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"We're all mates here, mate": Linguistic stereotyping of Australians in two American animated children's films

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List of abbreviations

AAVE   African American Vernacular English

AmE   American English

AusE   Australian English

AusNC   Australian National Corpus

BE   British English

EngEng   English English

GA   General American

HCE   Harrington-Cox-Evans system of AusE transcription

HRT   High Rising Tune

MD   Mitchell-Delbridge system of AusE transcription

MUSE   Mainstream US English

NNE   Non-native English

NZE   New Zealand English

RP   Received Pronunciation

SAusE   Standard Australian English

SRT   Subjective Reaction Test

SSBE   Standard Southern British English

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1. Introduction

When I came across Lippi-Green's (1997) work on linguistic stereotyping in animated children's films I was immediately intrigued, being a lover of accents and Disney films alike. My interest in the subject only grew as I read other studies in the field and began to understand the repercussions of linguistic discrimination. It struck me that these analyses were mainly concerned with American and British dialects in children's films, in addition to foreign English accents, and not with other standard varieties of English. It was indeed surprising to discover that animated children's films rarely featured speakers of Canadian and Australian English and even less of New Zealand or South African English. Having studied in Sydney, Australia, for one semester and having become very fond of the Australian dialect and aware of some common Australian stereotypes, I decided to investigate the portrayal of Australian characters in American animated children's films.

Over the last two decades, the portrayal of linguistic stereotypes in American animated children's films has become a central subject of sociolinguistic research. Various studies have analysed the representation of the films' characters by means of accent, paying special attention to certain native and non-native varieties of English. Recent investigation into the possible effects suggests a link between accent portrayal in animated children's films and children's perceptions of these accents. Nevertheless, the way in which Australian English-speaking characters are portrayed has been largely neglected. The findings regarding the correlations between accent portrayal and children's attitudes justify, and arguably even demand, an examination of the representation of Australian characters in American animated children's films.

This study aims to provide an insight into the portrayal of Australian English-speaking characters in American animated children's films by means of the Australian English accent. In order to understand how the Australian accent is used in these films, the following three main questions have to be answered.

1. What are the purposes of the Australian accent in the films?
2. Which kinds of Australian stereotypes are employed when the accent is used for characterisation?
3. Are there any correlations between character role and type of Australian accent (i.e., Broad, General, and Cultivated)?

This analysis is expected to illustrate the portrayal of Australian English-speaking

characters in animated children's films. In more general terms, it will likely extend our understanding of how linguistic stereotyping works in animated films addressed at children. More precisely, this study will not merely shed light on how Australians are perceived outside Australia but it might also provide significant information on which kinds of Australian stereotypes are transmitted to children by animated movies.

For these purposes, two American-produced animated children's films with stories set in Australia will be analysed. More precisely, *The Rescuers Down Under* (1990) and *Finding Nemo* (2003) will serve as the primary sources for this thesis. For the analysis I will combine linguistic methods and the study of stereotypes and characters. In a first step, descriptions of the Australian identity and studies regarding Australians' and Americans' attitudes towards Australian English will be consulted, in order to establish which kinds of stereotypes exist. I will then consider the medium of animated films in general and how voices are chosen and employed in animated films, in particular. These investigations will form the basis of the following film analyses. In a first step, an auditory analysis will help to categorise the characters' accents along an Australian/non-Australian scale. The characters will further be classified in terms of 'character role', 'character type', 'motivation', and 'sex' in order to determine the overall distribution of accents with regards to certain features in the films. A phonological analysis of the Australian speaking characters' utterances and the phonemic and phonetic transcription of highly characteristic stretches of speech will then be used to precisely determine the variety of Australian English. Subsequently, the characters will be examined in relation to the Australian stereotypes previously established to determine which characters are characterised through their accent. Finally, the Australian characters' accents will be considered in relation to their role in the films to investigate any underlying trends regarding the use of the Australian English accents. The analysis does not come without its limitations. The auditory analysis, as Milroy and Gordon (2003: 151) have pointed out, is rather subjective and thus not always entirely reliable. Nevertheless, it has been chosen here because its execution is much simpler and faster than that of instrumental sound analysis.

In Chapter 2 I will present and discuss the most important concepts of this thesis and I will show the relevance of social and linguistic stereotypes with regards to people's judgements of others. This chapter will further indicate just how significant the media is in the formation and perpetuation of social stereotypes.

In Chapter 3 I will provide an overview of previous research in the area of

linguistic stereotyping in animated children's films. We will see that animated children's films use language to characterise characters through the exploitation of stereotypes associated with the language. Furthermore, I will show that the often highly stereotypical portrayal of certain language groups is not without consequences, as child viewers' attitudes towards certain varieties of English may be influenced by the films' representations of characters that speak with these accents.

In Chapter 4 I will explore a large number of stereotypes associated with the Australian English accent and its speakers by considering descriptions of the 'typical' Australian (Chapter 4.1). Furthermore, a detailed examination of the concept of mateship will shed light on the Australian identity (Chapter 4.2). By considering two famous Australians, namely Paul Hogan and Steve Irwin, I will demonstrate the importance of the media in the formation and reinforcement of stereotypes (Chapter 4.3).

Chapter 5 will present a detailed discussion of Australian English. I will first explore the three different types of the Australian English accent (Chapter 5.1) and then move on to present the most characteristic phonological (Chapters 5.2, 5.3 and 5.4) and lexical features (Chapter 5.5) of the Australian English dialect to lay the basis for the analysis of the Australian characters' utterances.

Chapter 6 explores Australians' (Chapter 6.1) and Americans' (Chapter 6.2) attitudes towards Australian English. The discussion of a Danish study investigating Danes' attitudes towards Australian English will be used to highlight the role of the media in the creation of language attitudes (Chapter 6.3). Thus, this chapter will emphasise the importance of media portrayals of Australians in relation to stereotype and attitude formation.

In Chapter 7 I will consider the medium of film in more detail. I will show how animated films are made (Chapter 7.1) and, most importantly, how characters' voices are selected and crafted (Chapter 7.2). Furthermore, a discussion of dialogue in film in relation to Goffman's (1979) participation framework will highlight the film director's importance in the voice-selection process as well as in the creation of character speech (Chapter 7.3).

In Chapter 8 I will explain the methodology. In a first step, I will provide background information on the two films, a summary of the films' plots, and a brief overview of the Australian voice actors of the two films (Chapter 8.1). I will then move on to the presentation of the methods used in this analysis as well as a description of the

categories and the transcription system employed (Chapter 8.2). Finally, I will point out problems I faced during the research process and general limitations of the study (Chapter 8.3).

The results of this thesis will be presented and discussed in Chapter 9. First, a general overview of the accent distribution in the two films will be provided (Chapter 9.1). Then, the results regarding the purposes of the Australian English accent will be presented (Chapter 9.2). Finally, the findings regarding the correlations between Australian English accent types and the characters' roles will be discussed (Chapter 9.3).

Chapter 10 will conclude this thesis by summarising the study's results, pointing to limitations and problems encountered during the research process, and offering suggestions for future research in the field.

2. Key concepts

This chapter presents an overview of the most important concepts used in this study. It will begin with a brief explanation of what sociolinguistics is and which sub-disciplines it includes, and then move on to quickly explain the notion of language attitudes. Although our main focus lies on stereotypes, attitudes will be considered here as well since they are closely linked to the former. In Chapter 2.3 social stereotypes will be defined and their formation process considered. Finally, the notion of linguistic stereotypes as well as the related concept of indexicality will be discussed in detail in Chapter 2.4. Given that the main object of interest of this thesis is the linguistic stereotyping of characters in animated children's films, this chapter primarily discusses the concepts relevant in this context.

2.1 Sociolinguistics

As the name already suggests, sociolinguistics is concerned with society and language and their relationship to each other. As we will see below, sociolinguistics includes a variety of fields of study, one of which is *the social psychology of language*. This sub-discipline is of special importance in our context, as it is concerned with "the psychological dimension of language in society" (Coupland & Jaworski 1997: 267), which involves the study of attitudes and stereotypes (Coupland & Jaworski 1997: 267). We can define sociolinguistics as "the study of language in its social contexts and the

study of social life through linguistics" (Coupland & Jaworski 1997: 1). Moreover, sociolinguistics "is concerned with language as a social and cultural phenomenon" (Trudgill 1986: 32), and thus investigates both language and society, and the role language plays in society. Sociolinguistics has been described as being "still a young discipline" in the field of linguistics (Coupland & Jaworski 1997: 5). That is, the relationship between language and society only began to be extensively studied in the 1960s, although it had been the focus of numerous studies well before then, and has been "one of the main growth points in the study of language" (Hudson 1996: 1) in recent decades. Sociolinguistics is closely linked to a number of other disciplines, such as "social sciences, especially social psychology, anthropology, human geography, and sociology" (Trudgill 1986: 32). Owing to its interdisciplinary nature, sociolinguistics has been referred to as lying at "the intersection of linguistics, sociology and social theory, social psychology and human communication studies" (Coupland & Jaworski 1997: 1). As touched on above, sociolinguistics also includes several sub-branches, such as "*urban dialectology* (or *urban variation studies*), the *ethnography of communication* (including work on *language across cultures*), the *sociology of language* (including *multilingualism*), and the *social psychology of language* (especially studies of *attitudes towards language varieties*)" [original emphasis] (Coupland & Jaworski 1997: 1). As mentioned above, this thesis is concerned with attitudes and stereotypes and thus *the social psychology of language*. Let us now turn to the definitions of these two concepts.

2.2 Language attitudes

Attitudes were first studied in the context of social psychology (Baker 1992: 8), but they have become highly significant in the field of sociolinguistics since the mid 1960s (Garrett 2010: 19). Sociolinguists, and especially those studying *the social psychology of language*, are concerned with language attitudes, which have been the main area of research in that sub-discipline (Coupland & Jaworski 1997: 267). Although attitudes have been studied extensively, they have not yet been commonly defined (Garrett 2010: 19). In general, however, scholars agree that attitudes involve positive or negative evaluations of an object of thought (Ajzen 2005: 3; see Garrett 2010: 19-20). Given that a detailed consideration of all definitions would go beyond the scope of this thesis, I shall use the one offered by Ajzen (2005), as it appears to summarise the most important aspects. According to Ajzen (2005), then, "[a]n attitude is a disposition to

respond favorably or unfavorably to an object, person, institution, or event" (3). That is, attitudes may be positive or negative in nature and they are directed at an object of thought. More precisely, a positive attitude towards an object can be understood as the positive evaluation of that object, while the negative evaluation of the object would result in a negative attitude towards it. Notably, attitudes cannot be directly observed since they "are latent, hypothetical characteristics that can only be *inferred* from external, observable cues" [original emphasis] (Ajzen 2005: 2). If studied, however, they can reveal "current community thoughts and beliefs, preferences and desires" (Baker 1992: 9). These social indicators are only true at a certain point in time, because attitudes are subject to change (Ajzen 2005: 6).

