead of *me*; the use of object forms in reflexive pronouns (*meself*). Concerning the verbs and verb phrases, one may note the tendency to use present perfect in situations where other varieties would use the simple past, the omission of the auxiliary verb *have*, as well as increased use of *of* instead of *have* after modal verbs like *could*, *should* and *would*.

As for the lexicon of Australian English, first of all, we should note a considerable number of “Australianisms”, many of which have been borrowed from indigenous languages (*boomerang*, *kangaroo*, *jackaroo*, *wallaby*, *wombat*), new expressions (*emancipist*, *go-slow*, *woop-woops*) and combinations (*convict overseer*, *station black*). Some other examples of typical “Australianisms” include such words and phrases as *outback*, *fair dinkum*, *walkabout*, *g’day*. In addition, some words common in all varieties of English have a special meaning in Australia, and some are even key to understanding the national identity (for instance, *mate*). Also noteworthy is the use of the word *bush*, which has acquired a special meaning in Australia and has many derivative terms. Speaking of the lexicon in Australia, it is also crucial to mention “hypocoristics,” or clipped words, which are very common in everyday speech (*bickie*, *arvo*, *uni*, *sicko*).

CHAPTER II. DIACHRONIC ANALYSIS OF CORPORA MATERIALS

2.1. Diachronic Approach

Australian English is a rather “young” variety, but the stages of its linguistic history are no less interesting. This study focuses on the language in the 20th century, for it was during this period that a transition from a British orientation to a new national identity occurred. While at the beginning of the century, the local variety was not revered a lot among the country’s population and was considered rather inferior compared to British English (hence the “Cultivated” Australian accent resembling the Received Pronunciation was much preferable), in the 1960s the state of affairs changed. During what Schneider calls the Endonormative Stabilization phase, Britishness in Australia began to decline. As Moore points out, “[t]he final stage in the development of the Australian language was the discarding of the external English standard of language, as exemplified by Received Pronunciation and the class-based judgment of vocabulary, and the embracing of the Australian accent and vocabulary as standards in their own right [...] the crucial period in this shift was 1966 to 1988” [44, p. xii].

We, therefore, take a diachronic approach to trace changes in the grammatical and lexical aspects of Australian English throughout the 20th century. The diachronic approach is concerned with the study of language throughout history. This term is frequently used in connection to a synchronic approach, which entails learning a language at a particular point in time without regard for its historical development. These two concepts were advanced in the early 20th century by the eminent Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure, who is widely regarded as a founder of modern linguistics [47].

F. de Saussure was the first to point out the synchronic and diachronic aspects of language. He considered the synchronic aspect to be more important in practical terms than the diachronic one because for the speaking masses, it is the only true reality. Based on the contrast between the so-called static and evolutionary approaches to linguistics research, the scholar distinguished synchronic linguistics and diachronic linguistics. He considered everything related to the static aspect of linguistics to be

synchronous, while everything interrelated with evolution was believed to be diachronic.

As stated by F. de Saussure, the subject of synchronic linguistics is the logical and psychological relations that connect coexisting elements and form a system, as well as the way they are perceived by the same collective consciousness. Meanwhile, the subject of diachronic linguistics is the relations that connect elements in the order of historical sequence, which is not perceived by the same collective consciousness; such elements replace each other but do not form a system. Synchronicity presupposes only one perspective – the perspective of the speakers – and its entire methodology is reduced to collecting linguistic facts and materials from the speakers. Diachronic linguistics, on the other hand, must take into consideration two perspectives: the prospective one that follows the flow of time and the retrospective one that looks back in time [69, p. 59].

According to Randy Allen Harris, the term “diachronic literally means across-time, and it describes any work which maps the shifts and fractures and mutations of languages over the centuries” [52, p.17]. Based on this definition, it can be concluded that a diachronic approach to linguistic research can be beneficial for studying phonological, grammatical, and semantic changes that occurred during the various stages of language development. Additionally, this approach encompasses efforts to reconstruct a language in its early stages, as well as the development of methods for establishing genetic relationships between different languages. Hence, the diachronic perspective is inextricably linked to historical linguistics. Overall, diachronic analysis is an essential tool for linguistic research, providing insights into the development of language and helping us to understand how languages change over time.

For the purposes of our study, we adopt a diachronic approach to analyze the development of the Australian variety over the past century. We focus on three time periods: 1900–1930, 1931–1960, and 1961–2000, and undertake to trace the main tendencies in the evolution of the new variety of English.

2.2. Corpus Linguistics

Corpus linguistics is a scientific field that is different from other linguistics topics since it does not study a specific aspect of language. Instead, it concentrates on a set of methods or procedures to examine language. Although the procedures are still evolving and not entirely clear, some of them, like concordancing, are well-established and crucial to the approach. With the help of all methods available, corpus linguistics can be used to study various aspects of languages [39, p. 1].

The early forms of corpus work, such as the attempts of word indexing and concordancing of the Bible in the 13th century, existed before the modern digital era. However, the academic discipline of corpus linguistics emerged when digital tools became available to record, store, and analyze corpora, facilitated by the rapid development of computational technology and the increased availability of digital content since the second half of the 20th century. While computational and statistical tools are now integral to corpus linguistics, it is essential to recognize that the fundamental aspects of this field are the study of linguistic matters and the application of corpora. This implies that even with the aid of computers, corpus linguistics still requires a combination of linguistic theories and critical thinking to underpin corpus-based processing and analysis, as highlighted by Charles Fillmore's term, "computer-aided armchair linguistics" in 1992.

A corpus is a systematically collected and curated set of examples of language in use intended to represent a body of evidence for the study of language and language use. The primary goal of a corpus is to document a language, which makes it an important component of language documentation or language archives. Corpora are widely used in various language-related fields, including linguistics, computational linguistics, psycholinguistics, sociolinguistics, translation studies, and other fields where a collection of texts or language usage is essential (such as anthropology, communication studies, literary studies, or political science).

The Brown University Standard Corpus of Present-day American English, also known as the Brown corpus, is considered to be the first modern corpus. It was compiled at Brown University in the 1960s, contained about one million words of text

from various sources, and was significant in terms of its size and design at the time. Since then, corpora sizes have rapidly increased due to advancements in computer storage and processing power. Therefore, it is now possible to find corpora with hundreds or even thousands of millions of words. As the scale of corpora has increased, so has the range of genres included in them. In addition to general or balanced corpora, which aim to represent the use of a language across all domains with consideration of the relative frequency of language use in each domain, specialized corpora have also been developed. The latter contain unconventional data types like multimodal language data or texts collected from the World Wide Web (WWW), etc. [30, p. 949-950].

Corpora have been primarily utilized in lexicography for the creation of high-quality dictionaries and grammars, as the data obtained from corpora can assist in generating linguistic generalizations automatically. The use of corpora has since expanded into broader linguistic research due to its collection of natural language data, which serves as an excellent source for studying language and language use. Moreover, the incorporation of example sentences collected from natural corpora has become increasingly common in syntax and semantics studies.

The standard functions used for corpus analysis include word frequency counting, concordance, and keyword in context, all of which are readily available on most corpus websites and analysis software. More sophisticated tools can also help identify grammatical relationships based on statistical patterns in the corpus, as well as aid in conducting research in areas of discourse analysis and language variation [30, p. 952].

This paper focuses on the study of Australian English in the 20th century. To obtain the material needed for the research, we use two corpora: the Brown-family corpus of Australian English (“AusBrown”) to acquire examples of texts from the 1930s and 1960s, and the Austrian component of the International Corpus of English (ICE-AUS) to study texts from the 1990s.

The Brown corpus family consists of “core” corpora that represent American English (AmE) and British English (BrE), as well as “extended family” corpora, including Australian English (AusE), Indian English (IndE), New Zealand English

(NZE), and Philippine English (PhileE). The newest addition to the Brown corpus family is a suite of four Australian sub-corpora, referred to as “AusBrown,” which provides a useful resource for scholars to study the development of Australian English towards its linguistic independence over the 20th century and compare it with other varieties, BrE and AmE in particular [15, p. 8-9]. The AusBrown diachronic corpus was compiled by Collins and Yao and has the same target sampling years as the British and American counterparts: 1931, 1961, 1991, and 2006. The corpus currently contains approximately 1,100,000 words in 613 texts, which are divided among three genre categories: fiction, learned, and press reportage.

Before being included in the AusBrown corpus, authors of the fiction and learned texts were checked for their connection to Australia, either by being born in the country or by migrating there before the age of ten. Additionally, those who had spent significant time abroad were excluded, which is a common occurrence in a country made up of immigrants. Novels, short story collections, and literature anthologies were the sources of fiction texts for the AusBrown corpus. The learned texts were selected from academic journals and books in the humanities (history, philosophy, literary criticism, etc.), social sciences (politics, education, psychology, etc.), and hard sciences (biology, veterinary science, engineering, etc.) that were published in Australia, and were largely available in digital form. For press reportage, texts were obtained from Australian news reports from thirteen newspapers and were selected randomly for the years 1931, 1961, 1991, and 2006 [15, p. 11-12]. In our research, however, we will mainly focus on data from 1931, and 1961.

The second source of data for this paper is the Australian component of the International Corpus of English (ICE-AUS). The large ICE project was initiated in 1988 by Sidney Greenbaum, the then Director of the Survey of English Usage. The project aimed to prepare a set of one million-word corpora representing the English of countries where English is either a first or second language. The ICE corpora currently represent samples from the following countries: Australia, Cameroon, Canada, East Africa (Kenya, Malawi, Tanzania), Fiji, Ghana, Great Britain, Hong Kong, India, Ireland, Jamaica, Malta, Malaysia, New Zealand, Nigeria, Pakistan, The Philippines,

Sierra Leone, Singapore, South Africa, Sri Lanka, Trinidad and Tobago, USA. Each corpus was to consist of both spoken texts (60%) and written texts (40%) and to be collected between 1990 and 1995 [15, p. 7].

The ICE-AUS corpus, which was compiled by Peters, includes 500 texts, each containing approximately 2,000 words, resulting in a total of 1 million words. It includes 300 samples of spoken language and 200 samples of written language collected at Macquarie University in 1991-1995.

The spoken texts are represented by 180 dialogues and 120 monologues. The dialogues are divided into private (face-to-face conversations and phone calls), and public discussions (classroom lessons, broadcast discussions, broadcast interviews, parliamentary debates, legal cross-examinations, and business transactions). The monologues are grouped into the categories of unscripted (spontaneous commentaries, unscripted speeches, demonstrations, and legal presentations), and scripted (broadcast news, broadcast talks, and non-broadcast talks) speeches.

Meanwhile, written samples are divided into non-printed (50) and printed (150) texts. The non-printed category includes student writings and letters, whereas the printed category consists of texts that include academic and popular writing in the areas of humanities, social sciences, natural sciences, and technology, as well as examples of reportages, instructional writing, persuasive writing, and creative writing represented by novels and short stories [25, p. 4-5].

As part of the research for this master's thesis, we analyze some grammatical structures and lexical units that are specific to Australian English using these two corpora. This will allow us to trace the main features peculiar to the development of the new variety of language in the 20th century.

CHAPTER III. CORPUS-BASED ANALYSIS OF AUSTRALIAN ENGLISH IN THE 20TH CENTURY

3.1. Grammatical Features

The first aspect we will focus on in our study is the grammatical features of Australian English, their peculiarities, and the frequency of their use in different periods of the 20th century. As mentioned earlier, standard Australian does not differ much in its grammatical forms from British English for example, therefore we focus primarily on the properties of the vernacular speech. It is characterized by certain grammatical structures which are commonly regarded as “typical” and distinctive of the Australian variety.

3.1.1. Pronouns, Nouns, and Noun Phrases

You/Youse

The first distinguishing feature of Australian English that we will analyze is the use of separate forms for the second person pronoun: *you* for singular and *youse* for plural. This feature is regarded as an influence of Irish English, which can be traced back to the 19th century or even earlier. Since the Irish accounted for about a quarter of all prisoners brought to Australia, the influence of the Irish dialect is undeniable. Nevertheless, many peculiarities of this variety are also typical of other dialects of English, making it difficult to trace the origin of certain features of Australian English. In spite of this, it is this feature that is often attributed to Irish influence.

It should also be noted that the variation of plural forms is quite large: in addition to *youse*, such forms as *yous*, *you’s*, *yez*, *yiz*, *y’s*, *you guys*, *all youse*, *youse all*, *youse guys*, *youse lot*, and *youses* may also be seen. Interestingly, however, none of these forms is present in the 1931 corpus texts, even though the use of such structures was recorded even much earlier. In 1961 samples, there are already several instances of the use of such structures: *you all* (2) and *you lot* (1). Yet, the more grammatically peculiar forms like *youse* and *yez* are still missing.

- *I thought we was together all the time. What are **you all** gettin’ cross with me for? I haven’t done nothin’.* (60F010, AusBrown)

- *Surely this lesson was brought home to **you all** last Sunday... (60P141, AusBrown)*
- *I was putting the billy out. I tried, while **all you lot** were sound asleep, snoring your rotten heads off, I went up... (60F010, AusBrown)*

In the texts of 1991, however, we can already see a greater variety of examples using different structures: *youse* (3), *you guys* (15), *you all* (27), *yez* (1), *you's* (2), *you lot* (1). This can be seen in some of the following sentences:

- *Mmm I could see **youse** talkin' to him a lot the other night. (S1A-050(B):172, ICE-AUS)*
- *Love to **youse** From us. (W1B-003(noone):103, ICE-AUS)*
- *Or I suppose **you guys** can always come to Wollongong too. (S1A-013(B):45, ICE-AUS)*
- *Molly came up and looked in my eyes. '**You guys** are tripping!' (W2F-011(noone):161, ICE-AUS)*
- ***You all** sent them. (S1A-096(A):261, ICE-AUS)*
- *It was good to talk to you yesterday on the phone. Suffice to say I am missing **you all** and Australia. (W1B-013(noone):35, ICE-AUS)*
- *No, No, Just the four of **yez**. (S1A-089(A):169, ICE-AUS)*
- *Well that that first aid thing I told **you's** on... not on this weekend... (S1A-073(A):144, ICE-AUS)*
- *Because **you's** invited. (s1b-075(A):321, ICE-AUS)*

Again, the more commonly used colloquial structures *you guys* and *you all* show a much higher frequency of use than the more distinctive Australian variants *youse*, *yez*, *you's*. Nevertheless, we can see a clear trend toward increased frequency of use of these forms during the 20th century. It is also worth mentioning that the majority of the examples from the 1990s are presented in colloquial speech recordings, which indicates the smaller frequency of use in written texts, even in informal ones. The overall results of our calculations can be seen in the table below.