As we have seen, sociolinguistics is concerned with one special type of attitudes, namely language attitudes. Trudgill (1986) emphasises that language attitudes, or "value judgements concerning the correctness and purity of linguistic varieties" as he calls them, "are *social* rather than linguistic" [original emphasis] (20). That is, languages, and especially non-standard varieties, are associated with certain groups of speakers that have a certain status within their society and are valued according to this status. Thus, a negative language attitude towards a non-standard dialect mirrors the negative attitude held towards the social group that speaks the dialect. These evaluations of languages may also reveal a person's "societal *values*" [original emphasis] (Trudgill 1986: 20). In other words, as Leitner (2004) puts it, "[l]anguage attitudes are a powerful factor in judging individuals, groups, nations even" (90). This shows that language and society are tightly linked with respect to attitudes.

Above I have already mentioned that attitudes are discussed here because of their connection to stereotypes. More precisely, attitudes about a social group are closely related to the stereotypes held about that group. This relationship can be explained by considering how attitudes are expressed. As Eagly and Mladinic (1989: 543) point out, attitudes can be disclosed in a variety of ways, but they appear to be generally classified as: cognitive, affective, and behavioural. These three classes correspond to thoughts about an attitude object, feelings or emotions towards it, and actions in relation to the object, respectively (Eagly & Mladinic 1989: 543). The first category is what relates attitudes and stereotypes. More precisely, when a social group is the object of thought, the evaluative thoughts about it and the stereotypes associated with it are equivalent (Eagly & Mladinic 1989: 543). To understand this further, I shall explain the concept of social stereotypes in the following chapter.

2.3 Social stereotypes

Like attitudes, stereotypes are not easily defined, and, therefore, various definitions exist (Hewstone & Giles 1997: 270). I will adopt Kristiansen's (2001) definition of stereotypes in this study, owing to its clarity and simplicity. According to Kristiansen (2001), "stereotypes may be defined as a *shared* set of beliefs (and disbeliefs) about a cognitive group" [original emphasis] (138). If stereotypes are beliefs held by a group of people about another group, there are several questions we have to ask concerning their origin, development, and nature. Regarding the basis of stereotypes, Allport (1954: 190) argues that stereotypes may originate in facts or imaginative ideas. These facts or ideas are then sharpened, overgeneralised, and exaggerated (Allport 1954: 190, 191). Thus, in Tajfel's (1969: 82) words, stereotypes "introduce simplicity and order where there is complexity and nearly random variation". This leads us to the conclusion that some stereotypes may be true to a certain extent, while others may be completely wrong (Allport 1954: 192). These beliefs, whether they are true or false, are attached to a certain group, as we have seen above. The people who hold the beliefs establish these cognitive groups. By listing three major aspects in the formation of stereotypes, Hewstone and Giles (1997: 271) also explain how cognitive groups or categories, as they call them, are formed.

1. Other individuals are categorized, usually on the basis of easily identifiable characteristics such as sex, ethnicity, speech style.
2. A set of traits, roles, emotions, abilities, interests, etc., is attributed to all (or most) members of that category. Individuals belonging to the stereotyped group are assumed to be similar to each other, and different from other groups, on this set of attributes.
3. The set of attributes is attributed to any individual member of that category.

The first step of stereotype creation involves the categorisation of others according to certain salient features. Hewstone and Giles (1997: 271) mention "speech style" in this context, which indicates that language is an important discriminatory feature and that it can play a crucial factor in the creation of stereotypes. The individuals then form a cognitive group or category. This category is subsequently associated with a specific set of characteristics in the second step. Hewstone and Giles (1997: 271) already speak of a "stereotyped group" at this point. The third and last step involves the attribution of these features ascribed to the category as a whole to every single person within that group. Stereotypes, then, can be understood as descriptions of these categories (Allport 1954:

191). The three-step-model of stereotyping suggested by Howard and Giles (1997) emphasises what we have already seen above, namely the importance of overgeneralisation in the process of stereotyping. Now that we understand the basis and the formation process of stereotypes, let us briefly consider their nature.

It seems that stereotypes are commonly understood as being negative in nature (Hewstone & Giles 1997: 271), although they may also represent positive beliefs about a category (Allport 1954: 191). Furthermore, it seems that stereotypes are unstable, owing to their relative social and contextual variation (Kristiansen 2001: 138). That is, stereotypes about a category may differ from one social group to another, they may vary according to personal experience, and they may change over time (Kristiansen 2001: 138). Yet another factor may influence the creation of stereotypes, namely the media, which we shall briefly discuss in the following.

In a discussion of stereotype formation, it seems necessary to consider the role the media plays in the process. According to Allport (1954: 200), mass media and communication, such as newspapers, films, and television, contribute substantially to the retention and reinforcement of stereotypes. While the scholar argues that stereotypes have become less frequently used in the mass media as a response to criticism expressed by social minorities (Allport 1954: 201), recent studies investigating linguistic stereotyping in film and television refute his argument as they indicate the continued employment of stereotypes in entertainment media (e.g., Lippi-Green 1997, Dobrow & Gidney 1998, Lawless 2014). We will have a closer look at some studies concerned with stereotypes in animated children's films in Chapter 3. For now, I shall move on to the discussion of linguistic stereotypes, which are closely related to social stereotypes, as they index social groups. In this context, the consideration of the concept of indexicality is essential, because it enhances our understanding of linguistic stereotypes.

2.4 Linguistic stereotypes and indexicality

In this chapter I will explain the concepts of linguistic stereotypes and indexicality, because they both associate languages with social groups and characteristics. Notably, since the main focus of this thesis lies on characters' accents, this discussion of linguistic stereotypes will primarily focus on phonology. In order to define what linguistic stereotypes are, we shall first consider Labov's (1978: 319-320) categories of linguistic features. In this classification, Labov distinguishes between three different

linguistic variants found in the process of sound-change: indicators, markers, and stereotypes. Given the focus of this chapter we shall only consider the latter category. When a sound undergoes change in a particular social group and it becomes associated with that group, the new linguistic feature will first function as "an indicator of age and social distance from the originating group" (Labov 1978: 320). The linguistic feature then spreads to other groups, undergoes generalisation, and "comes to acquire more systematic social value, and is restrained or corrected in formal speech" (Labov 1978: 320). It is then referred to as a 'marker'. Once this marker is "discussed and remarked by everyone" it has become a 'stereotype' (Labov 1978: 320). This new linguistic feature may be included in the mainstream dialect or stigmatised, depending on the values attached to the originating group (Labov 1978: 320). Thus, both linguistic stereotypes and social stereotypes are attached to certain groups and seemingly develop out of overgeneralisation. According to John Honey (1997: 99), linguistic stereotypes may be associated with whole languages, resulting, for instance, in evaluations of languages in terms of beauty or ugliness. Thus, it seems that linguistic stereotypes are related to and describe the language spoken by members of a certain category. More precisely, as Kristiansen (2001) puts it, "both social and linguistic stereotypes may be associated with social categories and work metonymically with respect to the category as a whole" (142). Following Kristiansen, then, we can describe linguistic stereotypes as being "distinctive, indexical units with respect to social categories" (Kristiansen 2001: 143). In other words, linguistic stereotypes (i.e., linguistic markers noticed by everyone) index social categories. We have to ask then, what indexicality is and how it works, as it appears to be highly significant in the context of linguistic stereotypes.

Dyer (2007) describes language indexicality as "[t]he process by which language comes to be associated with specific locally or contextually significant social characteristics" (102). Although Dyer (2007) discusses the concept in relation to language and identity, it seems necessary to include it in the discussion of linguistic stereotyping in film since, according to Lesley Milroy (2001: 64), "languages and language forms index speakers' social identities". It logically follows that "listeners sometimes associate a particular dialect with a corresponding set of social characteristics" (Dyer 2007: 103). Thus, in films, the language works as an index to a certain social category and thus triggers social stereotypes in the audience. Film studios appear to work with such linguistic stereotypes or indexical units. Lippi-Green (1997) suggests "in some cases, accent is used as a shortcut for those roles where stereotype

serves as a shortcut to characterization" (84) given its association with certain characteristics attributed to the language community (Lippi-Green 1997: 81). Similar to social stereotypes, linguistic stereotypes or indexes may be positive or negative (Dyer 2007: 102). Moreover, linguistic stereotypes, like social stereotypes, presumably differ between groups and change over time. Thus, characters will be perceived positively or negatively according to the language they speak and the stereotypes associated with that language and its speech community. These perceptions also depend on the individual viewer as well as on the cultural and temporal context in which the films are seen, given that stereotypes are dependent on time and personal experience. We shall consider how language is used as an index for social categories in animated children's films by examining previous research in the area in the next chapter.

3. Previous research[1]

In this chapter I will present an overview of previous studies into linguistic stereotyping in animated children's films. The stereotypical portrayal by means of language in American animated children's film has become a significant, steadily growing field of research in sociolinguistics ever since Lippi-Green published her groundbreaking work *English with an accent* in 1997. The chapter "Teaching children how to discriminate: What we learn from the Big Bad Wolf" presents her analysis of 371 characters in twenty-four Disney feature films and the findings regarding the characters' stereotypical representation by means of language. Various authors have since analysed the use of English accents to portray characters in animated children's films by exploiting linguistic stereotypes (e.g., Pandey 2001, Azad 2009, Sønnesyn 2011), and its repercussions for child viewers (e.g., Trowell 2008). This chapter contains a brief overview of previous studies in the field and their findings regarding certain accents. I will start by taking a closer look at Lippi-Green's study and then I move on to present previous findings in relation to the purposes and consequences of accents in animated children's films. More precisely, we shall consider the stereotypes used for characterisation, the accents used to signal stories' settings, the possible effects linguistic stereotyping may have on children's attitudes, and the portrayal of Australian characters.

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[1] A version of this has been submitted in the context of the course "English for Academic Purposes" taught by Dr phil. Markus Rheindorf.