Table 3.1

	1931	1961	1991
Yous	0	0	0
Youse	0	0	3
You guys	0	0	15
You all	0	2	27
Yez	0	0	1
Yiz	0	0	0
You's	0	0	2
Youuses	0	0	0
You lot	0	1	1
Total	0	3	49

The Use of Second-Person Plural Pronouns

Whom/Who

Since the 18th century, scholars have been speaking of the decrease in the usage of *whom*, but there are still differences in how the word is used regionally. Research shows that *whom* is used more frequently in BrE than in AmE or AusE. Furthermore, in AmE and AusE, *whom* is mainly used with prepositions such as *of*, *to*, *for*, and *with*, and it cannot be replaced with *which* (since this word does not refer to humans or animals) or *that* (as it cannot be used after a preposition) [14, p. 606-607].

Our study of corpora materials confirms the aforementioned tendency: in 1931 texts, 30 sentences contain *whom*, in 1961 – 32 sentences, while in the 1990s the word appears only 20 times, indicating a declining trend. It is also worth noting that in the majority of cases the words are used in combination with prepositions, rather than in the clause-initial position:

Table 3.2

	1931	1961	1991
After preposition	21	24	14

Continuation of Table 3.2

Clause-initial position	9	8	6
Total	30	32	20

Positions, in Which ‘Whom’ is Used in a Sentence

As can be seen in the table, in the texts from the 1930s *whom* is used in combination with prepositions in 70% of cases, in the 1960s – in 75% of sentences, and in the 1990s – in 70% of examples:

- *There are many boys and girls **for whom** a three-year high school course is too much vs. ...to be a very social neighbourhood, she said to Michael, **whom** she had brought back to tea (1931). (30L013, AusBrown)*
- *The children, many **of whom** had travelled from Penrith by train, gave demonstrations of their... vs. ...he went to the Hotel Rex and picked up Miss Keys, **whom** he knew by sight (1961). (60P010, AusBrown)*
- *And it is the only approach to a young woman **whom** she may have met as a child, and **to whom** no personal words of consolation are possible (1991). (90F010, AusBrown)*

Therefore, we can conclude that the overall division of pronoun usage positions did not change throughout the 20th century, while the frequency of its use decreased to a certain extent, which is indicative not only of Australian English but of other varieties as well.

Than + Pronoun

Many usage manuals insist on using nominative pronouns after the word *than* to emphasize its function as a conjunction that introduces an elliptical clause rather than as a preposition. In studies conducted with undergraduate participants, however, it was found that the use of the prepositional *than* is more common in Australia than in the UK. Phrases like *than me* are more common in informal spoken contexts, while phrases like *than I* are more common in formal writing [14, p. 605]. Hence, the preference for

accusative personal pronouns instead of nominative ones in speech can be seen as part of a larger trend toward a more common case.

Interestingly, in the Australian corpora, there are few examples of using such structures. There are zero instances in the 1930s texts, indicating that this construction was not yet in use at that time. The situation was similar in the 1960s – there is only one example of *than me* in AusBrown (*You want to get more out of this divvy **than me** or Willis? (60F034, AusBrown)*), which may indicate that this grammatical feature came into use around that time. In the 1990s, however, there may be observed an increase in the frequency of use of accusative pronouns after *than* instead of nominative ones, as can be seen in the table below:

- *Mm... She can't be much older **than me** anyway, really I'd say we're about the same age. (S1A-020(A):50, ICE-AUS)*
- *Yes, yes, one who actually I'm sure found the whole thing even more distressing **than me**. (S1A-095(B):20, ICE-AUS)*
- *But as Martin showed in the previous Agassi service game, he can match Agassi off the ground in a base line rally, he has actually more power **than him** on the on the ground strokes. (S2A-004(B):210, ICE-AUS)*
- *And he's a year younger **than her** too. (S1A-083(C):433, ICE-AUS)*

Table 3.3

	1931	1961	1991
Than me	0	1	6
Than him	0	0	1
Than her	0	0	2
Total	0	1	9

The Use of Than + Accusative Pronoun

Thus, we can conclude that at the beginning of the 20th century, the described grammatical structure was not used, while by the end of the century, the frequency of its use increased, especially in colloquial speech.

Them instead of Those

As with most other varieties of language, Australian English today is characterized by the use of grammatically incorrect forms of pronouns in colloquial speech. Thus, for instance, it is common to hear *those* replaced by *them* before plural nouns. Having checked the presence of this feature in the Australian corpora, we found only one case of such a construction in the 1930s, two cases in the 1960s, and only three examples in the texts of the 1990s:

- *The boss is goin' to clear **them scrubbers** out of the range soon as the musterins finished (1931). (30F023, AusBrown)*
- “Best yet.”
*“She good looking like **them girls** in the pictures, eh?” Bert asked (1961). (60F030, AusBrown)*
- *Painting, sculpture, music and literature are all of **them excursions** into the various fields of true artistic expressions, but art forms... (1961). (60L009, AusBrown)*
- *So he stands up for himself or he joins **them changes** (1991). (S1B-011(A):138, ICE-AUS)*
- *They look at the other riders pick out what horses they're gonna follow in the race and it's a complete involvement for anything up to thirty minutes before the stewards then ask **them jockeys** to the mounting yard (1991). (S2A-017(C):38, ICE-AUS)*
- *Grumbling, they climbed into the police car. The driver put his head out the window. “If I was you, Billy,” he said sardonically, “I'd get **them wrists** seen to in casualty” (1991). (W2F-004(noone):153, ICE-AUS)*

As the results show, this feature was not widespread in 20th-century Australia. Although it is a peculiarity of spoken rather than written speech, even the ICE-AUS corpus, which includes examples of spoken conversations, offers only 3 examples, thereby indicating that despite being present in everyday speech, this structure was not used with a very high frequency.

Me instead of My

Another distinctive feature of the Australian vernacular is the use of the pronoun *me* in contexts where the genitive case is required. Interestingly, unlike the *them – those* opposition, the *me – my* confusion is also present in the 1931 texts, counting 8 examples in all. The situation is roughly similar in the 1960s, with 5 sentences with analogous phrases, whereas in the 1990s it accrues 7. Below are several examples of speakers using *me* instead of *my* at different points in time throughout the century:

- *The girl laughed. Too right. She’s **me grand-aunt**, though. **Me great-grandfather** called her out of the Bible... (1931). (30F021, AusBrown)*
- *Oh, no. She’s like this when I’m on **me own**. Now you know! (1931). (30F021, AusBrown)*
- *...eating her peas off her knife, because “the fork might prick **me tongue**” (1961). (60F007, AusBrown)*
- *...but he’s not that vacant. He didn’t put **me billy** out at all, did he? (1961). (60F010, AusBrown)*
- *Well, you never have any bloody food. I get here, I have **me dinner** and go (1991). (S1A-009(A):70, ICE-AUS)*
- *Despite the height-adjustable seat and steering wheel, I couldn’t get **me knee** under the Maxima’s steering wheel to press directly on the brake pedal (1991). (W2B-031(noone):99, ICE-AUS)*

As we see, during the 20th century, the general state of affairs did not change: in spite of insignificant changes in the number of examples, the grammatical feature was present in all the periods and is also commonly used today, which proves that it is deeply rooted in the everyday speech of ordinary Australians.

Table 3.4

	1931	1961	1991
‘Them’ instead of ‘those’	1	2	3
‘Me’ instead of ‘my’	8	5	7

Reflexive Pronouns

Similarly to other types of pronouns, reflexive pronouns also feature grammatically incorrect forms that Australians sometimes use in everyday speech. To give an example, the literature on the characteristics of this variety often mentions the forms *meself* and *youself*, which use object pronouns rather than possessive ones.

Having analyzed the data in the AusBrown and ICE-AUS corpora, we can conclude that this feature is a more recent development since almost all examples are presented in texts from the 1990s, as shown in the table below. Here are some examples:

- *Yeah, yeah, I like pretty weird films **meself**. (S1A-043(A):85, ICE-AUS)*
- *...you know what you're what you tell **youself** you're doing, on the basis of that you propose a hypothesis. (S1B-007(B):55, ICE-AUS)*
- *Okay, it's your funeral. But don't go wastin' our time again bringin' us out 'ere on a wild goose chase or you'll find **y'self** in serious trouble. (W2F-004(noone):152, ICE-AUS)*

At the same time, in the 1931 excerpt, the form *hisself* can be found (*I tell yer he gave a run at it **hisself**, shouted Ponkey (30F025, AusBrown)*) but the single instance of its use indicates that it was more a representation of the speech of a particular not very educated person than a general trend for speakers of the Australian variety of that time.

Table 3.5

	1931	1961	1991
Meself	0	0	3
Youself	0	0	1
Y'self	0	0	1
Hisself	1	0	0
Total	1	0	5

Object Pronouns as Part of Reflexive Pronouns

Objective Pronominal Forms in Coordinated Phrases

The next characteristic related to the use of pronouns is the employment of objective pronominal forms in coordinated phrases in the subject position. The choice between subjective and objective pronouns depends on their role in the sentence structure and where they are located within it. When a pronoun acts as the subject of the sentence and appears before the verb, a nominative form is required. Conversely, objective pronouns appear after the verb or as part of a prepositional phrase. However, there are situations where these rules are broken and the distinction between subject and object pronouns is lost. One such situation is found in coordinated constructions, where colloquial speech often uses both forms regardless of their syntactic function or position within the sentence.

We analyzed the use of the first-person singular pronoun in coordinate phrases and concluded that it is rare to see the subjective pronoun *I* as the first item in a coordinate phrase, whereas its use in the final position of the coordinate phrase is very common. In addition, the use of the objective pronoun *me* in both the initial and final positions in a coordinate phrase can be observed, despite the fact that this variant is considered grammatically incorrect. The table below shows the results of the calculation of phrases with the first-person singular pronoun in the subject position.

Table 3.6

	1931	1961	1991
Me and NP	0	0	4
NP and me	0	0	2
I and NP	1	0	0
NP and I	4	6	78

Objective Pronominal Forms Used in Coordinated Phrases

As can be seen in the table, in the 1930s the standard combination of the noun phrase and the pronoun *I* was usually used, but at the same time there is one example of the use of the subjective *I* in the initial position of the coordinated phrase (*Now I*

and my people (30F024, AusBrown)), which is not observed in any other period. In the 1960s, the situation remained unchanged, showing a preference for a grammatically permissible construction: 100% of the examples contain such variants.

By the end of the 20th century, however, a noticeable trend towards the use of less standardized phrases can be observed: 6 sentences containing the objective pronoun *me* in coordinated phrases (4 instances in the initial position as in *Me and Firstname7abbrev got right in the front* (S1A-005(Z):234, ICE-AUS) and 2 instances in the final position as in *He's happy we're going sailing on Saturday, just him and me* (S1A-022(A):293, ICE-AUS)) were found. There is also a noteworthy example *And so me and Julie... me and Julie... Julie and I were first partners but then Julie and Rachel decided they wanted to be partners* (S1A-089(A):293, ICE-AUS), in which the speaker first repeats a more colloquial construction with the object pronoun and then corrects himself and chooses the standardized and more commonly used version. Overall, the preference for the more familiar to everyone phrase is obvious since there are significantly more cases of using the traditional combination of the noun phrase and *I*.

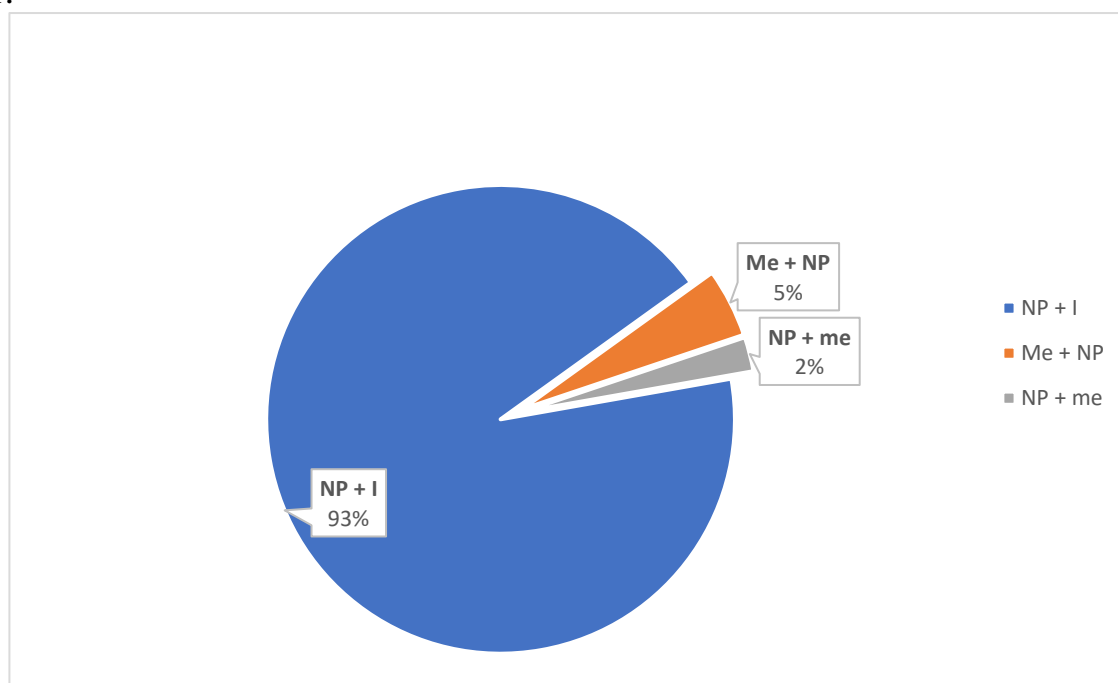


Figure 3.1. The Use of Coordinated Phrases in 1991

Animation

A notable characteristic of Australian English is the high occurrence of using animate pronouns such as *he* or *she* (as well as their accusative or genitive forms) instead of the neutral pronoun *it* when referring to non-living things like trees, roads, rain, jobs, and situations, as well as living things whose gender is unknown, such as birds or fish. This use of masculine or feminine pronouns for inanimate objects is called “animation.”

There are at least two significant differences between the gender systems of Australian English and languages like Italian and German. In Italian and German, gender is assigned to nouns, and the gender of specific nouns is typically arbitrary and not related to the inherent qualities of the thing being referred to. However, in Australian English, gender is assigned to the referent rather than the noun and the assignment of animate gender to inanimate referents is based on logical principles. Therefore, the same noun can be assigned different animate genders depending on whether it refers to a male or female being. For instance, a fish or kangaroo is typically referred to as *he* unless it is known to be female, in which case *she* is used.

Overall, the referents that are generally assigned masculine gender in Australian English are primarily plants and animals whose sex is unknown. This category also includes combinations of vehicles and drivers when the gender of the driver is not known. With the exception of portable count nouns, which are assigned a gender based on logical principles, the rest of the biologically inanimate world, such as the environment, situations, vehicles, buildings, etc., are assigned feminine gender [49, p. 616-622].

Obviously, there is no way to collect quantitative data from corpora concerning this feature of Australian speech because it is simply impossible to count all the probable combinations with different nouns. Nevertheless, animation is a distinctive characteristic of Australian English, hence it is worth mentioning it and giving some examples to demonstrate how it manifests itself in speech.

- *In fact, I proposed, you didn't need a computer to be able to predict precisely where the **dog** or the canine would be found: lying beside the dog's bowl with **his** tongue lolling over the side in anticipation. (S2B-027(noone):25, ICE-AUS)*
- *The **dog** knows things are bad, and will continue + expects us to be on the dole soon because **he** keeps burying the food. (W1B-003(noone):79, ICE-AUS)*
- *Yes. Oh, it was terribly sad. Oh, **she** was a wonderful **dog**, I've got pictures of **her**. (S1A-059(B):328, ICE-AUS)*

In the examples above, the gender assignment is very clear: for an animal of unknown gender, the masculine pronoun *he* is used, as in the first two sentences, while in cases where it is known that the animal is female, the pronoun *she* is employed, as in the last instance. Furthermore, as has already been said, the masculine gender is usually assigned to vehicles when the driver's gender is unknown: *There's a **BMW** right behind you. **He**'s impatient to pass. (S1A-036(A):54, ICE-AUS)*

As for the feminine gender, the pronoun *she* is usually used to describe abstract concepts, natural phenomena, inanimate elements of nature, constructions of various kinds, and body parts:

- ***She**'s a rough **sea** today. (S1A-007(A):68, ICE-AUS)*

However, given the limited amount of data in the corpora and our inability to access the context around the words being searched, it is far from easy to find examples for animation, especially for inanimate objects. The easiest category in this regard is animals, for which we can obtain numerous examples of usage with the pronoun *he* and sometimes *she*.

Double Comparatives and Superlatives

Linguists studying modern Australian English also mention the use of the double comparative and superlative forms as one of the distinctive features of everyday speech. In English grammar, the double comparative is a grammatical error that arises from the application of two methods of creating a comparative form of an adjective: it most commonly occurs when both the *-er* suffix and the word *more* are used together, as in *more smaller*. Meanwhile, the double superlative is the use of both *most* and the

-est suffix to indicate the superlative form of an adjective, as in *my most biggest fear* and *the most tallest person*. Although the double superlative was used in Middle English and early Modern English, it is now considered a nonstandard construction or a grammatical mistake, just like the double comparative. However, in some cases, such forms may be used for emphasis or rhetorical effect.

After searching for similar patterns in the AusBrown and ICE-AUS corpora, it was determined that this feature was not very common in the 20th century. Not a single example of such usage was found in either the 1930s or 1960s texts, while only one example of a double superlative and two sentences with a double comparative were found in the corpus of 1990s samples:

- *I was at... I... I was the **most dullest** thing that ever happened to that woman.*
(S1A-039(C):367, ICE-AUS)
- *That's all the legislation provides for and what could be **more fairer** than that.*
(S1A-039(C):367, ICE-AUS)
- *I think that if twenty-five is too low for demonstration but if you have an artist coming from another area where you have to pay **much more higher** fees, probably you can raise the demonstration a bit more, three dollars for example.*
(s1b-078(Z):169, ICE-AUS)

As can be seen from the sentences, double comparatives and superlatives are again distinctive features of spoken rather than written speech. Based on the scarcity of examples for the end of the century and their complete absence in the texts from the first two-thirds of the century, we can conclude that this characteristic is quite new and did not become commonplace until the end of the previous century. However, it should also be noted that the predominant majority of *more/most* combinations with adjectives contain polysyllabic adjectives that do not form comparative and superlative degrees by adding endings *-er* and *-est* (for example, *important*, *popular*, *amazing*, *interesting*). In this regard, the use of double comparatives or superlatives is not expected.

3.1.2. Verbs and Verb Phrases

Declining Use of *Shall*

The usage of *shall* and *will* has been a topic of much discussion in prescriptive grammars and usage handbooks. According to a study conducted by Watson (1978), Australian teachers from various high schools found the use of *will* in a sentence like *I will be twenty-one tomorrow* to be acceptable, with a rating of 94%. This suggests that Australians may not be very familiar with the rules governing the use of *shall* and *will*.

Furthermore, research based on data from Australian, British, and American corpora suggests that *shall* is more common in British English than in American or Australian English, and more common in American English than in Australian English. Nevertheless, *shall* is increasingly getting considered to be outdated in all three varieties of English.

In contrast, the usage of *will* in Australian English is more frequent than in other English varieties. This indicates that *will* is playing a compensatory role as the use of *shall* declines. Hundt's (1998) study of AusE, AmE, NZE, and BrE newspaper reportage further supports this conclusion. Hundt found that Australians avoid using *shall* to a great extent, as shown by the massive difference in frequency of usage between *shall* and *will*. Additionally, Hundt found that British English is more tolerant of *shall* than the other varieties, while its popularity has been decreasing in American English since the later part of the 20th century. This suggests that Australian avoidance of *shall* is not unique to Australia, but rather part of a larger global trend [14, p. 599-600].

The results of our calculations also confirm the above-described tendency for the decline in the popularity of *shall* in speech. In the texts of 1931, we obtained 73 results in the corpus for the word *shall*, which is quite a solid frequency of the word usage in comparison with some other constructions. In 1961, however, there are only 20 sentences using the verb, which indicates a rapid decline in its attractiveness to speakers in the middle of the 20th century. As for the end of the century, 14 examples

of *shall* were found, which again confirms the overall global trend of an increasing preference for *will* over *shall*.

Table 3.7

	1931	1961	1991
Shall	73	20	14

Usage Frequency of Shall

Therefore, we can conclude that the current tendency to reduce the use of *shall* in Australian English has been observed since the beginning of the 20th century, which is clearly reflected in the quantitative results of the study.

Epistemic *Mustn't*

Epistemic modality refers to the speaker's assessment of the likelihood or certainty of a proposition. In Australian English, *mustn't* is typically used as an epistemic modal in the negative to express a strong likelihood that something is not the case. For instance, when someone says *He mustn't have received my message*, they are expressing their belief or inference that the person did not receive their message, but they are not completely sure. In this case, *mustn't* indicates a degree of probability, rather than a prohibition or obligation as in the case of deontic *mustn't*.

Interestingly, in Australian English, the epistemic use of *mustn't* is more common than in other varieties of English, such as American or British English, although these varieties also demonstrate this variant of use. It is often used in place of other modal verbs such as *might not* or *could not* to express uncertainty or speculation about a situation. Furthermore, it should be mentioned that this feature is often seen as an influence of Irish English, but it is not easy to trace its exact origin in Australia. Overall, the use of epistemic *mustn't* can vary depending on the context, and it is generally more common in spoken language than in formal writing.

However, the results of the corpus search were rather unexpected: not a single example of the epistemic *mustn't* was found either in AusBrown or in ICE-AUS. It was

expected that we would find at least several examples because this construction is not only mentioned as a feature of modern Australian English, but it was present in speech as early as the 19th century. Yet, the corpora studied for the purposes of this paper do not provide the data we are interested in. In these materials *mustn't* is used exclusively in its standard meaning of prohibition or lack of necessity:

- *Jenny, Jenny, you mustn't tempt me. I can't marry you (1931). (30F002, AusBrown)*
- *We will all share it because we mustn't drink too fast or too much at a time (1961). (60F031, AusBrown)*
 - *And a good foundation for equality in political participation would be equality and democracy in relationships and I realise I'm saying this on what turns out to be Valentine's day, so I...I mustn't be too cutting towards...er...the the gentlemen and so I would...um...encourage the...er...my female colleagues and friends here today to...to...erm...you know, give the fellows a chance to show what they're capable of (1991). (S2B-049(A):167, ICE-AUS)*

Based on the results obtained in the course of the study, it is impossible to trace the development of this grammatical feature in the 20th century. However, it cannot be claimed that such a variant of using *mustn't* was completely absent in colloquial speech at that time, since this structure is definitely not a novelty. But it is still possible to conclude that it was not too common, as it was not recorded in any of the texts.

Do-periphrasis with Need (to), Dare (to)

The use of *do*-periphrasis with the word *need (to)* in negative and interrogative sentences has been observed as a distinguishing feature between American and British English. While American English often uses *do*-periphrasis, British English maintains *need* as an auxiliary by using it as an operator. Elicitation tests conducted by Collins in Australia showed that Australian usage is more similar to the American pattern, with 62% of informants preferring the option *They don't need to make an appointment* compared to 38% for *They needn't make an appointment*. The use of *need* in non-assertive contexts in Australia has shifted away from British norms, but since the

patterns are similar to those found in American English, it doesn't provide stronger support for endonormativity [14, p. 602].

The described tendency to *do*-periphrasis in combination with the modal *need* (*to*) was confirmed in our study. As the results of the analysis showed, the use of the modal verb independently prevailed in the first half of the 20th century, as shown in the following examples:

- “***Need*** Jenny know?”
“***Need*** she know? What d’you mean?” (30F002, AusBrown)
- *I’ve paid for the room and the breakfast. You **needn’t** worry at all in the morning.* (30F018, AusBrown)
- *...theory of forms while accepting the theory of ends. Utilitarianism **need not** be combined as in Mill’s case with hedonism...* (30L001, AusBrown)

At the same time, there are also examples of *do*-periphrasis, but their number is noticeably smaller in comparison with the preceding structure:

- *...correspondent of ‘The Times’ says that the German Government **does not need to** advise Washington of its acceptance of President Hoover’s proposal.* (30P018, AusBrown)
- *Governments who folded their arms and said they **did not need to** take action against such forces as Communism, governed by minorities...* (30P001, AusBrown)

Thus, the modal verb *need* is used independently in 7 negative and interrogative sentences, while the periphrasis with the auxiliary *do* is observed only in 3 examples.

The middle of the century is characterized by a similar state of affairs, with 6 examples allocated to the independent use of the modal verb and 3 examples of combinations with *do*, some of which are shown below:

- *...he had won, nothing forced him to go back. He **need not have** got drunk with Tim Hynes...* (60F020, AusBrown)
- *The explanation of secondary reinforcement itself is a controversial question which **need not** be taken up here.* (60L004, AusBrown)

- *I was beginning to resent Bungaree and **didn't need to** guess that Arty shared this feeling. (60F003, AusBrown)*
- *But we **do not need to** go into all the philosophical ramifications of this theory. (60L006, AusBrown)*

At the end of the century, however, a striking change in the statistical data is noted, as only 8 instances of negative *needn't* or *need not* are used, while the *do*-periphrasis is found in as many as 17 cases:

- *They're going to win, you **needn't** worry about that. (S1A-006(A):4, ICE-AUS)*
- *However, she **need not have** worried. I was just a normal schoolboy with normal schoolboy habits and a propensity for mishap, as evidenced by the day I came a cropper in tar at Mentone. (W2E-006(noone):42, ICE-AUS)*
- *I **don't need to** go to the pub to get drink. (S1A-076(C):76, ICE-AUS)*
- *We believe Australians **don't need to** look up to the British Monarchy as an example of public service. (S1B-033(noone):134, ICE-AUS)*

The percentages of the frequency of use of different structures are shown in the chart below.

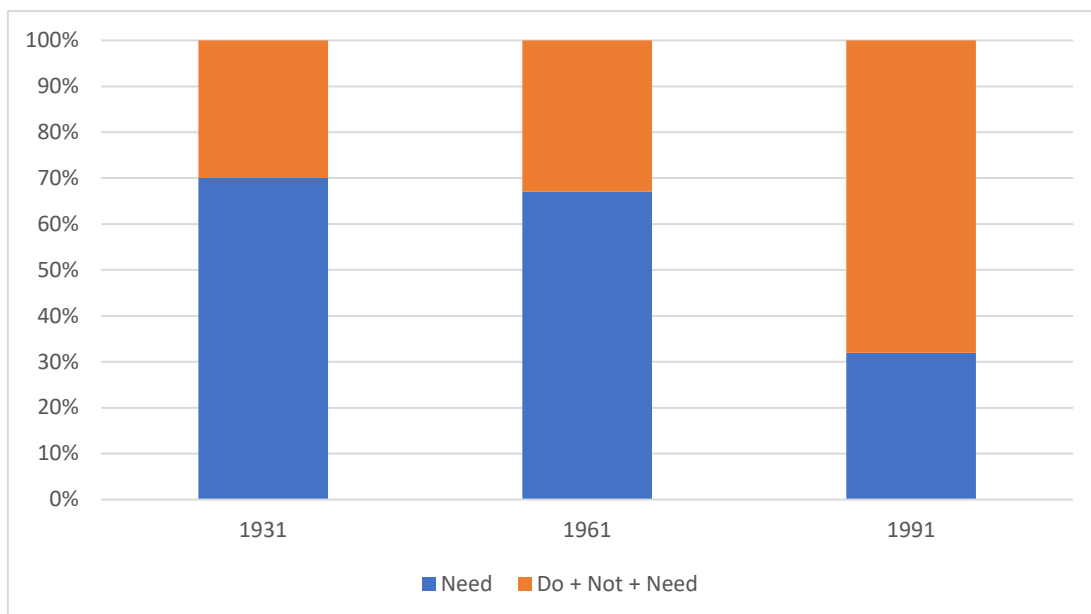


Figure 3.2. The Use of 'Needn't' vs. Do-Periphrasis

When it comes to the modal verb *dare (to)*, it should be mentioned that the use of *do*-periphrasis with *dare*, similar to *need*, is more prevalent in American English

than British English. In British English, both the *do*-periphrasis and operator construction are used, with blends of the two being about equally popular. On the other hand, the American usage of *dare* frequently includes blends of the *do*-periphrasis and operator construction or the *do*-periphrasis on its own, while the operator construction is not widely supported.

Elicitation tests conducted by Collins indicate that Australian English largely follows the pattern of American English, with a strong preference for *do*-periphrasis with the bare infinitive and little support for the operator variant. Younger Australians appear to be further ahead with this feature than other English-speaking communities, which suggests that this shift could be evidence of endonormativity in Australian English grammar.