3.1 Discrimination by means of accents in animated children's films

Lippi-Green (1997) was the first to explore the use of accent to portray characters in animated children's films. She analysed all existing animated Disney films published between 1938 and 1994 on the basis of her hypothesis that "animated films entertain, but they are also a way to teach children to associate specific characteristics and life styles with specific social groups, by means of language variation" (Lippi-Green 1997: 85).[2] Within the films, Lippi-Green found 371 characters whose accents she divided into seven groups: Mainstream US English (MUSE),[3] Regional US, Social US, Mainstream British, Other British, Other Englishes, and Non-native English. Overall, her results showed that speakers of US or British English (BE) are portrayed more positively than those of foreign Englishes, as "[a]bout 20 percent of US English speakers are bad characters, while about 40 percent of non-native speakers of English are evil" (Lippi-Green 1997: 92). Lippi-Green (1997: 87-88) furthermore showed that MUSE is the most frequently used accent in the films and that 90 per cent of all characters are native speakers of English. Regarding foreign accents, she discovered that they are frequently used to establish a story's setting and that the majority of foreign English-speaking characters occur in non-English-speaking settings (Lippi-Green 1997: 87-88). In addition to the general analysis of accents, Lippi-Green (1997) paid special attention to the use of the African American Vernacular English (AAVE) and French English accents. She found that both AAVE- and French English-speaking characters are portrayed stereotypically, the portrayal of the former being more overtly negative (Lippi-Green 1997: 92-100). These two language groups will be discussed in more detail below. Lippi-Green's results support her assumption that "in some cases, accent is used as a shortcut for those roles where stereotype serves as a shortcut to characterization" (Lippi-Green 1997: 84). Therefore, "certain traits need not be laboriously demonstrated by means of a character's actions and an examination of motive" (Lippi-Green 1997: 81). The mention of motive is striking, as it means that certain accents are associated not only with personality traits that may be shown through actions, but also with motivation. Hence, it seems that 'bad' and 'good' characters are

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[2] While it is true that the films portray a certain image of the world to the audience, one cannot say with certainty that it influences the viewers' worldviews and, subsequently, their attitudes towards certain social groups. Here, Lippi-Green (1997) seems to disregard personal experience, community values and beliefs, which also play an important role in the formation of attitudes. Moreover, she does not test her hypothesis by means of ethnographic studies targeting child viewers of the films.

[3] Lippi-Green (1997) uses the acronym MUSE in her study to refer to "a variety of US English which is not stigmatized in social or regional terms" (87).

associated with specific accents and that a typical 'bad' accent could not be easily used for a 'good' character, given common conventions and previous portrayals.

In the decades following Lippi-Green's (1997) groundbreaking work, her study was taken as reference for further research in the area. Later developments of her analysis by Azad (2009: 47) and Sønnesyn (2011: 51-52) confirm Lippi-Green's (1997) findings that General American (GA) is the most frequently spoken accent in animated children's films and that accents are used to characterise characters as well as to indicate the setting of a story. Although characters speaking foreign-accented English were portrayed more negatively than US- and British English-speakers in the past (Lippi-Green 1997: 92; Pandey 2001: para. 32, 34), more recent findings suggest a trend towards a more positive portrayal of characters with non-native English accents (Azad 2009: 47). Yet, it seems that children in the US generally perceive foreign accents more negatively than Standard English accents, as Trowell's (2008) findings suggest. The following chapters consider the findings regarding the use of accents as characterisation tools, the employment of accents as indicators of setting, and the repercussions of the stereotypical portrayals for child viewers.

3.2 Stereotypes employed in animated children's films

Despite the change towards a more positive depiction of characters speaking with foreign English accents, the representation of AAVE speakers appears to continue to be overtly stereotypical and negative (Azad 2009). Lippi-Green (1997), Pandey (2001) and Azad (2009) all showed that speakers of AAVE are generally represented as irresponsible with low working morals. Closer linguistic analyses of a number of AAVE-speaking characters revealed that they are also portrayed as unintelligent and childish, as King Louie in *The Jungle Book* (Pandey 2001: para. 21-23), selfish, irresponsible, and reckless, as Mushu in *Mulan* (Azad 2009: 53), imprudent and impetuous, like Oscar in *Shark Tale* (Azad 2009: 56), and highly sexual, as, again, Oscar in *Shark Tale* and Lovelace in *Happy Feet* (Azad 2009: 57-59). Children are thus confronted with characters that present a "fragmented and distorted view of what it means to be black" (Lippi-Green 1997: 95). This, in turn, might affect children's views of this language group, as Trowell (2008: 34) has suggested in her questionnaire study in which the child respondents rated the AAVE accent lowest in terms of work ethic, wealth, attitude, and intelligence. Hence, AAVE-speaking characters' representations in

animated children's films seem to be largely based on negative stereotypes associated with AAVE.[4]

Similar to AAVE-speaking characters, those speaking foreign and regional varieties of English are portrayed stereotypically, albeit not always overtly negatively. Characters with Asian, Hispanic, and New York English accents, for example, are depicted rather negatively across animated children's films. In the analysis of *The Lady and the Tramp*, for instance, Pandey (2001: para. 28-31) identifies two Asian English-speaking characters that are represented as scheming, evil, and unintelligible. Pandey (2001: para. 29) argues that the portrayal of these two characters resembles the stereotypical representation of Asian characters observed by Lippi-Green (1997). However, there is no mention of evilness or schemes in Lippi-Green's (1997) description of Asian characters as "inscrutable, hard-working, ambitious, intelligent but unintelligible people, and they make us uncomfortable" (102). Nevertheless, the two Asian English-speaking characters in *The Lady and the Tramp* are certainly portrayed negatively. Likewise, Azad (2009) found that in the movie *Happy Feet* Hispanic characters are depicted "as lazy, irresponsible, and sexually loose" (63), while the movie *Shark Tale* features stereotypically "tough and violent" (69) speakers of New York English. Nevertheless, the stereotypes used for characterisation need not be negative, as several researchers suggest. Lippi-Green (1997) found that French English-speaking characters are often "associated with food preparation or presentation" (100), which is supported by Sønnesyn's findings (2011), and that they are generally represented as either "irascible" persons or as "sensual rascal[s]" (Lippi-Green 1997: 100). These representations are not necessarily negative, if still stereotypical. Similarly narrow is the characterisation of Minnesotan characters as "nice and hospitable people who seek to avoid conflict," studied by Azad (2009: 69). Hence, it is worth noting that, although some stereotypical portrayals of the characters may seem rather "positive," they "are nevertheless dangerous and potentially damaging," as Azad (2009: 73) so importantly observes.

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[4] Unfortunately, there are no recent findings regarding the representation of AAVE-speaking characters in animated children's films. It would be interesting to investigate whether portrayals of AAVE speakers have changed since the presidency of Barack Obama in the US.

3.3 Accents and story setting

An additional function of accents is the conveyance of story setting, as mentioned above. Lippi-Green (1997: 88) and Azad (2009: 37-38) discovered that the majority of characters with foreign English accents appear in non-English-speaking settings. Azad's (2009: 34) findings suggest that the number of foreign English-speaking characters has increased in these settings over time.[5] Regarding the use of foreign-accented English in the films, Sønnesyn (2011: 66) suggests that this may possibly be due to an effort to portray settings and characters more authentically. In the movie *Ratatouille,* which is set in Paris, for example, most characters speak with a French English accent, while in the London-based movie *A Christmas Carol* the majority speaks RP or regional varieties of BE (Sønnesyn 2011: 66). Thus, it seems that in English-speaking settings the local English accent would be the dominant language among the films' characters, while in non-English-speaking settings the characters would speak English with a foreign accent, which then functions as a "signal that the action and dialogue would not be taking place in English" (Lippi-Green 1997: 84). Nevertheless, whereas foreign accents seem to be increasingly used to establish stories' setting, the protagonists of the stories set in non-English-speaking countries appear to generally speak GA. As Sønnesyn (2011: 79-80) points out, often characters', and particularly main characters', accents do not accord to the actual language context, as *Ratatouille*, *The Hunchback from Notre Dame*, *Pocahontas* and *Mulan* exemplify. These findings are highly relevant for the current study, as we are dealing with films set in the English-speaking country Australia. Hence, we may expect similarities in the use of RP in *A Christmas Carol* and the Australian accent in *The Rescuers Down Under* (1990) and *Finding Nemo* (2003). The results in relation to the establishment of setting will be presented in Chapter 9.2.1 below.

3.4 Effects of linguistic stereotyping on children's language attitudes

Finally, it seems important to address the issue of whether these stereotypical representations of characters indeed affect child viewers, as Lippi-Green (1997) suggested. More than a decade after Lippi-Green's study, Trowell (2008) provided a first test of Lippi-Green's (1997) theory that "animated films […] teach children to

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[5] These results have to be interpreted with caution, as Azad (2009: 47) emphasises, given the relatively limited selection of films in his study.

associate specific characteristics and life styles with specific social groups, by means of language variation" (85). She used a web-based survey to determine the extent to which animated films affect children's views on accented English. The questionnaire was aimed at children in one private parochial and two public schools in and near a rural Texas town in grades 3 to 5. While Trowell does not give any detailed information on the participants for reasons of anonymity, she does provide the general ethnic demographic of the area as reference. According to this, the vast majority of respondents were white Americans, around 6 per cent were "Black or African American and Hispanic, 2% Asian and Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander, 0.85% American Indian and Alaska Native" and about 5 per cent came from different ethnic backgrounds (Trowell 2008: 24). This distribution suggests that the majority of participants had little exposure to speakers of foreign-accented English.

Although not all of Trowell's hypotheses were confirmed, the results support previous findings by Lippi-Green (1997) and Pandey (1997) that show that MUSE speakers are generally favoured, whereas AAVE speakers are rated the lowest in terms of social attractiveness and competence. Arguably the most significant findings, however, are the indications that the child respondents "did hold some stereotypical attitudes about certain dialects, and their attitudes were more negative the more movies they had seen" (Trowell 2008: 32). Moreover, the results suggest a link between the amount of exposure to foreign accents and the rating of the French and Arabic accents (Trowell 2008: 33). That is, the more exposed participants were to non-native English accents the lower they rated the characters speaking with foreign English accents (Trowell 2008: 33). Furthermore, Trowel (2008: 34) detected a trend in categorising characters as either American or non-American, which she attributed to the kinds of films the participants had seen. In contrast, no direct connection between accents and the jobs assigned to them could be established (Trowell 2008: 35). Trowell's (2008) findings solely indicate trends and do not constitute concrete evidence, as she repeatedly stresses. For her, the results indicate a relationship between animated films' portrayals of accents and children's attitudes towards them.