We were unable, however, to trace the development of this trend during the 20th century because not enough data was found in the corpora. Whereas in the texts of the 1930s we found 6 examples of the independent use of *dare* in negative and interrogative sentences, compared to 2 samples with the combination with *do*, for the 1960s only one example was found, in which *do*-periphrasis is present, while *dare not* is absent at all:

- *he **daren't** spring, and he knows it. Strike, Tiger... (1931) (30F001, AusBrown)*
- *...the pressure was throttling him, but for his life he **dare not** let go (1931). (30F001, AusBrown)*
- *How is it expressing itself amongst us, and what **dare** we propose as a transforming remedy? (1931) (30L011, AusBrown)*
- *He **did not dare to** glance in her direction during the singing of the hymn (1931). (30F018, AusBrown)*
- *...at her, jabbing the air as if he **did not quite dare** to poke her in the chest (1961). (60F012, AusBrown)*

Yet, in the ICE-AUS corpus materials, the modal verb *dare* is used exclusively in affirmative sentences, so it seems impossible to trace the peculiarities of the use of different negative and interrogative combinations at the end of the 20th century.

Nevertheless, the overall results of the calculations for both *need (to)* and (*dare to*) are shown in the table below.

Table 3.8

	1931	1961	1991
Need	7	6	8
Do + Need	3	3	17
Dare	6	0	0
Do + Dare	2	1	0

Do-Periphrasis with Need (to), Dare (to)

To summarize, the chart and the table above suggest that the current predisposition toward greater use of *do*-periphrasis by Australians is not a new phenomenon, but one that has been developing throughout the 20th century. While in texts from the beginning of the century, only 30% contain the structure of interest in combination with the modal verb *need*, increasing only slightly to 33% in the middle of the 20th century, by the end of the century this figure has approximately doubled, reaching a mark of 68%. This indicates a clear change in the speakers' preference for using a more familiar construction that can be applied to other verbs, rather than a separate form for modals. Although there is not enough material to analyze the peculiarities of *dare to* usage, the clear preference for the traditional negative form of the modal verb in the 1930s and the choice of *do*-periphrasis in the 1960s also support our theory about the gradual development of this aspect in Australian English.

Better and Gotta as Modals

In Australian English, it is common to use the words *gotta* and *better* without the auxiliary verb *have* before them in certain contexts, as a result of which these words acquire the properties of modals. *Gotta* is a contraction of *got to* and is used to indicate obligation or necessity. In Australian English, *gotta* is often used in place of *have to* or *must*, without the auxiliary verb *have* (as in *I gotta go to work* instead of *I have to go to work*). Similarly, *better* can be used as a modal auxiliary to express the need to do

something. In Australian English, *better* may also be used without the auxiliary verb *have* to indicate the need for immediate action (for instance, *You better hurry up* instead of *You had better hurry up*). Obviously, the use of *gotta* (which is a colloquial form itself) and *better* without *have* is considered non-standard in formal contexts, and may be viewed as incorrect in written English. However, it is widely used and accepted in spoken Australian English.

As for the use of the construction *had better* and its abridged version *better*, it should be noted that both variants are present in the texts representing all the periods we are considering. This is shown in the table below.

Table. 3.9

	1931	1961	1991
Had better	9	7	36
Better	1	5	10

The Use of ‘Better’ vs. ‘Had Better’

Thus, in the 1930s the full construction is used in 90% of cases, while the shortened version is observed only in one case:

- “*He’s asleep.*”
“*Wake him up. You’d **better** come up too, Serg.*” (30F003, AusBrown)
- ...*it doesn’t look well either. So you **had better** get moving right away. What you really want is twelve hours solid sleep.* (30F009, AusBrown)
- *The Judge (to Mr. Benjamin): You **better** waive that point, and we will deal with the right of...* (30P021, AusBrown)

By mid-century, the situation had changed slightly and both versions were used in a more even ratio, counting 7 examples (58%) using the phrase *had better* and 5 sentences (42%) simply with *better*:

- *I think we’d **better** leave him alone.* (60F010, AusBrown)
- *Oh hell! I’d **better** take another anti-histamine, even if it does make me dopey.* (60F019, AusBrown)

- *And Mister Murphy said to close up. We **better** be on our way, mate, I said.* (60F003, AusBrown)
- *He said, **Better** keep an eye on your mate.* (60F015, AusBrown)

However, at the end of the century, even though more instances of use are observed, the gap in percentages is more prominent again, with the full construction having a 78% frequency of use, and the shortened version acting as a modal in 22% of cases:

- *“No, I’d **better** talk to her.” **Better** face the bloody music, whatever it is, she thought, but when she picked up the phone, her hand was shaking. “Listen, bitch,” hissed the thin, hoarse voice, “y’**better** get round ‘ere quick an’ bail out y’ precious boyfriend.”* (W2F-004(noone):127, ICE-AUS)
- *Um well, I thought we’d **better** go and do the touristy bit because no one’ll believe her unless she’s taken a photograph of the three sisters.* (S1A-057(B):320, ICE-AUS)
- *I said **better** turn the bloody tape round.* (S1A-020(B):194, ICE-AUS)

The percentages of the usage frequency of *had better* and *better* as a modal are shown in the chart below.

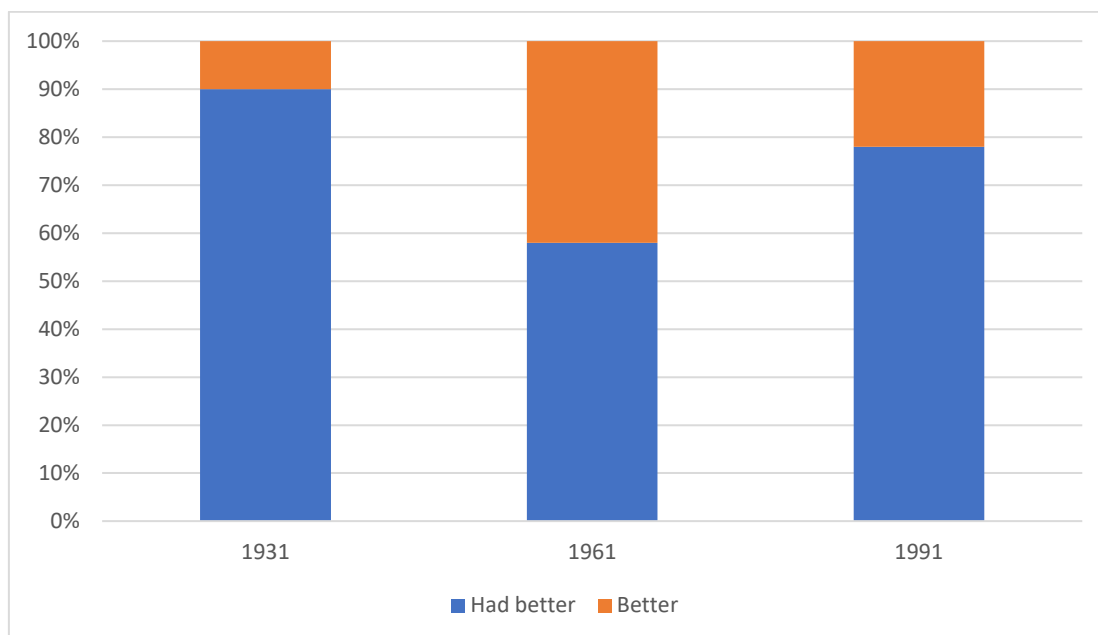


Figure 3.3. Usage of ‘Better’ compared to ‘Had Better’

As the results indicate, the general trend is still to prefer the full construction *had better*, but over time *better* with the modal meaning has still been used more frequently than it was at the beginning of the 20th century. Nevertheless, surprisingly, the greatest peak was observed in the middle of the century, not at the end, as expected. Such dynamics for the intermediate period can be explained by the fact that the corpora contain only samples of texts, so it is natural that some indicators vary and do not always show an even dynamic. In any case, the change in values is minimal, so we are not talking about any global trend here.

To check the use of *gotta* as a modal word, we analyzed 4 constructions in the materials from each time period: *have got to*, *have gotta*, *got to*, and *gotta*. The overall results of the calculations can be seen in the following table.

Table 3.10

	1931	1961	1991
Have got to	1	13	82
Have gotta	0	0	203
Got to	0	4	7
Gotta	0	0	41

The Use of Different Alternatives for ‘Have got to’

In the 1931 AusBrown texts, only one example of the use of *have got to*, which is a grammatically correct construction, was found:

- ...*got trunks as thick as my wrist. You’ve jolly well **got to** lop the bottom branches before you can get at them.* (30F017, AusBrown)

In 1961, a little variation appears, as two structures are presented: *have got to* (13), and *got to* (4):

- *It’s something you’ve **got to** take with you when you go.* (60F006, AusBrown)
- *But that can wait. I’ve **got to** get off this phone now. Just talk to her, Dave.* (60F027, AusBrown)
- *You **got to** let ‘em know you’re on the market.* (60F003, AusBrown)

- *Move along, Baldy, there's work to be done. **Got to** get home by the settin' of sun.* (60F014, AusBrown)

It is in the 1990s, however, where the situation changes dramatically. The number of observed instances of use is many times greater than in previous periods. In addition, the use of all four constructions is noted: *have got to* (82), *have gotta* (203), *got to* (7), and *gotta* (41):

- *Now in order to settle those, in order to get a matter heard or jurisdiction in the federal commission we've **got to** satisfy an industrial dispute and an interstate.* (S1B-010(A):42, ICE-AUS)
- *I've **gotta** go to the dentist this afternoon.* (S1A-024(A):317, ICE-AUS)
- *But I've **gotta**... um... go over to uni some time during the day.* (S1A-066(D):361, ICE-AUS)
- *'**Got to** give the poor coot something,' she told Daisy, fumbling in her handbag for loose change.* (W2F-005(noone):10, ICE-AUS)
- *You **gotta** go to Prospect County Council. They supply a lock and keep a master key and give you one.* (S2A-024(A):22, ICE-AUS)

The percentage of different grammatical constructions in all the analyzed periods is presented in the chart below.

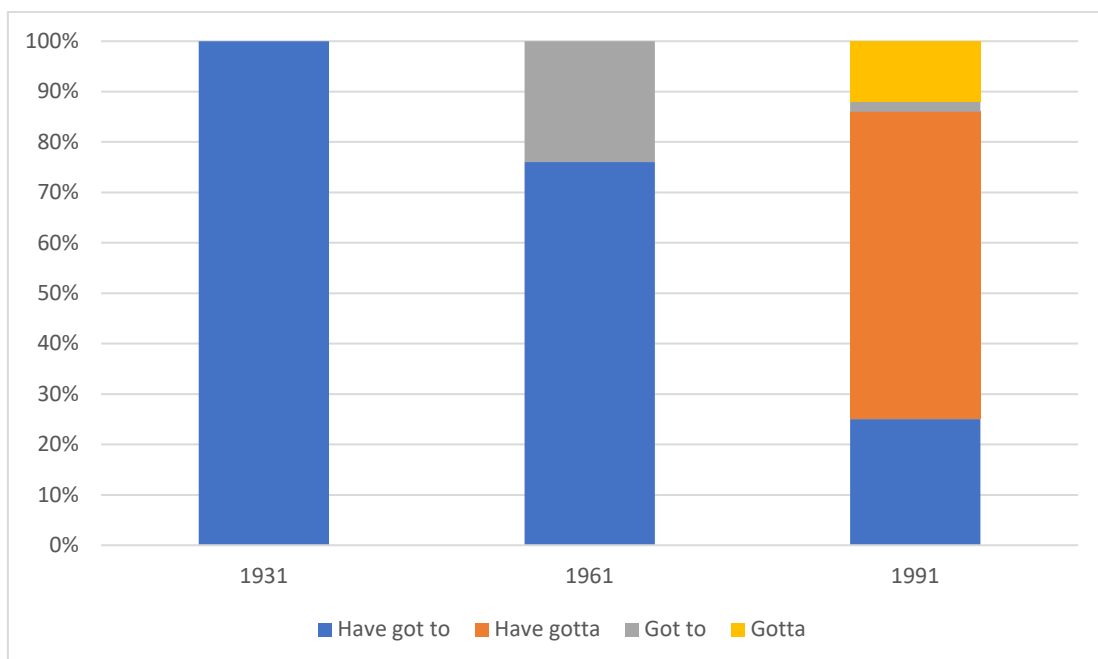


Figure 3.4. Usage Frequency of 'Have Got To' and Its Alternatives

As it can be seen in the chart, in any time interval the grammatically correct construction with the auxiliary *have* was preferred (for the 1990s, both *have got to* and the more colloquial version *have gotta* are taken into account). At the same time, the use of *got to/gotta* alone was observed in only 24% of sentences in 1961 and 14% in 1991. Thus, contrary to what was expected, the frequency of using *got to/gotta* independently decreased by the end of the century, rather than increased. However, it is also worth noting that the abbreviated colloquial expression *gotta* itself was not used at the beginning of the century or in its middle, but only came into use (rather active use) at the end of the 20th century and is now used constantly in everyday speech.

Of instead of Have

Another distinctive non-standard grammatical feature of Australian English is the employment of *of* instead of *have* after modal verbs such as *could*, *should*, or *would*. One of the theories explaining this phenomenon refers to the impact of the Australian Aboriginal English dialect, which uses *of* instead of *have* in some contexts. Yet, another theory suggests that it may have simply arisen from the tendency to contract *would have*, *could have*, and *should have* into *would've*, *could've*, and *should've*, which can sound similar to *would of*, *could of*, and *should of*.

Despite being non-standard, the use of *of* instead of *have* after modal verbs is widely recognized and understood in Australian English. It is also worth noting that this feature is not unique to Australian English, and can be found in other varieties of English as well, particularly in informal speech. However, in formal writing or in situations where standard grammar is expected, *have* is typically used after modal verbs to ensure clarity and accuracy in communication.

After checking such linguistic constructions in the corpora under study, it was found that this feature was not common in the 20th century. In the texts of the early 20th century, not a single sentence was found in which the phrases *would of*, *could of*, or *should of* were used. In the materials of the 1960s, however, one sentence with the construction *would of* was found (...*do would differ in some way from the next, but there **would of** necessity be, in any one school, certainly and possibly in...* (60L014,

AusBrown)), while in the records of the texts of the 1990s one can see a single use of *could of* (*Possibly he **could of** (S1B-006(A):203, ICE-AUS)*).

Table 3.11

	1931	1961	1991
Could of	0	0	1
Would of	0	1	0
Should of	0	0	0
Total	0	1	1

The Use of ‘Of’ Instead of ‘Have’

As the table shows, throughout the century the use of *of* instead of *have* in such phrases was an exception rather than a common tendency. Even if phrases could sound like this in colloquial speech, their spelling followed grammatical standards anyway. From this, we can conclude that this global trend in English is a more recent development rather than something that has been formed and incorporated in speech throughout the decades.