Trowell's findings and conclusions have to be interpreted with caution, as her study has several caveats. In more specific terms, the link between the film selection and both the accents presented in the questionnaire and the respondents' backgrounds is rather weak. That is, her selection of movies is questionable, given that 'accent' seems to have been the only criterion, whereas the representation of 'jobs/life positions',

which plays a central part in her analysis, appears to have been disregarded. Moreover, only a small number of different accents appear in the films, and it is uncertain whether participants recognised them as these accents. In more general terms, and more importantly, Trowell does not test and contrast the participants' attitudes towards the accents before and after the viewing of the selected films. In order to accurately measure the films' effects on the children's language attitudes, participants would need to be questioned before and after their exposure to the films. Since it is unknown whether the respondents already had the same attitudes towards the languages before their viewing of the films, one cannot say with certainty if the films influenced the development of the attitudes. It is important to keep in mind that the children's attitudes are likely to have been influenced by a variety of things. That is, they may have been adopted from parents or friends, or developed out of personal experiences. In summary, while the results indicate that certain language groups are evaluated negatively, they do not prove that it was the films' portrayals of these groups that caused these negative attitudes. Notwithstanding, Trowell's (2008) findings point to the possibility that animated films affect the formation and retention of linguistic stereotypes, which alone renders the study of the portrayal of various language groups highly important.

3.5 Australian English in animated children's films

Despite the interest in a variety of English accents in animated children's films, little work has analysed the portrayal of Australian English-speaking characters in both Australian and non-Australian settings. Azad (2009: 44) was the first to address the representation of Australians in animated children's films, although his analysis was rather brief. In his study, he identified sixteen characters speaking with an Australian English accent but deemed the number too small to provide relevant information about the portrayal of this language group. Indeed, the number of Australian English-speaking characters is relatively small compared to other accent groups (Azad 2009: 44). Hence, unsurprisingly, Australian English has been largely neglected or simply combined with other less commonly used standard varieties of English, such as Canadian and New Zealand English (e.g., by Lippi-Green 1997 and Azad 2009) or even with non-native English accents (e.g., by Sønnesyn 2011).

The small number of Australian English-speaking characters, or of Canadian, New Zealand, and South African English for that matter, should be no reason for

neglecting or even ignoring the dialect since, as we have seen, accent "portrayals may promote negative stereotypes of certain groups and may possibly even facilitate discrimination against these groups" (Azad 2009: 20). The chance that correlations exist between children's attitudes towards accents and the amount of exposure to animated films as well as the amount of exposure to accented English (Trowell 2008) is reason enough to investigate how Australians are represented in animated children's films by means of Australian English.

4. Australian stereotypes

In this chapter I will explore the nature of the stereotypical Australian. I will start by giving a short historical overview of the development of an Australian national 'type'. I will then move on to the discussion of the concept of mateship as one of the main Australian values in Chapter 4.2. And I will finally address the representation of Australians in international media and, most importantly, present two of the seemingly most typical Australians, Paul Hogan and Steve Irwin, in Chapter 4.3.

4.1 The development of a national type

For most of the 19th century Australians still identified with their ancestors in Great Britain (White 1981: 63). Towards its end, however, they developed "some sense of Australian identity" (White 1981: 64), owing to "the belief in the existence of an Australian 'type'" with "physical and racial characteristics, but also a moral, social and psychological identity" (White 1981: 63-64). What is noteworthy here is the exclusion of women from the idea of the Australian 'type' as well as any definitions of the typical Australian, as previously highlighted by Richard White (1981: 83).[6] According to White (1981: 64-65), the idea of the existence of national 'types' emerged alongside the concept of nationalism during the 19th century and dictated much of scientific research during that era. At the start of the century Australians already had some sense of an Australian 'type', whose characteristics were, however, always put in relation to the British 'type'. The question whether the new British types would maintain their progress in the colonies was of crucial importance to the British (White 1981: 67). While some doubted the new type developing in Australia, Australians themselves, the

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[6] Owing to this, the male pronoun will be used throughout this chapter to refer to the 'typical Australian'.

majority being British, believed they could sustain British standards (White 1981: 70-71). Despite their optimism, Australians distanced themselves from the endeavour to "be proved worthy of the old stock" (White 1981: 73) and became more patriotic towards the end of the century. This patriotism manifested itself in architecture, music, literature, the acknowledgement of Aboriginal place names, and the foundation of the Australian Natives' Association (White 1981: 73-75). As a consequence, the new type was reassessed (White 1981: 75).

With regards to the new type, people appear to have largely disagreed about his physical appearance and even his existence (White 1981: 76). Nevertheless, they did agree that the new Australian type exhibited the following characteristics: "independence, manliness, a fondness for sport, egalitarianism, a dislike of mental effort, self-confidence, [and] a certain disrespect for authority" (White 1981: 76-77). Although these character traits were widely seen as particularly Australian, White (1981) interprets them as the expression of "the age-old dismay with which one generation greets the ascendency of the next" (77). That is, for White (1981: 77), the older generation of Australians merely expressed its criticism by attributing these characteristics to the young Australians. Nonetheless, numerous historians consider this set of traits as a correct reflection of the typical Australian (White 1981: 77).

Although White's (1981) definition arguably captures the essence of the stereotypical Australian, let us consider the first and seemingly most famous description of the 'typical' Australian offered by Ward (1958). In the fifties of the last century, Ward (1958) described the typical Australian in a similar way to White, only about twenty years earlier. According to the Australian myth, as Ward (1958) calls it, "the 'Australian spirit' is somewhat intimately connected with the bush and […] it derives rather from the common folk than from the more respectable and cultivated sections of society" (1). Based on this national mystique, Ward (1985: 1-2) describes the typical Australian as

> a practical man, rough and ready in his manners and quick to decry any appearance of affectation in others. He is a great improviser, ever willing 'to have a go' at anything, but willing too to be content with a task done in a way that is 'near enough'. Though capable of great exertion in an emergency, he normally feels no impulse to work hard without good cause. He swears hard and consistently, gambles heavily and often, and drinks deeply on occasion. […] He is a fiercely independent person who hates officiousness and authority, especially when these qualities are embodied in military officers and policemen. Yet he is very hospitable and, above all,

will stick to his mates through thick and thin, even if he thinks they may be in the wrong.

According to Ward (1958: 2), these features were generally associated with the bushman of the 19th century.[7] Thus, it appears that the idea of the typical Australian stems from the ideal that was the bushman rather than the common Australian of the time. The typical Australian of the mid 19th century, then, according to Ward's (1958) description, was an easy-going, somewhat lazy and laid-back, swearing, gambling, drinking, independent, and hospitable man, who had little respect for authority but absolute loyalty for his mates.

A comparison of the two definitions allows us to identify the most important features commonly attributed to the typical Australian. If we combine White's (1981) and Ward's (1958) descriptions, we can describe the typical Australian in the following terms: The typical Australian is manly, easy-going, independent, egalitarian, and hospitable. He further dislikes mental and physical effort, has an aversion to authority, and a strong bond with his mates. As touched on above, the focus is clearly on men and masculinity, including mateship. Since the concept of mateship is highly significant in Australian culture (Wierzbicka 1997: 103), we shall now have a closer look at its role in constituting the Australian identity.

4.2 Mateship: an Australian key concept

Mateship is one of the most important concepts in Australian culture. In his recently published book *Mateship*, Dyrenfurth (2015) investigates how ideas about mateship formed in Australia and how they influenced the country's history. Dyrenfurth (2015) shows that the concept of mateship has a long tradition in Australia, dating back to when Australia was still a young colony. Although the word *mateship* has its linguistic as well as cultural origin in Britain, its cultural significance and meaning were altered in colonial Australia (Dyrenfurth 2015: 9-10, 13). That is, "[t]he words 'mate' and 'mateship' changed from naming casual association to describing a significant, even spiritual, male-to-male relationship" (Dyrenfurth 2015: 13). According to Dyrenfurth (2015: 14-15), two circumstances influenced the development of the concept of mateship in Australia. First, the scholar is certain that the fact that up until 1900 the vast

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[7] A bushman was any (white) man living and working in the Outback, such as "semi-nomadic drovers, shepherds, shearers, bullock-drivers, stockmen, boundary-riders, station-hands and others of the pastoral industry" (Ward 1958: 2).

majority of the white inhabitants in Australia were male (women constituted only a small percentage of the population for most of the 19th century) "influenced the way Australians came to think of themselves" (Dyrenfurth 2015: 15). Second, he names "the harsh circumstances of Australia's penal settlement" as another reason for the rise of the concept, as it apparently "fostered a distinctive masculine ethos of solidarity among its subjects" (Dyrenfurth 2015: 15). Thus, the concept of mateship, as understood in Australia, appears to have its origin in a predominantly masculine society oppressed by British officials (Dyrenfurth 2015: 15-16). Despite its strong masculine tone, it seems to be intrinsic to the Australian identity. For Dyrenfurth (2015: 8), "mateship is part of our [Australians'] cultural DNA".

Having established the concept's roots, we shall now turn to its definition. In her study of cultures by means of key words, Wierzbicka (1997) defines mateship as "a unique cultural ideal, based on a uniquely Australian perspective on human relations" (103). She further describes mateship by contrasting it with friendship. The main difference between these two concepts, according to the scholar, is the voluntary aspect that is crucial to friendship but optional for mateship (Wierzbicka 1997: 108). Rather than voluntariness, "'loyalty,' 'solidarity,' and 'mutual support'" (Wierzbicka 1997: 110) are significant for mateship. Some further characteristics of mateship are "the ideas of spending a lot of time together, doing things together, drinking together—of equality, solidarity, mutual commitment and mutual support, of companionship and fellowship in good fortune and in bad fortune" (Wierzbicka 1997: 102). At the basis of the concept of mateship lies the term *mate* as used in Australia (Wierzbicka 1997: 106), which came to be understood as "a key to the Australian spirit, Australian national character, [and] Australian ethos" in the 19th century (Wierzbicka 1997: 102). This sense of *mate* peculiar to Australia includes both "personal friends" and "fellow-workers, or fellow-players, or fellow-soldiers" (Wierzbicka 1997: 116). Thus, mateship entails that mates treat each other "with the same commitment, solidarity, and loyalty" (Wierzbicka 1997: 116) and "that they are often together, and do things together" (Wierzbicka 1997: 108), whether they became mates voluntarily or involuntarily through certain circumstances. In Chapter 5.5 we shall have a closer look at *mate* as a stereotypical Australian English expression.

4.3 Australians in international media: Paul Hogan and Steve Irwin

In a study on stereotypical representations of Australians two Australians cannot be ignored, namely Paul Hogan and Steve Irwin. Both these men are internationally seen as being typically Australian (Thompson 2012: 118), presumably because they embody a large number of the Australian stereotypes discussed above. In the 1980s, Australia was progressively used as the setting for commercials as well as films and television shows in the USA (Greiner 2001: 186). As a consequence, Americans were inevitably increasingly confronted with Australian actors, such as Paul Hogan, and Australian television-personalities like Steve Irwin (Greiner 2001: 186). Hogan and Irwin's international popularity was welcome advertisement for the Australian government (Thompson 2012: 125-126) since, as Fiske et al. (1987) put it, "the Hoges package is a good export. In Britain it sells Fosters lager. In America it sells Australia itself" (163).[8]

Nevertheless, the image transmitted by these advertisements, films and television shows only partly reflected the Australian reality. In her investigation of the depiction of Australia in the US, Greiner (2001) analysed five different commercials featuring images of Australia that were airing at the time. Her analysis revealed that these commercials resorted to well known myths about Australia in their representation of the country and its people. The advertisements portrayed "Australians as: 1) leisure-loving, adventure-seeking people whose homes are in the Outback; 2) lacking culture, and placing a low value on intelligence; 3) willing to defy or mock authority; and 4) living in the 'lucky country'" (Greiner 2001: 189). According to Greiner (2001: 191), these myths serve to represent Australia in a way that makes it easy for Americans to understand what Australia is like. While Australia is represented as being different from the US it still retains some familiarity. In this portrayal as different but not entirely different, the Australian accent plays an important role, given it is similar to and at the same time distinct from the varieties spoken in the USA (Greiner 2001: 191). Given Hogan and Irwin's significant role in promoting these images of Australia and their international status as 'typical Australians', we shall have a closer look at what makes Paul Hogan (and Mick Dundee) and Steve Irwin Australian.

Paul Hogan is, without a doubt, arguably one of the 'most typical Australians' known to international audiences. When *Crocodile Dundee* was released in 1986, Hogan was already famous in Australia (Hoorn 2015: 116), Britain, owing to his

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[8] The term "Hoges package" seems to describe the combination of toughness, manliness, and the Broad AusE accent present in Hogan's characters.

advertisements for Foster's and his television show, and America, because of his famous tourism commercial 'Come and Say G'day' (Crawford 2010: 49). Through these advertisements, Hogan created a witty and ironic persona speaking with a Broad Australian accent (see Chapter 5.1 for the definition), which later formed the basis for the protagonist in *Crocodile Dundee* (Crawford 2010: 46-47, 50). This film, Australia's most successful film to date (Thompson 2012: 125), tells the story of Mick 'Crocodile' Dundee, an Australian crocodile hunter, and the American reporter Sue Charlton, who develop a romantic relationship, and is set both in the Australian Outback and New York (Hoorn 2015: 116). The character Crocodile Dundee, as described by McFarlane (2005: 126), "is a simple, tough, [and] decent bloke". Indeed, Dundee proves his toughness by "facing up to the kangaroo-shooters, killing a snake and dealing with a mugger in New York" (McFarlane 2005: 124). The typical Australian's traits of manliness, toughness, and independence, discussed above, are clearly present in Dundee's character. Similarly, his physical appearance appears to be typically Australian (cf. Fiske et al. 1987, Hoorn 2015, McFarlane 2005). Dundee wears "a felt hat adorned with crocodile teeth, a crocodile-skin vest, a cotton shirt, jeans and cowboy-style boots" (Hoorn 2015: 117) in the film. Hoorn (2015: 116) indicates the similarity of Dundee's dress to that of the rural Australian workers, which seems to have typically consisted of "boots, broad belts and open-necked shirts to emphasise their physicality" (Maynard 1994: 173). Thus, the Broad accent, his manly demeanour, and his physical appearance all contribute to Dundee's Australianness.

Benefitting from *Crocodile Dundee*'s success, Steve Irwin became famous through his *Crocodile Hunter* television show (Bye & Willoughby 2011: 18). In this show, which, like *Crocodile Dundee*, was produced for an American audience, "Steve Irwin packaged himself as a brand" (Bye & Willoughby 2011: 18) and represented "the Australian as archetype" (Rayner 2007: 108). According to Rayner (2007: 110), Irwin's screen persona "displayed boyishness, artlessness, resourcefulness, enthusiasm, personal and national pride" (110), which he sees as a more refined representation of the manly but shy and gallant, ignorant and innocent Australian man personified in Crocodile Dundee. Rayner (2007) even goes so far as to say that Irwin was the "incarnation of Australian characteristics," (116) liked by Australians, British and Americans alike. In addition to having typical Australian personality traits, Irwin spoke with a Broad Australian accent, and even revived the typical Australian expression *crikey* (Bye & Willoughby 2011: 6). Like Crocodile Dundee, Steve Irwin dressed in a

typically Australian way. Irwin always wore "his trademark khaki shirt and shorts" (Rayner 2007: 114), which seems to be an outfit typically worn in rural Australia as described by Lurie (1992). According to the scholar, Australians would usually wear "khaki shirts and jackets, clumsy sheepskin vests, high leather boots and the famous bush hat" (Lurie 1992: 105, cited in Craik 2009: 419). Although Irwin's outfit only included some of these items, it can still be said to be typically Australian. Like Dundee, Irwin incorporated many stereotypical Australian characteristics, including Broad speech and typical clothing.

Thus, it seems that Dundee's and Irwin's tough and manly but also witty personalities and their physical appearance, especially their clothes, mark them as typically Australian. It appears that the two men's clothes reflect the belief still common in popular culture that this style of clothing is uniquely Australian, and that the men who wore them were truly Australian (Maynard 1994: 165). Moreover, their recognisable Broad Australian accents and the use of Australianisms clearly indicate their Australianness. The characteristics attributed to the typical Australian by Ward (1958) and White (1981) are still largely present in Dundee and Irwin. This indicates a perseverance of the idea that Australians are manly, independent, tough, and easy-going, and that they disrespect authority but value mateship. This present thesis will show whether the same stereotypes are used in animated films for children.

5. Australian English

As touched on in the previous chapter, "[t]he Australian accent is one of the clearest markers of Australianness" (Fiske et al. 1987: 163) and seen as "the symbol of identity" (Fiske et al. 1987: 167). Before we look at what distinguishes Australian English (henceforth AusE) and, especially, the Australian accent from other varieties of English, the terms dialect and accent have to be defined. According to Cox (2012: 3), a dialect is

> a variety of a language that has its own specific and unique characteristics of vocabulary (the words and their meanings), syntax (the grammatical conventions that govern the creation of words and how they are combined to form meaningful utterances) and phonology (the structure and function of the sound system including how sounds can be combined to form syllables, words and phrases, and how patterns of prominence and intonation influence the spoken output).

While the term dialect encompasses a certain lexicon, syntax and phonology, the term

accent refers to "the phonological characteristics of the dialect" (Cox 2012: 3). In other words, the Australian accent is only one part of the AusE dialect and describes its distinctive sounds. Yet, accent denotes more than just the phonology of a dialect, as it also "is a very powerful and ubiquitous symbol of identity that has the potential to forge and enhance group solidarity" (Cox 2012: 16). Keeping this in mind, we shall now see what characterises AusE.

AusE is one of the main varieties of English (Cox 2012: 3) and seems to have been established as early as the 1830s or 1840s (Wells 1996 [1982]: 594). It seemingly mainly developed out of dialects from the South-East of England and is ultimately the product of the language contact situation that was the Australian colony (Cox 2012: 11).[9] While it is its vowel sounds that mainly distinguish AusE from other varieties, some AusE consonant sounds and prosodic features also differ from other English accents (Cox & Palethorpe 2001: 17). More precisely, AusE is distinct from many varieties of American English (AmE) but "has the same system of sound contrasts (phonemic system) as Standard Southern British English (SSBE) and New Zealand English (NZE)" (Cox 2012: 3). Furthermore, compared to other varieties of English, AusE generally displays little regional variation, although recent research suggests the existence of some regional phonological differences within the country (Cox & Palethorpe 2007: 342; for a more detailed discussion see Bradley 2008).

Before we discuss the most important characteristics of AusE, it seems necessary to consider the variation that exists within the AusE accent, that is, the Australian English broadness continuum. We will then move on to descriptions of the most important phonological and lexical features of the AusE dialect.

5.1 Social variation within AusE: the AusE broadness continuum

While AusE does not differ greatly across regions, as I previously mentioned, it does vary among social classes. Traditionally, AusE was understood as comprising three different accents, which were established by Mitchell and Delbridge (1965) and labelled Broad, General and Cultivated (Mitchell & Delbridge 1965, referred to in Cox & Palethorpe 2001: 17). These were distinguished especially by the pronunciation of the FACE, FLEECE, PRICE, GOAT, MOUTH, and GOOSE vowels (Mitchell & Delbridge 1965, referred to in Cox & Palethorpe 2001: 17). As Harrington et al. (1997) emphasise,

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[9] For a detailed account of the development of Australian English see Cox 2012 and Leitner 2004.

the three varieties are not individual accents but rather "refer to continuous sociolectal and stylistic variation along a continuum of phonetic variation" (156). Despite their "considerable phonetic overlap" (Harrington et al. 1997: 156), Broad, General and Cultivated AusE do display some phonetic variation, as we will see below, and differ in terms of social status (Harrington et al. 1997: 156). In the following we shall have a closer look at the three accent types.

Broad AusE is found at the lower social end of the broadness continuum and seems to be the most stigmatised variety that also displays "the most marked Australian characteristics" (Harrington et al. 1997: 156). For the preliminary explanation of how Broad AusE differs from the other two varieties, I shall use Cox's (1998) description of the accent type. [10] According to Cox's (1998: 48) findings, then, Broad AusE is characterised by the following features:

> marked onglide in /i/; retraction and openness of the first element of /aɪ/; fronting and closing of the first element in /aʊ/; a lowered first element and a lowered as well as fronted second element for /oʊ/; retraction of the first element of /eɪ/; diminished offglide for /ɪə/ and /ɛə/, fronting of /a/ and /ɜ/, lowering of /u/.

Among all these characteristics typical of Broad AusE, the pronunciation of the diphthongs /aɪ/ and /aʊ/ is the one that most distinguishes it from Cultivated and General, as Harrington et al. (1997) show. More precisely, in Broad AusE, the first target in /aɪ/ is more retracted and raised, and the first target of /aʊ/ is raised relatively to the corresponding vowels in General AusE (Harrington et al. 1997: 171-173). Based on their findings, Harrington et al. (1997) called for a revision of the Australian transcription system, to the issue of which we will return in Chapter 8.2.3. For now, it shall suffice to point out that the diphthongs /aɪ, aʊ/ are transcribed as /ɑe/ and /æɔ/, respectively, in their revised system, which is used throughout this paper.

According to Bye and Willoughby (2011: 8), the Broad AusE accent, although stigmatised, came to be seen as a significant element of the Australian identity in the 1970s. Since then, Broad AusE has been increasingly used in television and films, especially comedies, where it aids to portray characters as stupid (Bradley & Bradley 2001: 274). Also Australian comedians commonly employ it and even Australian politicians progressively speak the accent (Bradley & Bradley 2001: 274-275). In general, Broad AusE appears to be perceived as "funny" by Australians (Bye &

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[10] A more detailed discussion of the phonological differences between the three accent types will be presented in Chapter 5.2 below.