Subject-Verb Agreement

The concept of subject-verb agreement involves the use of the appropriate form of a verb that agrees with its subject. When it comes to the past tense forms *was/were*, this rule applies to three specific cases: when the subject is a plural pronoun or plural count noun, when the subject is the singular pronoun *you*, and after an existential subject *there* with a plural count noun in predicate position. In standard formal English, *were* is required in all three cases. However, in colloquial English, *were* is used in the first two instances, while *was* or *were* are acceptable in the last case. Yet, speakers of Australian English tend to use *was* in all three contexts. Moreover, non-standard varieties of English in Britain and the USA show *was*-generalization only in affirmative sentences, while Australians also use it in negative sentences.

The results of our study, however, were quite surprising in this regard. We analyzed instances of the use of plural pronouns in combination with the singular form

was in order to trace the main trends in subject-predicate agreement. It is noteworthy that almost no examples of such usage were found: only one case of *you was* both in the texts of the 1930s and 1960s and one instance of *they was* in the 1990s:

- *Is that what **you was** goin' to do? (1931) (30F025, AusBrown)*
- *You bad feller, Charles Bowen! Millie said **you was** but I not believe her. Now I know (1961). (60F026, AusBrown)*
- *Like I said, I thought **we was** together all the time. What are you all getting' cross with? (1961) (60F010, AusBrown)*
- *Yeah. 'Cos we were watching that and **they was**... I dunno (1991). (S1A-045(A):111, ICE-AUS)*

Thus, while this feature is often cited as distinctive for AusE speakers in modern times, it is not seen to be popular in the 20th century. Even though the ICE-AUS corpus offers transcripts of personal conversations, no examples of the use of such structures were found even in those, save for just one sentence. Therefore, based on the data obtained, we can conclude that this feature is more of a recent development than something that gradually developed and gained popularity throughout the 20th century.

Singular Marking in Existentials with Plural Subjects

According to the rules of English grammar, the expressions *there is* and *there are* are called existential clauses because they are used to indicate the existence of certain objects, or living things. These structures follow the subject-verb-object word order, with *there* acting as a dummy subject to introduce the noun phrase that follows. The noun phrase can then be modified by adjectives, articles, or other determiners, as well as prepositional phrases.

The standardized variant of language suggests using *there is* in combination with singular nouns, and *there are* with plural nouns. However, in colloquial speech, these expressions can be used interchangeably, even when referring to plural nouns. So, for example, it is rather common to hear someone say *there's a lot of people* instead of the more grammatically correct *there are a lot of people*, but this occurs in colloquial

speech and not in formal contexts. Obviously, this is also typical of the Australian vernacular.

After analyzing the use of *there is* and the more informal version *there's* in combination with plural nouns in corpora, it was discovered that for the first half and middle of the 20th century, these expressions were not too typical: only two examples in the 1930s and one in the 1960s were found. However, in the 1990s a massive increase is noticeable: a total of 126 sentences were found in which such a structure is involved. The table below shows the results of our calculations. Furthermore, it should be noted that this pattern is much more often used in combination with the more informal shortened version *there's*, while the standard phrase *there is* is in most cases used in accordance with the rules of grammar, followed by a singular noun.

Table 3.12

	1931	1961	1991
There's + plural	1	1	121
There is + plural	1	0	5
Total	2	1	126

Singular Marking in Existentials with Plural Subjects

In addition to the assumption that this feature gained popularity at the end of the 20th century, it should also be noted that the ICE-AUS corpus contains transcripts of private informal conversations, for which such expressions are typical. This can also explain such a significant surge in the number of samples found. In any case, the results of the research show that by the end of the century, this feature of speech was clearly very common, which is still relevant today.

3.2. Lexical Features of Australian English

Over time, Australian English has developed its unique features, including vocabulary, pronunciation, and grammar. In addition to its distinctive accent, which allows people to immediately recognize Australians, this variety is distinguished by its

lexicon, which contains numerous borrowings from British English, as well as from the Aboriginal languages and various immigrant languages.

3.2.1. Australianisms

Australianisms are words, phrases, or expressions that are representative of or unique to Australian English or Australian culture. Furthermore, these idiosyncratic linguistic features may not be commonly used or understood in other English-speaking countries. Australianisms can include colloquial terms, slang, abbreviations, cultural references, and idiomatic expressions that are specific to the Australian language and way of life. They serve as reflections of the local history, geography, cultural influences, and social dynamics. Therefore, it can be said Australianisms contribute to the rich and diverse vocabulary of Australian English and play a significant role in shaping the country's unique linguistic identity.

Mate

While some manifold words and phrases are considered typically Australian and uncharacteristic of other varieties of English, there also exist many words that are common in different Englishes but it is in Australia that they take on a special (sometimes even new) meaning. Some of these words represent certain core values of the Australian national identity, such as *mate* and the notion of *mateship* that is generally understood as a bond of loyalty and mutual support between friends.

Although vocative *mate* is not unique to Australian English, it is often considered quintessentially Australian, reflecting the country's national character and spirit. The traditional understanding of *mate* suggests that it refers to someone seen as an equal, someone like the speaker who is also part of a broader collective identity. At the same time, *mate* is often associated with masculinity, and has roots in Anglo-Australian and working-class culture.

Interestingly, the *Australian National Dictionary* provides four distinct meanings for the word *mate*, all of which are specifically Australian. The first refers to an equal partner in a venture or enterprise, which was commonly used during the gold rush period. A fascinating expression that emerged around the same time and was

connected to this meaning was *to go mates*, which meant to work as an equal partner with someone. The second meaning of *mate* is simply an acquaintance, or someone engaged in the same activity. The earliest evidence for this usage comes from Victoria in 1841 and doesn't suggest a particularly close friendship. Conversely, the third interpretation considers a *mate* to be a sworn friend or someone with whom the bonds of close friendship are acknowledged. Evidence indicates that this sense of *mate* is often used among men. Finally, *mate* can be used as a mode of address that implies equality and goodwill. This is the sense found in the Australian expression *G'day mate*. However, in more recent times, the term *mate* can also be used ironically. For example, a 1983 quotation suggests that being called *mate* in the New South Wales Labor Party is like "getting a kiss from the Mafia" [9].

Despite its widespread use in informal interactions, there is very little literature on the use of *mate* in spontaneous discourse. This is due in part to the difficulty of obtaining naturalistic data, as *mate* is primarily used in informal settings. A search of multiple corpora on the Australian National Corpus website yielded only a small number of instances of *mate*, with the Australian Radio Talkback Corpus being the only corpus in which it was used with some frequency. However, the lack of demographic information accompanying this corpus made it difficult to investigate factors that might influence the use of *mate* [1, p. 602-603].

Having analyzed the use of this lexical unit in the AusBrown and ICE-AUS corpora, we noticed certain tendencies in the changes of meanings in which this word was mostly used, as well as its frequency. Only singular nouns were counted, while plural noun forms and verb forms were excluded from the results.

Thus, for example, in the 1930s the word was used in a set of different meanings: to refer to a comrade or work partner (2), an animal's partner (2), as well as to denote another person's partner (1) or an officer on a ship (1):

- *an hour later, Johnny, after a short consultation with his **mate**, went to the entrance to the cellar, and called in a low, troubled voice, "Mr. Skipton."*
(30F003, AusBrown)

- *Why not! Because the tiger's **mate** will be certain to come and look for him. (30F001, AusBrown)*
- *Brevis? To perform the common cycle of multiplication with any **mate** that offers? (30F002, AusBrown)*
- *...Tasmania, sank in Bass Strait yesterday, and the captain and **mate** were lost. The disaster occurred very suddenly. (30P009, AusBrown)*

It is noteworthy that the form of address typical of modern Australian English is not presented here, which gives us the reason to conclude that this feature was not yet common in the first half of the century. In the 1960s, however, a change in this trend is noticeable: of the 12 instances found, there are 5 sentences in which *mate* is used to refer to someone's friend, and in 4 cases it is used as a form of address to an interlocutor, both of which are key to Australian identity today. In addition, there are also 2 sentences where the lexical unit denotes someone's work partner, and only 1 case describing the animal's partner:

- *Let's dig 'em quick and smart, **mate**, Arty MacIntosh said. (60F003, AusBrown)*
- *We better be on our way, **mate**, I said. Be up before daylight. (60F003, AusBrown)*
- *He said, Better keep an eye on your **mate**. You should ha' got in the back with him. (60F015, AusBrown)*
- *...but it hurt my grandfather to share the profits with his **mate** every month. (60F009, AusBrown)*
- *...are brought up against a central confusion: the instinct for a **mate** and the satisfaction of the creative urge are natural impulses... (60L007, AusBrown)*

Data from the end of the century, however, show a clear shift in the semantic meaning in which the word is most commonly used. A total of 50 examples were found in the ICE-AUS corpus, of which 36 are illustrations of the use of *mate* to address an interlocutor. This is followed by 6 instances of use to denote a friend, 5 an animal's partner, and 3 to describe a person one shares an activity or accommodation with:

- *How are ya, **mate**? Good on ya, **mate**! (S1A-038(B):75, ICE-AUS)*

- *Mate, I had such a good time. (S1A-038(A):69, ICE-AUS)*
- *Well, I was down at Wagga last year for a year and a **mate** of mine had a bike there and he lived about twenty k's out of town. (S1A-011(B):220, ICE-AUS)*
- *The frogs are calling for a **mate**. (s2b-034(A):146, ICE-AUS)*
- *The best advise advice is to seek out a fishing **mate** who uses a sounder in these depths and can recommend a set, or go to a reputable dealer who has tested various sounders for performance in deep water. (W2D-015(noone):136, ICE-AUS)*

The overall percentage of various meanings of the word at different points in time throughout the 20th century can be seen in the chart below. In the illustration, we can see how the frequency of using the word *mate* in a certain sense changed throughout the 20th century. For example, in the first half of the century, it was not common to use *mate* to address the interlocutor, whereas, by the middle of the analyzed period, the frequency of such use reached 33%. By the end of the century, one can observe an even sharper increase to 72%, which indicates that the lexical unit had become tightly incorporated into the everyday speech of Australians by then. At the same time, referring to a friend was most prevalent in the middle of the century, while its popularity declined towards the end. However, it is worth noting that the form of address *mate* is often used specifically between friends, so the loss of this meaning is not in question.

Moreover, it should be mentioned that the use of *mate* in the role of a work partner has noticeably decreased, as well as a reference to a mariner and someone's partner. Among other things, the percentage of instances describing an animal's partner has decreased to some extent, but this is more likely due to the rather particular application in specific contexts than to the gradual disappearance of this meaning from speech. Lastly, by the end of the century, we observe the emergence of a new meaning of someone with whom one shares activities or housing (as in *fishing mate* or *flat mate*).

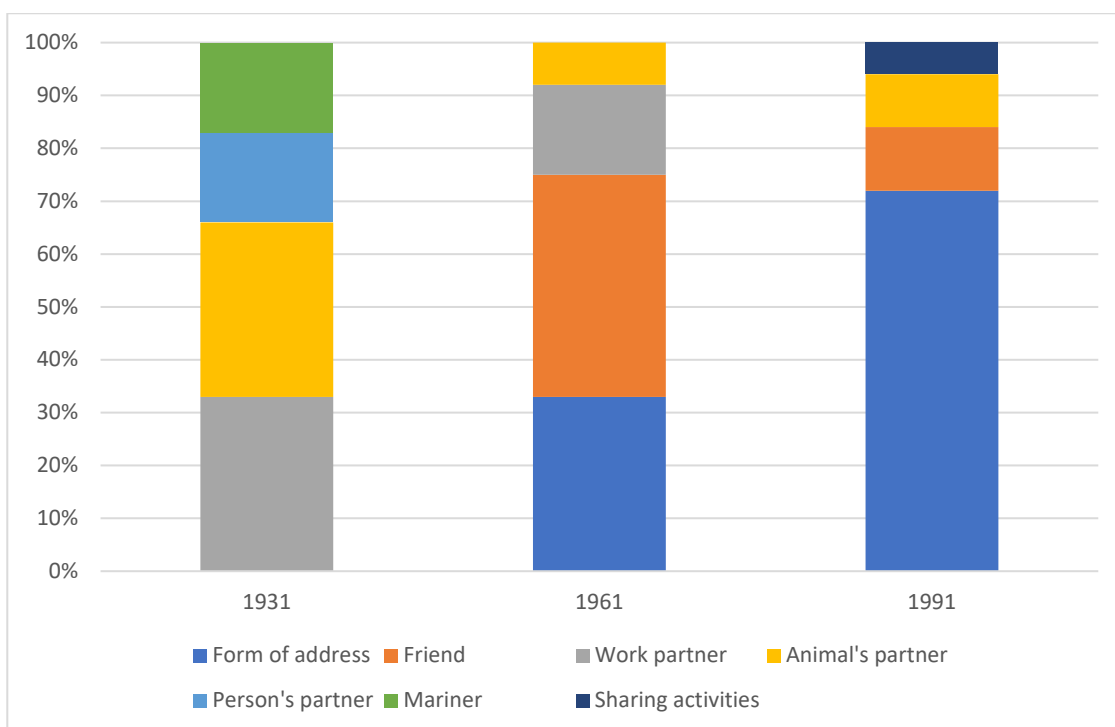


Figure 3.5. Changing Semantics of the Word 'Mate'

To summarize, we have observed a noticeable trend toward more frequent use of the word *mate* in contexts and meanings that are key to Australian national identity. Remarkably, the described linguistic process took place in parallel with the active formation and establishment of the Australian identity. At the same time, some other meanings gradually came out of use.

Bush

The English spoken by British settlers in different regions around the world reflects the unique history and culture of their respective societies. When colonists migrated to distant lands, they encountered natural environments that were vastly different from those of Britain. As a result, the English language used by British settlers in different countries underwent changes influenced by these new landscapes. Specific terms related to the local environment in different languages may not have direct equivalents in other languages or even in different varieties of the same language. One example of this is the term *the bush* in Australian English, which is also used in many other varieties of English but with slightly different meanings. While it originally refers to a specific Australian landscape, over time, it has acquired additional meanings associated with culture and human geography.

The word *bush* has a long history in Australian English and has evolved to encompass various linguistic features and usages. Firstly, *bush* is predominantly used as a noun to denote the Australian countryside or the outback. It refers to areas that are away from urban centers and often associated with rugged terrain, native vegetation, and wildlife. Secondly, the word can also function as an adjective to describe things related to the countryside or the outback (as in *bush tracks*, *bush animals*, or *bush life*). Furthermore, it is obviously used as part of idiomatic expressions, such as *bush tucker*, which refers to food obtained from native plants and animals found in the bush, or *bush telly*, signifying a campfire.