Willoughby 2011: 14). As we have seen above, both Steve Irwin and Paul Hogan famously spoke Broad AusE in their shows and films, and the accent is still strongly associated with *Crocodile Dundee* (Bye & Willoughby 2011: 10). In sum, Broad AusE, although often perceived negatively, is frequently used in and promoted through Australian television, film, and comedy, and is an important marker of Australianness.

On the other end of the continuum lies Cultivated AusE, which stands in stark contrast to Broad, as it closely resembles RP (Wells 1996 [1982]: 594). In the past, Cultivated was perceived as the most prestigious of the three varieties of AusE (Horvath 1985: 22). Recent studies, however, have indicated a move away from Cultivated, which was always spoken only by the minority (Horvath 1985: 37). Harrington et al. (1997: 162) showed that Cultivated AusE is predominantly spoken by the older generations, and Cox (2012: 17) argues that younger Australians appear to no longer see it as "reflective of Australian values". Indeed, Horvath (1985) discovered that most Australians now generally speak with a General AusE accent, which lies at the centre of the continuum, while being phonetically closer to Broad than Cultivated.[11]

Based on what we have seen so far, we may ask why General is now the favoured accent among Australians. If we consider Horvath's (1985) discussion of this issue, it becomes evident that several circumstances might have led to the increase in numbers of General AusE-speakers and the AusE-speakers' distancing themselves from the two extremes. According to Horvath (1985: 175-176), Cultivated AusE may have lost its importance due to "the rise of nationalism among Anglo-Australians and hence the implicit and explicit acceptance of an internal norm, a standard AE [AusE]" (Horvath 1985: 175). Broad AusE, in contrast, may have lost speakers for two reasons. First, the negative attitudes towards Broad AusE that have prevailed since the start of the colony may have led to its decline. Second, Horvath (1985: 176) interprets the fact that many migrants use ethnic varieties of Broad AusE as the deciding factor behind the general move away from the accent. In other words, the members of the core speech community possibly moved towards the centre of the continuum in order to linguistically distance themselves from the stigmatised group. Possibly because of these developments, General AusE is the variety used by the majority of Australians, while Broad and Cultivated are both minority accents (Horvath 1985).

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[11] General AusE will be discussed in detail in the following subchapters, where AusE vowels, consonants, and prosodic features are presented, given that General AusE is understood as the Standard AusE accent in this thesis.

Although the broadness continuum has commonly been used to describe the AusE accent, scholars have recently argued that it is rather out-dated and irrelevant in modern Australian society, owing to the changes AusE has undergone in the last decades (Cox & Palethorpe 2012: 299). Instead of the three accent types, Australian English now generally comprises Standard Australian English (SAusE), Australian Aboriginal English, and Ethnocultural Australian English varieties (Cox 2012: 10).[12] As Cox and Palethorpe (2007: 341) point out, only a minority of Australians use the latter two varieties, while the majority speaks the former. SAusE is furthermore "used in broadcasting and in public life" (Cox & Palethorpe 2007: 341) and constitutes an important marker of the Australian national identity, as we have seen above.

A brief note on terminology

I divert at this point to briefly comment on the subject of terminology. For reasons of simplification I will use the term AusE to refer to Cox's (2012) SAusE as well as to the General AusE accent. That is, since the majority of Australians now speak General AusE the dialect SAusE seems to be correlated with it. In this paper, then, AusE comprises both these terms, as General AusE inevitably implies SAusE. Furthermore, Broad and Cultivated AusE will be used to refer to AusE that exhibits a relatively large amount of Broad or Cultivated phonological features, which will be further explained in the methodology in Chapter 8. Let us now turn to the characteristics of AusE vowels and consonants.

5.2 AusE vowels

As mentioned above, AusE differs from other English varieties mainly in terms of vowel pronunciation. One of the main differences between AusE (especially Broad) and other English accents are, as Wells (1996 [1982]) points out, "the raising of the front short vowels and the fronting of the GOOSE, START, and NURSE vowels" (598). Out of these, /e/ is perceived as the most distinct sound by "the English speakers from the northern hemisphere" (Wells 1996 [1982]: 598). What is more, the KIT and TRAP vowels, /ɪ/ and /æ/, are generally closer in AusE than in RP or GA. Speakers of Broad AusE may produce even closer sounds for /ɪ, e, æ/ than those of Cultivated or General,

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[12] Given that no instances of Aboriginal or ethnic AusE varieties have been identified in the films, these two dialects will not be considered in this thesis.

which may also be "pharyngealized and, in the case of /æ/, nasalized" (Wells 1996 [1982]: 598).

AusE distinguishes between nineteen different vowel sounds, including monophthongs and diphthongs (Cox 2012: 62). If we consider the AusE vowels in terms of the lexical sets proposed by Wells (1996 [1982]), we see that some vowel sets are merged in AusE. The vowels from the BATH, PALM, and START sets, the CLOTH and LOT sets, the THOUGHT, NORTH, and FORCE sets, and the LETTER and COMMA sets are pronounced the same, respectively (Cox 2012: 61-62). The table below, taken from Cox (2012: 49), shows all AusE vowel sounds as well as example words for illustration.

Table 1 Vowel symbols of AusE with example words

/iː/	beat	/ʉː/	boot
/ɪ/	bit	/ɜː/	Bert
/e/	bet	/æɪ/	bait
/eː/	cared	/ɑe/	bite
/æ/	bat	/oɪ/	Boyd
/ɐː/	Bart	/æɔ/	bout
/ɐ/	but	/əʉ/	boat
/ɔ/	pot	/ɪə/	beard
/oː/	bought	/ə/	the (not 'thee')
/ʊ/	put		

As Table 1 indicates, the AusE vowel system comprises thirteen monophthongs and six diphthongs. These vowel sounds will be examined in detail below, whereby we will also consider differences in sound production between Broad, General, and Cultivated AusE.

Monophthongs

As we have seen, the AusE accent has thirteen different monophthongs. We shall now consider each of them in the order in which they appear in Table 1. More precisely, I will describe each vowel with regards to their position within the vowel space and their production, and I will consider any variants of the sound from the three accents.

The vowels /iː/ and /ɪ/ from the FLEECE and KIT sets are both high and front vowels that only differ in quantity (Cox 2012: 56-57). As Wells (1996 [1982]: 598) has noted, the AusE KIT vowel differs from its RP counterpart in terms of closeness (it is

higher in AusE), and in its use. While unstressed syllables usually have /ɪ/ in RP, they have /ə/ in AusE instead, such as *horses*, *David*, and *begin* (Cox 2012: 60; Trudgill & Hannah 2002: 16). What is more, word-final RP /ɪ/ is replaced by /iː/ in AusE, like in *city* and *many* (Trudgill & Hannah 2002: 16). This effect is called 'happy-tensing' and is highly typical of AusE (Cox 2012: 60). Another AusE characteristic is the production of an on-glide before /iː/. That is, the majority of AusE speakers produce a "variable glide from schwa" before /iː/ "resulting in [ᵊiː]" (Cox 2012: 57). Notably, as touched on above, this on-glide is even longer for Broad AusE (Harrington et al. 1997: 167). Thus, it is a salient marker of the Broad AusE accent.

The DRESS vowel, /e/, is a mid and front short vowel, which contrasts with the mid and front long vowel /eː/ from the SQUARE set (Cox 2012: 56-58). Before /l/, /e/ may sometimes be lowered, especially in Victoria (Cox 2012: 60). It may be surprising for some to find the SQUARE set among the monophthongs rather than the diphthongs. However, the SQUARE diphthong has undergone monophthongisation in AusE due to the loss of the centring off-glide, meaning that *shared* is generally pronounced as /ʃeːd/ (Cox 2012: 58). Hence, the words *shared* and *shed* only differ in quantity (Cox 2012: 58).

The vowel /ɐː/ in the BATH-PALM-START set is a low, central, and long vowel, which only differs in length from the STRUT vowel, /ɐ/, in AusE (Cox 2012: 56-57). In some BATH words that would have /ɑː/ in RP, the TRAP vowel /æ/ occurs in AusE, as in *chance* /tʃæns/ (Wells 1996 [1982]: 599). The AusE TRAP vowel is a low, front and short vowel (Cox 2012: 56-57). There is also considerable regional and social variation regarding the use of /æ/ and /ɐː/ in some words (see Bradley 2008: 645-648). What is more, /æ, ɐ, ɐː/ are typically nasalised in AusE before nasal consonants (Cox 2012: 145). Nasalisation is particularly common for the TRAP and MOUTH vowels, which may also be raised in such contexts (Cox 2012: 145).

The AusE rounded vowels occur in the CLOTH-LOT, THOUGHT-NORTH-FORCE, FOOT, and GOOSE sets (Cox 2012: 62). In addition to being rounded, the vowels /oː/ and /ʊ/ are both high and back vowels, while /ʉː/ is high and central, and /ɔ/ is a mid and back vowel (Cox 2012: 56-57). Like /æ, ɐː, ɐ/, the CLOTH vowel tends to display nasal resonance preceding nasal consonants (Cox 2012: 145). Compared to RP, AusE /ʊ/ is generally more rounded (Trudgill & Hannah 2002: 18). The only rounded vowel that displays variation across the AusE accents is the GOOSE vowel. That is, /ʉː/ is more fronted for Broad speakers than for speakers of the other two accents

(Harrington et al. 1997: 179). Moreover, Broad speakers often produce an on-glide before /ʉ:/, which is, however, shorter than the one before /i:/ (Harrington et al. 1997: 167). Finally, the GOOSE vowel is produced as a back vowel when it occurs before velarised /l/ (Cox 2012: 60) and has been found to vary across regions of Australia (see Bradley 2008: 648-649).

As briefly mentioned above, /ɜ:/ from the NURSE set has undergone fronting in AusE and is a mid and central long vowel (Cox 2012: 56-57). Notably, it is even more fronted for speakers of Broad AusE (Harrington et al. 1997: 165). Moreover, it is higher in AusE than in RP, which renders "the auditory distance between /u:/ and /ɜ:/ (*shoot* vs. *shirt*)" rather small (Wells 1996 [1982]: 599).

As we have seen above, the schwa is usually found in unstressed syllables in AusE. Compared to the majority of Englishes, the AusE "[w]ord-final /ə/ is often very open, e.g. *ever* [evɐ]," (Trudgill & Hannah 2002: 18). As Cox (2012) emphasises "the [ɐ] sound in these contexts is an allophone" of /ə/ and thus "still considered to be a schwa" (102). Moreover, schwa may also occur epenthetically, namely "when long high front vowels and front rising diphthongs occur before velarised or vocalised /l/, as in words like *hile* [hɑeᵊɫ] and *heel* [hᵊi:ᵊɫ]" (Palethorpe & Cox 2003, referred to in Cox & Palethorpe 2007: 346).