Moreover, the concept of the bush holds great cultural significance in Australian identity, often associated with notions of exploration, self-reliance, and resilience. It is reflected in Australian literature, music, and folklore, where the bush is depicted as a source of inspiration and a symbol of the national character [27, p. 450-465].

Since the term *bush* was adopted into Australian English back in the early 19th century, it is not surprising that examples of its use were found in all of the time periods discussed in this paper. It is important to point out, however, that in the 1930s 16 sentences with the term can be found, whereas in the 1960s the number drops to only 8 cases. Meanwhile, the figure for the 1990s is much higher and amounts to as many as 57 instances of *bush* usage. Below are some examples of the use of this concept in Australian English throughout the 20th century:

- ... going wrong with him, and as he meandered disconsolately through the **bush**, he almost wished the dogs had got him (1931). (30F001, AusBrown)
- ...supposed to be a wild hairy man wandering about the **bush** on the tops of the mountains (1961). (60L012, AusBrown)
- Now all the early paintings of the superb blue wren, the males had black wings and yet all the superb blue wrens you see in the Australian **bush** now have got grey wings (1991). (S1B-041(A):80, ICE-AUS)
- I love the **bush** and I love its wildlife (1991). (s2b-028(noone):27, ICE-AUS)

It is also worth mentioning that *bush* is often found as part of larger nouns such as *bushland* (*Most of it's been cleared and covered with roads houses only a few pockets of **bushland** survive, s2b-028(noone):32, ICE-AUS*), *bushwalker* that is used to denote a person hiking through bushland (*Yeah. Well, I... I'd been before 'cos I went with who were **bushwalkers** group there and that was funny because it was a really big group of us that went that year, S1A-040(B):40, ICE-AUS*), *bushman* to describe a person who lives or travels in the bush (*Harry knew the reserved, taciturn **bushman**, 60F015, AusBrown*), *bushdance*, *bushranger*, etc. Also interesting is the use of the idiom *bush bashing*, which refers to beating through thick bush and occurs several times in the corpus (*Or bush, yeah. **Bush bashing** or it's called paddock bashing, S1A-011(B):206, ICE-AUS*). However, for the purposes of this paper, such examples are not taken into account in the calculations.

Overall, the study shows that the word was in use throughout the whole century, as it denotes important realia in the lives of all Australians. The small dip in the frequency of *bush* usage in the 1960s can rather be explained by the fact that the corpus presents only a limited sample of lexical unit usage, which does not always contain the tokens we are interested in.

Outback

Similarly to the *bush*, the *outback* is one of the central components of Australian reality, which demonstrates the uniqueness of the continent's nature and landscape. In Australia, the *outback* refers to any inland region that is far away from urban centers and major cities, and it embodies a sense of isolation, harshness, and untouched natural beauty. It typically describes semi-arid areas where bodies of water are sparse and often dry. Interestingly, the term has been in use since the 19th century and has given rise to various related terms and expressions like *back of beyond*, *back country*, and *backblocks*. Analogous terms with comparable meanings obviously include the *bush* and *never-never* (which suggests a sense of distance, remoteness, and uncharted territory; the term is often used metaphorically to describe a place that is far away or difficult to reach, both physically and symbolically). These terms collectively capture the idea of remote and sparsely populated regions in the Australian landscape [48].

The term *outback* itself is deeply rooted in Australian culture and is often associated with the country's iconic imagery, such as vast red deserts, kangaroos, and wide-open spaces. Besides, it is a significant aspect of Australian identity and has a rich history and mythology associated with it.

It should also be noted that both corpora provide examples of the use of this concept in all periods, but the early and mid-20th century is characterized by a lower frequency compared to the later period. Whereas in the 1930s and 1960s the word occurs 3 times in each, in the 1990s it is observed in 16 sentences, which may indicate its more frequent use by Australians:

- *The Lord Mayor also praised the Aero Club for giving **outback** people the advantage of quick and efficient transport (1931). (30P009, AusBrown)*
- *...the physical environment: The quality of life in Katharine Prichard's **outback** communities is one aspect of this 'affectionate unity with the soil' (1961). (60L007, AusBrown)*
- *Have you been to the **outback** at all? (1991) (S1A-059(B):88, ICE-AUS)*
- *These characteristics included dislike of authority, mateship and a tough ruggedness, which enabled them to survive in the harsh Australian **outback** terrain (1991). (W1A-007(noone):14, ICE-AUS)*

In addition, we compared the frequency of use of the terms *bush* and *outback*, as they both denote similar concepts. Markedly, *bush* is much more common, which lets us conclude that this word is more firmly ingrained in the consciousness of Australians and is preferred in more contexts.

Table 3.13

	1931	1961	1991
Bush	16	8	57
Outback	3	3	16

Usage Frequency of Words 'Bush' and 'Outback'

Tall Poppy

The last Australianism we will analyze in this paper is the *tall poppy*. In Australian English, the term *tall poppy* or *tall poppy syndrome* refers to a cultural phenomenon where successful or high-achieving individuals are criticized, resented, or cut down to size to avoid appearing too proud or arrogant. It stems from a cultural aversion to excessive pride or self-promotion and an emphasis on humility and egalitarianism. The term draws from the metaphor of a poppy flower that grows taller than others, symbolizing someone who stands out or achieves remarkable success. The concept of *tall poppy syndrome* reflects a social tendency to undermine or downplay the achievements of those who excel, often to promote a sense of equality and reduce social hierarchies [36].

Unfortunately, this concept is not sufficiently represented in the corpora: there are no examples in AusBrown for any of the periods we are analyzing. Nevertheless, three sentences were found in ICE-AUS using the phrase in question:

- *Because of his success, Done became a **tall poppy**. Over the years, his name has lent itself to a variety of denigrations of his work. (W2B-010(noone):124, ICE-AUS)*
- *Done attributes his gradual acceptance to the current age, quality and experience of journalists whom he says have helped equalise the **tall poppy syndrome**. (W2B-010(noone):143, ICE-AUS)*
- *One **tall poppy**. (W2B-006(noone):3, ICE-AUS)*

Despite the practical absence of examples in the corpora, the term is an important element for understanding Australian identity, so it is worthy of mention. Yet, the paucity of examples can be attributed to the fact that the corpora provide only a selection of texts, while the saying is not used in all contexts.

3.2.2. Borrowings from the Indigenous Languages

Australian English has borrowed a significant number of words from Aboriginal languages, reflecting the long-standing connection between Indigenous Australian cultures and English-speaking settlers. Australia was home to an indigenous population

of around 300,000 Aborigines, divided into approximately 600 tribes with an average of 500 members in each tribe. The arrival of European settlers brought about an expansion of vocabulary in Aboriginal languages to encompass new concepts such as *bullock*, *policeman*, and later *airplane*. Similarly, the English vocabulary had to be expanded to describe the new fauna, flora, and aspects of Aboriginal culture encountered by the settlers.

In many cases, early settlers found similarities between local Australian fauna and flora and familiar species from Britain, leading them to apply existing English words to these new species. It is believed that within roughly a decade of the initial settlement at Port Jackson, several dozen words had already been borrowed. While some of these borrowed words referred to specific animals or plants, many were general words that found their way into the developing pidgin language, such as *baal* (meaning “no” or “not”), *murry* (meaning “very”), and *pyalla* (meaning “to speak”) [66, p. 169-170]. It is estimated that there are over 500 words of Aboriginal origin in Australian English. These words cover a wide range of areas, serving as a testament to the enduring influence of Indigenous cultures on Australian society.

Fauna

The words *dingo*, *kangaroo*, *koala*, and *wombat* are well-known examples of Indigenous borrowings that have found their way into English and foreign-language dictionaries. These words have not only retained their original meanings but have also developed idiomatic and phrasal usages in Australian English and beyond. For instance, the word *kangaroo*, which is considered the earliest and most famous borrowing from an Aboriginal language, has extended its meaning to include phrases like *kangaroo route* (referring to the Qantas flight to London), *kangaroo court* (representing a travesty of justice), and *kangaroo start* (describing jerky movements made by a starting automobile). The term *kangaroo* has even made its mark on global politics, with expressions like *kangaroo ticket* referring to a presidential ticket where the vice president is more popular than the president, suggesting that the ticket’s strength lies in its “hind legs.”

Moreover, the label *dingo* is sometimes applied to someone who is seen as cowardly or treacherous, while *wombat* is used to describe a person who is slow or unintelligent. In Australian English, a *wombat crossing* refers to a pedestrian crossing with a speed bump, and the *wombat trail* denotes the campaign trail traveled by Australia's National Party [38, p. 86].

Some other examples of fauna-related borrowings from the Indigenous languages include terms such as *kookaburra* (the distinctive Australian bird known for its loud, laughing call), *quokka* (a small, friendly marsupial native to Western Australia), and *bilby* (a small to medium-sized marsupial native to Australia).

Having analyzed the use of Aboriginal terms for fauna, we concluded that such words are not employed systematically. For some words, the frequency increased by the end of the 20th century, while for others it declined. Meanwhile, some lexical units were practically not represented at all or were absent altogether. The results of our calculations are presented in the table below.

Table 3.14

	1931	1961	1991
Kangaroo	5	0	28
Wombat	0	2	17
Dingo	1	3	1
Koala	0	0	8
Kookaburra	4	0	0
Quokka	0	0	1
Bilby	0	0	0

The Use of Fauna-Related Borrowings

As can be seen, *kangaroo*, being the most popular and earliest borrowing from the indigenous language, occurs most frequently in the corpus materials. It should also be noted that the results obtained in the course of the study do not include the instances of using the word *kangaroo* as a part of the name of a particular place or organization (as in *Kangaroo Island* or *Kangaroo Creek*). Meanwhile, the other words appear less

frequently in the corpus texts. Interestingly, in the 1960s, there is a significant decrease in the use (in most cases to 0) of terms related to fauna. Nevertheless, there is no ground to infer that these words were coming out of use at that time, rather it is explained by the fact that these expressions are not often used in speech, hence they are not presented in large amounts in the materials of AusBrown and ICE-AUS.

Flora

The linguistic landscape of Australian English was enriched by the incorporation of flora borrowings from Aboriginal languages, reflecting the profound connection between the unique flora of the continent and the rich cultural heritage of its Indigenous peoples. These borrowings offer insights into the intricate interplay between language, culture, and the natural environment.

The words belonging to this group include such terms as *bunya*, *coolabah*, *mallee*, *quandong*, *gymea*, *marri*, *muntries*, and many others. It is noteworthy, however, that the names of plants and trees of Aboriginal origin practically do not occur in the corpora, as can be seen in the table below.

Table 3.15

	1931	1961	1991
Bunya	0	0	1
Calombo	0	0	0
Coolabah	1	0	0
Gymea	0	0	0
Mallee	1	1	3
Marri	0	0	0
Muntries	0	0	0
Quandong	0	0	0

The Use of Flora-Related Borrowings

It should also be pointed out that for non-Australians all these words are not known at all. While many members of the Australian fauna are familiar to people from

all over the world, this does not apply to plants. This may be because animals such as kangaroos and koalas are iconic Australian animals, well known around the world, and almost a top tourist attraction. In addition, animals are much more often mentioned in pop culture or in documentaries, which also contributes to the awareness of the residents of other countries. One can also see animals in zoos, which again contributes to the local fauna popularization. Whereas plants are much rarer mentioned in literature and pop culture and are also unique to the region, hence they are not represented in other countries.

Yet, it is also remarkable that terms related to flora not only seem unknown to us, but they are also much less common in speech, especially compared with the names of animals. The following are a few examples found in the corpora:

- *'See the Christmas lights in the **bunya** pine?'* Clementine says to Patrick when they are all seated at the table (1991). (W2F-006(noone):36, ICE-AUS)
- *Wibbi arose and went out and climbed a stunted **coolabah** tree, and there concealed he dangled a spear low down... (1931) (30F030, AusBrown)*
- *The fire of dead **mallee** branches died down, and eggs sizzled in the pan (1961). (60F014, AusBrown)*

So, overall, a common tendency for the rare use of local fauna elements in speech and writing can be observed for the entire 20th century, as this group is represented in AusBrown and ICE-AUS corpora only in a few instances.

Aspects of Aboriginal Culture

The incorporation of borrowings from Aboriginal languages in Australian English has played a significant role in representing various aspects of Aboriginal culture. These words and phrases serve as a bridge, connecting the Indigenous heritage of Australia with the broader English-speaking community. From concepts like *dreamtime* and *tjukurpa* that encapsulate spiritual beliefs and ancestral stories, to terms like *corroboree* and *songline* that embody the rich traditions of ceremonial gatherings and cultural navigation, these borrowings bring forth a deeper understanding of Aboriginal culture and its profound connection to the land. These borrowings not only

enrich the vocabulary of Australian English but also foster cultural appreciation, paving the way for a more inclusive and diverse linguistic landscape.

The word *dreamtime*, for instance, refers to the Aboriginal concept of creation, spirituality, and the interconnectedness of all things. This term was borrowed to describe the Aboriginal understanding of the origins of the world and the ancestral stories passed down through generations. Another interesting lexical borrowing from the indigenous languages is the word *corroboree*, which describes a ceremonial gathering or dance in Aboriginal culture. It represents the spiritual and cultural traditions of Aboriginal communities, often involving music, singing, and storytelling. Some other terms related to the cultural idiosyncrasies of the local communities include *songline* (also known as a *dreaming track* or *dreaming path*; denotes a cultural concept where specific routes across the land are associated with particular creation stories and songs), *tjukurpa* (the Aboriginal law, stories, and cultural knowledge that guide everyday life and encompass ancestral narratives, moral codes, and land management practices).

One of the most well-known borrowings from Aboriginal languages in Australian English is, of course, *boomerang*, which holds a special place in the cultural identity of the country. The term refers to a unique curved throwing stick traditionally used by Aboriginal peoples. Boomerangs are not only iconic symbols of Australia but also possess significant cultural and practical significance since they serve as hunting tools, musical instruments, and objects of artistic expression. The borrowing of *boomerang* into English reflects the recognition and appreciation of Aboriginal culture, as well as the fascination with the distinctive Aboriginal technology and craftsmanship associated with this ancient tool. Its adoption in Australian English has contributed to the widespread awareness and international recognition of the boomerang as a symbol of Australia's Indigenous heritage.

Some other notable Aboriginal words used in Australian English are *cooee* (“a call used to attract attention or give warning”), *yakka* (“hard work”), and the calque *walkabout*. Similarly to other words mentioned above, *walkabout* represents an important aspect of Aboriginal culture. Derived from the Indigenous Australian

tradition of the same name, *walkabout* refers to a spiritual journey or rite of passage undertaken by young Aboriginal men, typically lasting for several weeks or months. During *walkabout*, individuals would venture into the wilderness, reconnecting with their ancestral lands, seeking spiritual guidance, and learning essential skills for survival. The term *walkabout* has been embraced in Australian English to describe a journey or period of wandering, often without a specific destination, reflecting a sense of exploration, self-discovery, and connection to the natural environment. This borrowing highlights the deep respect for Aboriginal traditions and their profound connection to the land, serving as a reminder of the rich cultural heritage that shapes Australia's identity.

After analyzing the use of terms from this group, we again can conclude that Aboriginal borrowings are not as commonly used in speech. Only a few examples were found in both corpora:

- *...the east and was wise and strong and brave as their own **dreamtime** heroes (1961). (60F009, AusBrown)*
- *Boonaroo is the cleverer one. Wibbi then would send his **boomerang** spinning straight upwards over his head, like wilibuk the bush-lark rising...(1931) (30F030, AusBrown)*
- *In the evening a **corroboree** was given in compliment to the visitor. This **corroboree** was extremely well got up (1931). (30L007, AusBrown)*
- *Janelle's busy most of the time but puts in the really hard **yakka** eight days a month when she hires a commercial kitchen (1991). (S2B-040(A):129, ICE-AUS)*
- *A sign of the little penguin's resilience is that two small colonies hang on **within cooee** of Australia's two biggest cities (1991). (W2B-025(noone):80, ICE-AUS)*
- *He would join this tribe occasionally when he went **walkabout** and engage in all the ceremonial rites and **corroborees** (1961). (60F026, AusBrown)*

Interestingly, even the word *boomerang*, which is one of the most well-known and popular borrowings, is virtually absent in the corpora. However, it is also worth noting that all of these concepts denote unique cultural phenomena and realities, so it

is obvious that they are not mentioned in speech very often. Moreover, it is also important to point out that the word *cooee* is mentioned only once and that is not in the direct meaning of *shout* or *call*, but as part of the idiomatic expression *within cooee*, which means “near or within earshot.” The overall results of the word frequency count for this group can be seen in the table below.

Table 3.16

	1931	1961	1991
Dreamtime	0	1	0
Boomerang	2	0	0
Corroboree	4	1	0
Songline	0	0	0
Tjukurpa	0	0	0
Cooee	0	0	1
Yakka	0	0	1
Walkabout	0	3	0

The Use of Borrowings Describing Aspects of Aboriginal Culture

As can be seen in the table, most of the words are either not present at all in the studied materials or occur only a couple of times. For some expressions, we can see a tendency to decline by the end of the 20th century (e.g., *dreamtime*, *boomerang*, and *corroboree*), while some others, on the contrary, are mentioned only in the 1990s.

3.2.3. Convict Language

Flash Language

At the early stages of the development of Australian English, the so-called flash language, or the criminal slang used by thieves and those living a life of crime, was an integral part of everyday communication, as early settlements mostly consisted of penal colonies. This language was used as a way for convicts to communicate privately, show solidarity, and prevent outsiders from understanding them [50, 299]. Thus, for instance, the terms *new chum* and *old hand* were colloquial expressions used to refer to recently arrived settlers and established residents respectively [61, p. 10].

However, the authorities associated flash language with criminal activities and attempted to prevent its use or inclusion in official documents, which is the reason why there is not much written evidence of its usage. The most valuable source of information about the flash language is a glossary that was compiled around 1812 and later published as part of the memoirs of an ex-convict, James Hardy Vaux, who, despite being born into a well-regarded family and brought up as a gentleman, chose to turn away from the conventional aristocratic lifestyle and ended up being sentenced and transported to New South Wales on three occasions.

Vaux's *A New and Comprehensive Vocabulary of the Flash Language* (first published in 1819) contains definitions and notes on about 740 words and phrases. Yet, some parts of the vocabulary were not uniquely Australian, as it was also used by convicts in other English-speaking countries. Some of the words and phrases were already commonly used colloquialisms, while others were once used only by thieves but have since entered informal Australian English with slightly altered meanings. Here are some examples of such terms: *to cadge* ("to beg"), *flash* ("belonging to those on the cross," now "flamboyantly expensive"), *to frisk* ("to empty or search thoroughly," now "to search (a person) for concealed weapons"), *job* ("a planned criminal action," now "a task" or "regular employment"), *kid(dy)* ("child thief," now "child"), *pal* ("partner, accomplice," now "companion"), *swag* ("booty, stolen goods," now "bundle of belongings") [50, p. 299-300], *to plant* ("to hide articles, animals, frequently stolen goods" [45, p. 11].

Among other things, Baker also mentions various examples of convict slang. For instance, the first authentic sample of such vocabulary in Australia is the expression *scrubbing brushes*, which was used to refer to bread containing more chaff and bran than flour. Other examples include the expressions *old fake* to denote a convict on his second probation, *logs* to describe a prison, *clean potato* to indicate a free man, *red shirt* for a back scarified by flogging, and *cockatoo* for a person who stands guard as lookout.

Another noteworthy example is the word *crawler* which refers to a convict who collaborates with the overseer to escape from his gang, only to be willingly captured

by the overseer later. By offering his temporary freedom, the overseer receives a reward in return. Besides, in order to refer to individuals who were born in Australia rather than being transported as convicts from Britain, the term *birthstains* was used. It highlighted a distinction between convicts who were native-born and those who arrived as prisoners, highlighting a perceived difference in status or social standing within the convict community [2, p. 44-46].

Since these slang words were specific to convicts who were sent to Australia in the early days of the colonies, it is not surprising that corpus word searches yielded no results in 20th-century materials. Of course, words such as *plant*, *kid*, or *flash* are used in both corpora multiple times, but exclusively in the sense we are all familiar with now, not in their slang meanings. The only exceptions were the words *swag* and *cockatoo*, both of which occur only once in 1961. Yet, even in this case, *swag* has its later meaning of a bundle, not of something stolen:

- ...*Gubba on a freezing evening in the thirties, with a badly-rolled swag on his back, boots worn through to the uppers...* (60F021, AusBrown)
- “*You’ll be cockatoo, Bert, won’t you?*” *Mick said.* (60F030, AusBrown)

Thus, it can be argued that in the 20th century, the flash language of the convicts was no longer very common, as it is not represented in the corpora. Nevertheless, one cannot claim its complete absence in everyday speech, since such vocabulary is not often displayed in literary works or conversations, which are recorded and used during corpus compilation.

Profanities

Furthermore, the Australian inclination towards profanity is often emphasized, and a group of so-called *b-words* including *bastard*, *bloody*, *bugger*, and *bullshit* have been identified as integral to the Australian language. Among these, the term *bloody* is often regarded as a significant Australian descriptor. It is used to express resistance against perceived injustices, to signify a sense of belonging to the common people, and to adopt an assertive stance in opposing negative attitudes or injustices. While it is

considered mild profanity, it is frequently used in colloquial speech and is less taboo in Australian culture compared to other English-speaking countries.

The results of our analysis confirmed the status of *bloody* as one of the ‘quintessential’ swear words in Australian English, as it appears in many more examples, followed by *bastard*, *bugger*, and then *bullshit*:

- ...going to keep on eating **bloody** peanuts and talking nonsense, and let that poor **bastard** live a bit longer (1961). (60F034, AusBrown)
- I dunno what’s gonna happen, **bloody hell**, **bloody hell** (1991). (S1A-014(A):71, ICE-AUS)
- What a **bugger**. You’re really truly here now (1991). (S2B-035(A):160, ICE-AUS)
- Scully felt his fingernails in his palms and tried to shake it off. It was not time for macho **bullshit** (1991). (W2F-019(noone):70, ICE-AUS)

Table 3.17

	1931	1961	1991
Bastard	1	5	21
Bloody	7	10	65
Bullshit	0	0	7
Bugger	0	0	14

Frequency of Use of Profanities

For all words, the same rising trend can be observed throughout the 20th century. While in the first half the number of usage instances is small or non-existent, by the end of the century there is a strong increase, indicating that these words have become more common in everyday speech and are no longer used exclusively by members of the lower classes.

Specific Terminology

In addition to flash language, the development of the convict system in Australia also contributed to the growth of specific terminologies that were used to organize and

administer the system. Although many of these terms are no longer used today, they are included in the *Australian Oxford Dictionary* to reflect their significance to Australian history. Examples of such terms include *conditional emancipation, convict colony, convict station, double-convict, Female Factory, free settler, muster book, penal colony, Prisoner of the Crown, ticket-of-leave*, etc. [45, p. 12-14].

As for the vocabulary associated with the convict system, the results of terminology calculations are analogous to those of convict slang. Having searched for all the words listed in this section, only two uses of the word *penal colony* were discovered in the 1990s, while other terms have disappeared from Australian speech altogether. It is also noteworthy that *penal colony* is used in both cases in history-related texts, referring to a particular period in the country's past:

- *Australia's roots sprung from the origins of a **penal colony** and as a British colonial settlement. (W1A-007(noone):14, ICE-AUS)*
- *If you were my students I would direct you to read "Efica: from **penal colony** to welfare state," "The Caves of Democracy," and Volume 3 of Wilbur's "The Dyer's Cauldron." (W2F-007(noone):9, ICE-AUS)*

Thus, we can safely conclude that the disappearance of certain elements of social organization and the realia and phenomena associated with convicts has led to the loss of the terms that denote them. Therefore, we can speak of an almost complete disappearance of words from this group.

3.2.4. Australian Rhyming Slang

Rhyming slang is one of the distinguishing features of Australian English, indicating the considerable influence of Cockney on the development of this variety. Slang in general provides information about a culture and has an informal and exclusive feel to it, but rhyming slang is particularly playful and tricky, often requiring a much deeper level of understanding than what is immediately apparent. As a primarily spoken form, rhyming slang is especially rich in cultural nuances. This type of language involves replacing a word with another word or phrase that rhymes with it, often a double-stressed expression. The rhyming part of the slang term is often

shortened or clipped, such as *apples and pears* becoming *apples* to refer to *stairs*. Therefore, to those unfamiliar with rhyming slang, the phrase *up the apples* may seem like nonsense.

As already mentioned, rhyming slang is commonly associated with the vibrant language of the famous Cockney accent. The origin of rhyming slang in Australia may be associated with Britain's policy of penal transportation (1787-1868) or with the mass migration due to the gold rush of 1851. London, as the recognized hub of this linguistic feature, and Liverpool, another place where rhyming slang was frequently used, were major seaports for travel to Australia, America, and other parts of the world. It thus immediately became part of everyday communication in the new settlements, but, as Lillo and Victor point out, the earliest indisputable recordings of the classical form of rhyming slang in Australia date back to 1897; after that, it became an integral part of the communication within the Australian community [74, p. vii-xi].

Rhyming slang was widely used alongside the flash language, allowing convicts to communicate in codes. However, its popularity diminished once the meaning behind the slang became widely known [50, p. 700-701]. Despite this, there are still some rhyming slang expressions in use today, with some having taken on the meaning of the original word they replaced: *rabbit and pork* ("talk"), *porky pies* ("lies"), *raspberry tart* ("fart"), *Captain Cook* ("look"), *Barry Crocker* ("shocker"), *Stuart Diver* ("survivor") [34], *egg flip* (a gambling "tip"), *barrier reef* ("teeth"), *trouble and strife* ("wife") [50, p. 700]. Furthermore, the certain impact of the use of rhyming slang may be seen even in Australian idioms, such as *she'll be apples* meaning "everything will be okay," which is likely derived from the rhyme *apples and rice* meaning "nice."

Despite the popularity of this feature in contemporary Australian speech, our corpora examination for the presence of the abovementioned phrases, as well as many others, yielded no results. Therefore, we cannot trace changes in the peculiarities of rhyming slang use in Australia in the 20th century.

Chapter Conclusions

This chapter analyzes the major grammatical and lexical features of Australian English and how they have changed throughout the 20th century. We have traced the frequency of use of a variety of grammatical constructions and lexical units in 1931, 1961, and 1991 in order to highlight the main trends associated with the continuous development and improvement of the Australian variety of English.

Concerning the grammatical features of the language, some general trends and similarities have been identified for a variety of characteristics. More than half of the constructions we examined showed increasing use during the 20th century. For example, the frequency of use of the plural form *youse* (as well as its equivalent variants *you's*, *yez*, *you guys*, and *you all*) increased significantly from 1961 (3 instances) to 1991 (49 instances), while in the beginning of the century, it was absent at all. The same is observed for the construction *than + accusative pronoun*, which is not observed in 1931, presented only in one sentence in 1961 and 9 in 1991.

There are also interesting dynamics in the way Australians form coordinated phrases. The typical *Me and NP* form of modern colloquial Australian is observed only at the end of the century, whereas in previous periods, the grammatically correct version of *NP and I* was mostly used. However, it is worth noting that the percentage of constructions with objective pronominal forms is only 7% (5% for *Me + NP* and 2% for *NP + me*), while 93% of cases still use the standard structure.

Another characteristic feature of Australian English is the use of double comparatives and superlatives, though, in the AusBrown and ICE-AUS corpora, these examples are practically absent. Only in the materials of the 1990s we found 3 such examples, therefore we can, with great reserve, speak of a more frequent use of such constructions at the end of the 20th century. However, taking into account the fact that only a limited number of texts are presented in the corpora, perhaps the absence of such structures in the 1930s and 1960s can be explained by their lack of specific materials and not in the speech of Australians in general.

In addition, the use of the words *better* and *gotta* with a modal meaning without the auxiliary *have* was analyzed. For the former, the predominant use of the

grammatically correct construction *had better* in most cases (90% in 1931 and 78% in 1991) was observed. In 1961, however, one sees a slight unexpected dip in the measurement results with *had better* being employed only in 58% of cases. As for *gotta*, we also see a similar pattern here, with standard combinations with *have* being mostly used in speech, while the independent use of *got to* and *gotta* is presented in 0% of sentences in 1931, 24% in 1961, and 14% in 1991. Thus, despite the overall very active use of the form *gotta* at the end of the century (73% of sentences), it is mostly used in combination with *have*, whereas *gotta* with a modal meaning is not as common in speech.

And the last grammatical feature that showed a positive dynamic is the preference for existentials in singularly marked forms in combination with plural forms of subjects. In this respect, there may be seen a sharp surge from 2 examples in the 1930s and 1 in the 1960s to 126 cases in the 1990s. Obviously, almost all of the instances found were presented in conversational transcripts, which indicates the active use of this construction in colloquial speech and not in writing.