Diphthongs

The six AusE diphthongs are represented in the FACE, PRICE, CHOICE, MOUTH, GOAT, and NEAR sets (Cox 2012: 62). Some readers may notice the absence of the CURE set from this list. This sound does not form part of the AusE set of diphthongs as it has undergone monophthongisation in AusE (Cox 2012: 57-58). This monophthongisation, as Cox (2012: 57-58) points out, is due to the loss of the centring off-glide for the CURE vowel in AusE. The centring diphthong /ʊə/ (which occurs in SSBE and Cultivated AusE *tour* and *pure*) is rarely found in young AusE speech. Instead, it is commonly substituted with two syllables, as in *tour* /tʉ:ə/ and *pure* /pjʉ:ə/, or with a long monophthong, as in *sure* /ʃo:/ (Cox 2012: 58). Hence, the CURE vowel has been excluded here. The centring off-glide may also be lost for the NEAR vowel. This entails that *beard* will be produced as /bi:d/ by most young AusE speakers (Cox 2012: 58). As opposed to the SQUARE diphthong, /eə/, however, the NEAR diphthong,

/ɪə/, is still used by a large number of Australians (Cox 2012: 58), which is why it is included here. Let us now consider the remaining AusE diphthongs in more detail.

If we compare the AusE diphthongs to those of RP we can identify significant phonetic differences. These include the relative wideness of some AusE diphthongs, and the relative length of their first element (Trudgill & Hannah 2002: 17). Generally, Cultivated AusE diphthongs resemble those of RP with respect to vowel quality, while Broad diphthongs are slower than those found in General AusE (Wells 1996 [1982]: 597-598). Moreover, Cultivated diphthongs are unshifted, as opposed to Broad or General AusE diphthongs (Wells 1996 [1982]: 597-598).

As pointed out by Harrington et al. (1997: 179), the PRICE and MOUTH vowels show the greatest variation between the three AusE accents. The AusE PRICE vowel, /ɑe/, "has a low back first element also with a fronting glide" (Cox 2012: 58). For speakers of Broad AusE "the first target is more retracted" (Harrington et al. 1997: 173) and open (Cox 1998: 48), while the second is lower than for speakers of General or Cultivated (Harrington et al. 1997: 172-173). The AusE MOUTH vowel, /æɔ/, "has a low front first element with a retracting raising glide" (Cox 2012: 58). And , as stated above, the first target of /æɔ/ is more raised in Broad AusE (Harrington et al. 1997: 171).

The FACE and GOAT vowels also display slight variation in the three AusE accents. The AusE FACE vowel, /æɪ/, "has a low or half-open front first element followed by a closing fronted glide" (Cox 2012: 58). As stated above, the first target in /æɪ/ is more raised and the second target is most open in Broad compared to Cultivated AusE (Harrington et al. 1997: 174), while the first target is more fronted and the second target is more raised in Cultivated compared to Broad and General (Harrington et al. 1997: 174). Moreover, the first formant is more retracted in Broad compared to the other accents (Cox 1998: 48). The AusE GOAT vowel, /əʉ/, "has a mid-low central first element with a closing glide" (Cox 2012: 58). The GOAT vowel shows variation between the accent types. That is, the first target of /əʉ/ is more fronted for female speakers of Broad AusE, while it is more raised for male speakers of General AusE compared to Cultivated (Harrington et al. 1997: 174). Moreover, like the GOOSE vowel, the GOAT sound shows regional variation in South Australia (Bradley 2008: 648-649). What is more, as mentioned above, some vowels show variation before /l/. The GOAT vowel is such a vowel, as it is produced as [ɔo] before /l/ as, for instance, in *bowl* [bɔoɫ] (Cox 2012: 60).

Finally, the AusE CHOICE vowel, /ɔɪ/, "has a high back first element with a fronting glide" (Cox 2012: 58). As opposed to the other AusE diphthongs, there are no noteworthy differences between the three accent types regarding the production of /ɔɪ/ (Harrington et al. 1997: 174).

5.3 AusE consonants

In contrast to the AusE vowels, AusE consonants are overall rather similar to those of other English accents (Cox 2012: 27). Hence, we shall only consider highly characteristic features of AusE consonant pronunciation. Table 2, taken from Cox (2012: 28), provides a list of all AusE consonants with example words.

Table 2 Consonant symbols of AusE with example words

/p/	**p**ie	/θ/	**th**igh	/g/	**g**uy
/b/	**b**uy	/ð/	**th**y	/ŋ/	ha**ng**
/m/	**m**y	/s/	**s**igh	/h/	**h**igh
/f/	**f**ie	/z/	**z**oo	/tʃ/	**ch**in
/v/	**v**ie	/ɹ/	**r**ye	/dʒ/	**g**in
/t/	**t**ie	/l/	**l**ie	/ʃ/	**sh**y
/d/	**d**ie	/w/	**w**hy	/ʒ/	A**s**ia
/n/	**n**igh	/k/	**k**ite	/j/	**y**ou

Like SSBE and NZE, AusE is a non-rhotic variety of English, that is, /ɹ/ is only pronounced before vowels or in word-initial position (Cox 2012: 3). Nevertheless, /ɹ/ is often produced as a link between two words, where the first word ends in <–r>, such as in "*far out* [fɐː æɔt] → [fɐːɹæɔt]" (Cox & Palethorpe 2007: 343). Moreover, the use of the intrusive or epenthetic /ɹ/ is common between two words as well as within single words, as exemplified in "*draw it* [dɹoː ət] → [dɹoːɹət], [and] *draw* [dɹoː] → *drawing* [dɹoːɹĩŋ]" (Cox & Palethorpe 2007: 343). Further AusE consonant features mentioned by Cox (2012: 39-41) include the frequent occurrence of the /t/-flap in words such as *water* and *butter*, and the production of /j/ "after coronals such as /t/, /d/ and /n/ before /ʉː/" (40). Another highly frequent characteristic is the assimilation of sounds in alveolar stop or fricative clusters that contain /j/, resulting in the pronunciation of *tune* as /tʃʉːn/, *dune* as /dʒʉːn/, and *assume* as /əʃʉːm/ (Cox 2012: 40-41). Finally, the AusE phoneme /l/ has various allophones in AusE, as in the other varieties of English, may undergo weakening, and is frequently vocalised in word-final positions, especially in

South Australia (Cox 2012: 47). Notably, /l/ is also often comparatively darker in AusE than in RP (Trudgill & Hannah 2002: 18).

5.4 High Rising Tune

Having discerned the most important characteristics of AusE sounds, we shall briefly consider one of the most salient and widely known prosodic features of the dialect, namely high rising tune. This describes the use of "rising tunes for declarative utterances" (Cox 2012: 86), which is "variously referred to as questioning intonation, high rise tune (HRT) and uptalk" (Cox 2012: 86). According to Cox (2012: 86), it "is considered to be a pragmatic device to engage the listener in a collaborative interaction and has a floor-holding discourse function". This phenomenon seems to occur quite frequently in AusE (McGregor & Palethorpe 2008: 172) but, despite its common usage, continues to be perceived negatively "in some sections of the wider English speaking community, even among those who unwittingly use it themselves" (McGregor & Palethorpe 2008: 172). While it is mainly young girls from working-class backgrounds that use HRT, "speakers of all ages and from both working and middle class backgrounds" have been found to employ HRT in their speech (Horvath 2008: 639).

5.5 AusE vocabulary

Having considered the features of the AusE accent, we shall now turn to typical AusE words and lexical characteristics of the Australian dialect. While AusE vocabulary is generally similar to that of English English (EngEng), many colloquialisms exist that are particular to AusE (Trudgill & Hannah 2002: 20).[13] On the one hand, differences are due to the influence of Australian Aboriginal languages on AusE. On the other hand, differences in vocabulary stem from a change in meaning, exemplified in the word *paddock*, which describes "a field that is used for grazing horses" in BE but "any piece of fenced-in land" in AusE (Trudgill & Hannah 2002: 20-21). Moreover, many expressions used in AusE slang differ greatly from those of BE slang (Trudgill & Hannah 2002: 22). The following paragraphs only present some of the lexical features

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[13] EngEng is the term used by Trudgill and Hannah (2002: 2) to "refer to the combination of British Standard English grammar and vocabulary with the RP accent". In this study I will use the term BE to talk about English spoken in Great Britain since EngEng is too restrictive, as it only incorporates RP pronunciation. The term BE used here, then, refers to Standard British English grammar and vocabulary and includes both regional and social accent varieties, and hence also RP.

of AusE. The ones included here, however, are highly significant in the context of the two films under investigation. I will first address abbreviations in AusE, then move on to the typical Australian term *mate*, and finish by listing a variety of different colloquial expressions essential for the present analysis.

Abbreviations

What is particularly interesting about the AusE lexicon is the frequent occurrence of colloquial abbreviations (e.g., *beaut* for beautiful), noun abbreviations (ending in –/iː/ or –/əʉ/, e.g., *arvo* for afternoon), and abbreviations of first names (e.g., *Bazza* for Barry) (Trudgill & Hannah 2002: 23). The latter has been closely studied by Wierzbicka (1986), who distinguishes between three types of first name abbreviations: truncation of names, as in *Al* for Alice or Alison, the use of the suffix <–z>, as in *Shaz* for Sharon, which often replaces <–r>, and the lengthening of the abbreviation with the suffixes <–za> or <–o>, as in *Shazza* for Sharon or *Tommo* for Thomas (Wierzbicka 1986: 353-358). According to the scholar, the abbreviation of names reflects the "Australian cult of 'toughness' and the Australian dislike of articulated, intellectual, 'cultured' speech" (Wierzbicka 1986: 359), whereas the extension of such abbreviations "can be seen as an expression of the Australian need to express affection and friendliness" (Wierzbicka 1986: 359). The names *Shazza* and *Tommo*, then, express both toughness and affection.