In contrast, some other grammatical structures have shown a negative dynamic, confirming the claims of a gradual decline in their use presented in the scientific literature. First of all, it concerns the forms *whom* and *shall*, which, as part of the global trend characteristic of all varieties of English, have become less common in Australia as well. Thus, the use of *whom* decreased from 30 instances in 1931 to 20 in 1991, while *shall* also showed a similar dynamic, with the figures dropping from 73 in 1931 to 20 in 1961 and to 14 in 1991.

Moreover, we observed a decline in the use of *needn't* and *daren't*, and a growing preference for *do*-periphrasis instead. Thus, the use of *do*-periphrasis in combination with the verbs *need* and *dare* increased from 30% at the beginning of the century to 68% at the end of the 20th century, indicating a growing preference for such constructions.

In addition, it should be noted that some features of Austrian English did not show much change throughout the 20th century. Thus, for example, the use of *them* instead of *those* increased from only 1 case in 1931 to 3 in 1991, which does not allow

us to draw conclusions about the growing popularity of this form, as the difference in values is too small. The same is true of the use of *me* instead of *my*, which was found in 8, 5, and 7 sentences at the beginning, middle, and end of the 20th century respectively. Thus, in general, the usage frequency has not changed. Also, similar can be stated about the use of *of* instead of *have* after verbs *could*, *would*, and *should*, as well as about the choice of singular verb forms in combination with plural subjects, which was noted only in a few separate cases in the analyzed periods. This gives us ground to conclude that these grammatical features were not very common in the 20th century.

Finally, interesting results were obtained during the analysis of the epistemic *mustn't*. Despite the fact that this feature has been part of the speech of Australians for more than a century, no examples of its use were found in the corpora.

As for the lexical peculiarities of Australian English, first of all, we should mention Australianisms. It is this group of words that occurs most frequently of all the lexical groups analyzed in this paper. Of course, the most popular words are those which are part of the national identity of Australians and represent the concepts and values important to them. This is especially true of the word *mate*, the frequency of which has increased from 6 occurrences in 1931 to 50 in 1991. Moreover, it is noteworthy that the word began to be used in the meaning we are interested in only in the middle of the century, and by the end of the century, it had become the predominant meaning of the word. At the same time, some other meanings became obsolete and out of use. The Australianisms *bush* and *outback* were also analyzed, with the word *bush* being more frequently used. In addition, *bush* is a part of many compound nouns, which further adds to its popularity in speech.

As for the borrowings from Aboriginal languages, all of them are characterized by low frequency of use. The only exceptions are *kangaroo* and *wombat*, which occur in the 1990s in 28 and 17 sentences respectively. This can be easily explained by the fact that these animals, primarily *kangaroo*, are the symbols of the country and are therefore often mentioned in speech and various sources. At the same time, the names of other animals, plants, and cultural elements of the indigenous population are either

not present at all or occur only in a few cases in the corpora, which can be explained by the fact that they are usually used in more specific contexts.

The last categories considered were words related to convicts and rhyming slang. Only two examples of flash language were found in the corpus, along with one lexical unit related to the organization of the convict society. The rest of the words are already out of use, as they are obsolete (at least in the meanings described in the sections above). This can also be attributed to the disappearance of the very phenomena and realia they denote in modern Australia. Thus, there is no need for words to represent such notions either.

Interesting results were also obtained for the group of profanities, or the so-called *b-words*, which are typical for the everyday speech of Australians. All of them showed the same growing tendency: at the beginning and in the middle of the century only *bastard* (1 and 5 occurrences respectively) and *bloody* (7 and 10 occurrences) were used, while in 1991, the number of examples with these terms was 21 and 65 respectively. The words *bullshit* (7) and *bugger* (14) also appeared in speech at the end of the period. This indicates that during the 20th century, people's perceptions changed and the use of swear words became less stigmatized.

Rhyming slang, despite still being a distinctive feature of the Australian variety, is not represented in the corpora, so it was not possible to analyze its use.

Overall, in this chapter, we have managed to describe some of the main grammatical and lexical features of Australian English, as well as to trace the major trends in their development and understand how the language gradually evolved over the course of the 20th century.

CONCLUSIONS

Australia, an extraordinary land down under, captures the imagination with its vast expanses, diverse wildlife, and welcoming people. With its sunny beaches, rugged Outback, and cosmopolitan cities, Australia has carved out its own distinct place on the global stage. As we explore the cultural tapestry of this country, one aspect that stands out is its distinctive language: Australian English. Just like the country itself, Australian English has a unique character, reflecting the spirit, history, and multicultural heritage of the land.

This study aimed to conduct a comprehensive analysis of the principal grammatical and lexical traits exhibited by Australian English during certain periods of the 20th century. In the course of our study, we successfully accomplished the initial objectives outlined in the beginning of this paper: we have examined and mapped out the stages of the formation and development of Australian English; have explained the impact of different language varieties on the distinctive features observed in Australian English; have provided a comprehensive overview of the primary phonetic, lexical, and grammatical features that are associated with Australian English; have conducted an extensive investigation into the usage patterns prevalent in Australian English throughout the 20th century; have analyzed the principal grammatical features of Australian English, tracking their evolution and identifying discernible trends that have emerged over the course of the century; have identified the predominant lexical categories within Australian English and carefully examined the changes and shifts in vocabulary usage across different time periods within the past century; have systematized our findings to outline the overarching trends and tendencies that characterize Australian English of the 20th century.

To accomplish our objectives, we began the first chapter by presenting a theoretical overview of the historical progression of Australian English, utilizing Schneider's Dynamic Model as the foundation. We extensively examined the five traditionally identified stages of development for postcolonial English, namely Foundation, Exonormative stabilization, Nativization, Endonormative stabilization,

and Differentiation. Additionally, we identified the linguistic influences of British dialects, as well as other varieties such as Irish and American English, which contributed to the formation of Australian English. Our focus then shifted to outlining the key characteristics of the established Australian variant, with particular emphasis on phonetics, grammar, and vocabulary.

In the second chapter, we provided an account of the primary research methods employed in our study. Through diachronic analysis, we were able to track language changes across time by utilizing corpora as our primary source of data. For our investigation, we selected two corpora: Australian Brown, which supplied data pertaining to the 1930s and 1960s, and ICE-Australia, which served as the source for data from the 1990s. These corpora facilitated our exploration of language evolution and usage patterns throughout different time periods.

In the third chapter, we conducted a comprehensive analysis of the grammatical and lexical features of Australian English in the context of the 20th century. By examining the linguistic data from several periods, we were able to single out certain patterns and trends that are characteristic of the evolution of this unique variety of English.

The examination of grammatical aspects of Australian English highlights the prominence of the vernacular, which showcases a significant departure from standard language norms. Specifically, the analysis focused on pronouns, nouns, noun phrases, verbs, and verb phrases, revealing distinct categories of features that exhibit diverse patterns of change over the investigated period. The majority of the constructions studied displayed an upward trajectory in usage throughout the 20th century. For instance, the usage frequency of the second-person plural form *youse* and its variants such as *you's*, *yez*, *you guys*, and *you all* rose steeply from a mere three instances in the middle of the century to a remarkable 49 instances at the end of the century, signifying a substantial increase compared to its absence at the beginning of the century. A similar finding pertains to the construction *than + accusative pronoun*, although its numbers did not increase as rapidly.

Furthermore, coordinated phrases exhibit intriguing dynamics within Australian English. The colloquial expression *Me and NP* came into use toward the end of the century. However, constructions with objective pronominal forms (*Me and Fred* or *Fred and me*) constitute only a small fraction (7%) of instances, with the standard structure (*Fred and I*) comprising 93% of cases.

The use of double comparatives and superlatives (*most dullest*) had limited representation in the AusBrown and ICE-AUS corpora. Therefore, it is almost impossible to draw any conclusions based on such a small amount of data.

While examining grammatical constructions with modal meaning, we explored the usage of *better* and *gotta* without the auxiliary *have*. Yet, both constructions showed a consistent preference for the grammatically correct form with an auxiliary compared to the independent usage as a modal form.

One notable grammatical feature exhibiting a positive trend is the preference for singularly marked existentials combined with plural subject forms. Instances of this construction surged from a mere two examples in the 1930s and one in the 1960s to impressive 126 cases in the 1990s. The abundance of such instances in conversational transcripts highlights its active use in colloquial speech rather than in written communication.

Conversely, certain grammatical structures demonstrated a negative trend, supporting existing literature on their gradual decline. Examples include the decreasing usage of *whom* from 30 instances in 1931 to 20 in 1991 and the declining frequency of *shall* from 73 instances in 1931 to 14 in 1991 (as part of the global shift). Additionally, the forms *needn't* and *daren't* experienced a decline, with a growing preference for the *do*-periphrasis construction (*You don't need to worry* instead of *You needn't worry*). The usage of *do*-periphrasis with *need* increased from 30% at the beginning of the century to 68% by its end, indicating a change in preference towards this construction.

Meanwhile, certain grammatical features of Australian English remained relatively stable throughout the whole 20th century. For instance, the use of *them* instead of *those* (*The boss is goin' to clear them scrubbers out of the range soon*) experienced a minimal increase from one instance in 1931 to three in 1991, suggesting a lack of

significant change. Correspondingly, the use of *me* instead of *my* (*She's me grand-aunt*) showed no substantial variation throughout the century. A similar observation can be made regarding the substitution of *of* for *have* after verbs like *could*, *would*, and *should*, as well as the utilization of singular verb forms with plural subjects. These patterns were found only in a few instances throughout the analyzed periods, leading us to conclude that these grammatical features were not particularly prevalent during the 20th century.

Regarding the lexical peculiarities of the variety, Australianisms emerged as the most frequently occurring lexical group. These words, closely tied to the national identity and cultural values of Australians, demonstrated an upward trend in usage. For instance, the frequency of the word *mate* increased from six occurrences in 1931 to 50 in 1991. It is worth mentioning that the intended meaning of *mate* as a form of address to a friend emerged only in the middle of the century, eventually becoming the dominant interpretation. Concurrently, certain other meanings of the word faded into obsolescence and fell out of common usage (*mate* as a mariner or a work partner, for instance). Australianisms like *bush*, *outback*, and *tall poppy* were also analyzed, with *bush* being more commonly used, especially in compound nouns.

Borrowings from Aboriginal languages exhibited a relatively low frequency of use, with exceptions such as *kangaroo* and *wombat* appearing more prominently due to their association with national symbols. Other names of animals, plants, and cultural elements of the indigenous population were either absent or infrequently used, typically within specific contexts.

The analysis of convict-related terms and rhyming slang revealed limited occurrences. Flash language appeared only twice in the corpora, and most other words related to the convict society have fallen out of use, reflecting the disappearance of the phenomena they represented. Similarly, rhyming slang could not be thoroughly analyzed due to its absence in the corpora.

Lastly, the study explored the usage of profanities, namely the so-called *b-words*, which are characteristic of everyday Australian speech. The frequency of terms like *bastard* and *bloody* increased throughout the 20th century, while words like *bullshit* and

bugger were observed only toward the end of the period. These findings suggest a shift in societal perceptions, with the use of swear words becoming less stigmatized over time.

In conclusion, we have conducted a study of the core features of Australian English and how they have changed over the course of the 20th century. The collection of linguistic data from different periods has helped us outline the leading tendencies in the development of certain characteristics. We have observed both positive and negative trends in the usage of grammatical constructions, highlighting the changing linguistic landscape. Additionally, the study of lexical peculiarities has revealed the increasing prominence of Australianisms reflecting the cultural and national identity of Australians. Through our examination of corpora, we have gained valuable insights into the evolution and transformations of Australian English, contributing to a deeper understanding of this unique variety of language.

SUMMARY

Australian English is a distinctive variety of the English language, known for its unique accent, grammar, and vocabulary. Despite its relatively brief history, Australian English has developed its own set of linguistic features, including idiosyncratic lexical units, idiomatic expressions, and slang terminology. Initially established as a British colony in the late 18th century, Australia was home to thousands of people from various parts of the British Isles with different dialectal backgrounds and was further influenced by the indigenous languages spoken on the continent. Over time, Australian English has evolved into a distinct and independent variety, deserving careful examination and scrutiny.

In this paper, the history and development of Australian English in the 20th century are explored. The distinct features of this variety during three time periods, namely the early 1900s, the mid-20th century, and the late 20th century, are studied with a focus on grammar and vocabulary. To conduct the study, linguistic materials from the Australian Brown corpus and the Australian subdivision of the International Corpus of English are analyzed. The diachronic method helps to unravel the linguistic transformations that occurred during the stage of endonormative stabilization and the early years of the differentiation stage. The analysis further helps to uncover the underlying trends and patterns that have shaped Australian English throughout its development.

The examination of grammatical features of Australian English brings attention to the vernacular, which exhibits the highest number of deviations from the standard language. Pronouns, nouns, and noun phrases, as well as verbs and verb phrases, are analyzed, revealing distinct groups of features that display varying trends throughout the researched period. Some features demonstrate an upward trajectory, indicating increasing usage (for instance, the use of singular existential *there's* in combination with plural subjects, the use of second-person plural form *yous*, as well as preference for *do*-periphrasis in negative sentences with *need* or *dare*), while others are losing popularity as part of a global trend (smaller usage frequency for *whom* or *shall*, to give

an example). Additionally, certain features remain relatively stable over the course of the 20th century (misuse of pronouns: *them* instead of *those*, *me* instead of *my*), showcasing their consistent usage in Australian English, although with smaller frequency.

In terms of the lexicon, the research considers different groups of lexical units. Australianisms, which are words and expressions unique to the region, are examined. Particular attention is paid to the words *mate*, *bush*, *outback*, as well as the term *tall poppy*. Moreover, borrowings from indigenous languages are investigated and divided into subcategories of flora, fauna, and elements of Aboriginal culture. The paper also explores language associated with convicts and rhyming slang, although these groups are barely present in both corpora. By investigating the frequency of use for specific words and expressions, valuable insights are gained, highlighting that Australianisms constitute the most prevalent category in everyday speech.

To summarize, this paper provides an overview of a specific period in the evolution of Australian English and explores key linguistic features that characterize this variety during the 20th century. As a result of a careful examination of these features, significant patterns and trends in the development of Australian English have been uncovered. The findings of this study can serve as a valuable resource for further research into the history of Australian English or for comparative analyses with other English varieties. Ultimately, this research contributes to a deeper understanding of the unique linguistic traits and historical progression of Australian English.

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