Mate

Another highly typical Australian term is *mate*, already touched on above. While it is not an Australian coinage (Butler 2001: 159), *mate* seems to express Australian culture like no other word (Wierzbicka 1997: 198). Wierzbicka (1997) provides a detailed discussion of *mate* as a key term for Australian culture. As we have seen in Chapter 4.2 above, *mate*, as used in Australia, refers to people that "are often together, and do things together, either because they want to or not for this reason (but, for example, because they work together)" (Wierzbicka 1997: 108). Emphasis is on the fact that mates frequently spend time with each other and engage in activities with each other rather than on the voluntary or involuntary nature of their relationship (Wierzbicka 1997: 108). *Mate* can be used to address someone directly or to refer to someone in conversation (Wierzbicka 1997: 112). According to Rendle-Short (2010: 1202), *mate* can be used in a variety of contexts to address strangers and people we know alike. While it is usually

seen as a friendly term, "it can be negatively interpreted within some contexts, for example, when used to show sarcasm, irony or dissatisfaction with the other person" (Rendle-Short 2010: 1202), or when it is seen as an inappropriate address by the addressee, as, for instance, by elderly women (Rendle-Short 2010: 1216). Furthermore, *mate* as an address can have a variety of functions depending on its position within a sentence, the speech act in which it is used, and its prosody, as Rendle-Short (2010) shows. In the context of this thesis, I will simply understand the term *mate* as a common form of address signalling open friendliness, as I do not expect to find any instances of negative usage of *mate* in the films.

A selection of AusE colloquialisms

Although a large variety of colloquialisms exist in AusE, we shall only discuss those relevant in the context of the present thesis. These colloquial expressions include, *sheila* (which is the colloquial term for "girl or young woman," as defined by the Australian National Dictionary, now rarely used in urban Australia) (Hughes 1992 [1989]: 499), "*good on ya* (which implies admiration for the addressee's attitude and not necessarily for achievement or success)" (Wierzbicka 1997: 201), *righto* (which "signals a good-humored willingness to cooperate on an equal footing") (Wierzbicka 1997: 202), and "the traditional Australian greeting *g'day* ([which is] inherently good-humored and egalitarian, unlike *good morning*)" (Wierzbicka 1997: 202).

6. Attitudes towards AusE

In the discussion of the stereotypical portrayal of AusE-speaking characters it is necessary to consider not only common Australian stereotypes but also attitudes towards the language and its speakers. This discussion will further deepen our understanding of how Australians are perceived by themselves and others and aid in the exploration of common stereotypes about Australians. We shall first explore Australians' attitudes towards their own language and then move on to the discussion of Americans' attitudes towards the dialect. This chapter concludes with a brief examination of Danes' attitudes towards AusE in relation to *Crocodile Dundee*.

6.1 Australians' attitudes towards AusE

In his book *Australia's many voices*, Leitner (2004) provides a comprehensive overview of the development of AusE, including attitudes towards it both from within and outside Australia. He explains the change of attitudes within Australia in terms of four stages, which he loosely based on the four-stage model of attitude development in Australia previously developed by Delbridge (1998) (see Leitner 2004: 94). At the start of the colony, Australians and people outside Australia were generally critical of AusE. Over time, however, the attitudes changed and AusE came to be seen more positively by Australians and non-Australians alike (Leitner 2004: 90-106). Since a detailed description of the development of Australians' attitudes towards AusE would go beyond the scope of this paper, we shall merely consider the fourth and last phase of attitude development in the following chapter. Later we will move on to attitudes held by US-Americans towards AusE and Australians in general.

Bradley and Bradley's (2001) long-term attitude study will serve to illustrate here how attitudes towards AusE became increasingly more positive during the phase when AusE started to be seen as the national language (Leitner 2004: 105). Their study consisted of two parts: a diachronic interview study and a Subjective Reaction Test (SRT) that has been repeated numerous times since it was first conducted. The interview study was first undertaken in 1980 with forty Melbourne-born participants, and was repeated in 1995 with twenty-seven of the former forty participants. The analysis indicated a change in attitudes between 1980 and 1995 since the participants' attitudes towards AusE were, generally, more positive in the second interview compared to the first one (Bradley & Bradley 2001: 276-277). In the SRT, Bradley and Bradley (2001: 278-281) used three stimulus passages of casual speech spoken by three Australian men, who spoke with a more Broad, General, and more Cultivated accent, respectively. Participants, university students of linguistics, then rated the speakers in terms of status and solidarity. Overall, the findings indicated "that Australians are feeling progressively more positive about Australian [English] as opposed to other varieties of English speech" (Bradley & Bradley 2001: 282), General being seen more positively than Broad and Cultivated. More precisely, Cultivated and Broad were on opposite ends of the status scale, Cultivated being ranked highest. Cultivated was rated lowest in terms of solidarity and General highest, leaving Broad in between (Bradley & Bradley 2001: 280). These results corresponded with the rise of General AusE as the

main variety spoken in Australia and the decrease in numbers of Broad and Cultivated speakers, which we have seen in Chapter 5.1 above. Most importantly, Australians' attitudes towards their accent appear to be increasingly positive.

6.2 Americans' attitudes towards AusE

Since the present thesis investigates the portrayal of Australians in films made in the US, a discussion of Americans' attitudes towards AusE is essential. For this purpose we shall consider Garrett et al.'s (2005) internationally conducted attitude study. Garrett et al. (2005) undertook an open-ended questionnaire study targeting undergraduates from the USA, the UK, New Zealand and Australia. First, participants had to provide a list of maximum eight native English-speaking countries, excluding theirs. Then they had to name the most prominent features of the variety of English spoken in each country they had listed above (Garrett et al. 2005: 217). Given the focus on Americans' attitudes towards AusE, we shall only consider the corresponding results here.

Overall, Garrett et al. (2005) found that the American respondents' attitudes towards AusE were largely positive, although they appeared to perceive Australians "as relatively uncultured" (224), that is, as using slang and 'incorrect' language (219). Notably, a large number of comments was related to Australian culture, that is, many respondents referred to the Australian landscape, as, for instance, "'beaches', 'coastal', 'surfer'" (Garrett et al. 2005: 224), typical animals, such as "'koalas', 'kangaroos', 'dingos'" (Garrett et al. 2005: 224), and typical food and beverages, as in "'beer drinking', 'the barbie'" (Garrett et al. 2005: 224). Moreover, participants noted down common Australian expressions, such as "'down under', 'outback', 'Sheila', [and] 'g'day mate'," (Garrett et al. 2005: 224). Arguably the most important finding is that AusE was the only English variety frequently associated with toughness, which manifested itself in answers such as "'rugged', 'rough', 'macho', 'rustic', 'outdoors person', 'male features', [and] 'messy, tough English'" (Garrett et al. 2005: 224). In addition to these already highly stereotypical associations, Crocodile Dundee was named fifteen times in the US data, and he was the only Australian mentioned (Garrett et al. 2005: 224). Garrett et al. (2005) interpret the film as the main source of the items associated with AusE, and suggest that the "US respondents may rely on more limited media representations for their stereotype than the other respondents" (224). Generally,

the US respondents' attitudes seem to be influenced by the media, and especially the "respected laid-back toughness of Crocodile Dundee" (Garrett et al. 2005: 232).

6.3 *Crocodile Dundee* and Danes' attitudes towards AusE

Like Garrett et al.'s (2005) analysis, Ladegaard's (1998) study demonstrated that Australian stereotypes presented in the media influence non-Australians' perceptions of Australians. In his study of Danish university students' attitudes towards different varieties of English, Ladegaard (1998: 261) found that the Australian "speaker was described as 'laid-back', 'easygoing' and 'calm'" and that "he was rated high on solidarity dimensions such as reliability, friendliness and helpfulness" (261), although some participants were unable to identify the speaker as Australian. The majority of participants had seen the *Crocodile Dundee*-films and showed awareness of "the image of the laid-back, easy-going Aussie" (Ladegaard 1998: 269). Thus, it seems as though *Crocodile Dundee* has had considerable influence on the perception of the typical Australian outside the nation and attitudes towards Australians and their language. We shall see in Chapter 9.2.2 if this image of the manly and tough crocodile hunter is transmitted in animated children's films.

In sum, it seems that Australians, Americans, and Danes generally perceive AusE rather positively. The American and Danish respondents' attitudes seem to be primarily based on media representations of Australians, and particularly the movie-character Crocodile Dundee, who is known for his Broad Australian accent, toughness, and manliness, as we have seen in Chapter 4.3. It appears that Americans especially like this stereotypical image of the Australian man, as many participants in Garrett et al.'s (2005) study mentioned numerous features commonly associated with the fictional character. Australians, on the contrary, appear to see speakers of Broad AusE more negatively than General AusE speakers. Nonetheless, we have seen in Chapter 5 above that Broad AusE is perceived as funny and entertaining by Australians, when used by comedians and in films and television. While General AusE is seen as the main variety in Australia, Americans seem to strongly associate Broad AusE with the typical Australian and his manly and tough personality, presumably owing to the representations of Australians in the media.

7. The film medium

Given that this thesis is concerned with the analysis of two animated films, a discussion of the film medium is essential. In order to comprehend how stereotypes can be transmitted through film, we have to consider the steps involved in making an animated film, the processes of voice-selection and recording, and the functions and nature of spoken dialogue in films by referring to Goffman's (1979) participation framework.

7.1 Making an animated film

The process of making an animated film involves several, generally consecutive, production stages, as well as "collaboration, teamwork, creativity, and critical thinking to solve technical and artistic problems" (Buckley 2011: 79). Since the film making process is highly similar for the majority of animated films (cf. Davis 2006: 36-38, White 2006), I will use Buckley's (2011) description of the film making process at Pixar as a reference point in order to explain how animated films are developed.

According to Buckley (2011), then, the making of an animated film involves four stages: development, preproduction, production, and postproduction. The first phase of the film making process is called development. It includes the creation of the story line, research, and the writing of the story (Buckley 2011: 79-80). As we will see below, the artists working on *Finding Nemo* and *The Rescuers Down Under* conducted research in Australia by studying the landscape, underwater reefs, and Australian animals. In the second phase, called preproduction, the storyboard is created as drawings are made and the script is finalised. Following this, recordings of the character's voices are made (Buckley 2011: 81-82). Simultaneously, in the production stage, the "characters, sets, and props" are designed and drawn in pastel colours in order to "show how the color and light should look in a given scene" (Buckley 2011: 83). Following these drawings "the technical team and model-makers make digital models for the characters" (Buckley 2011: 83). After this, the director has a final look at "the script and characters, the look and the animation, and decides if any changes need to be made" in the postproduction stage (Buckley 2011: 85). In a final step, "the film is rendered" (Buckley 2011: 85). After this time-consuming process the film is finally finished and can be presented to an audience. Given that the focus of the present paper lies on characters' accents, we shall now consider the character-voice selection process.

7.2 Giving characters a voice

Like the entire film making process, the voice selection process is a long and carefully planned one. As Davis (2006: 37) emphasises, nothing of what the viewers see on the screen is coincidental. Although Davis only refers to the visual aspects, his comment can seemingly be extended to include any auditory content, such as music and, particularly, the characters' voices. Indeed, Pallant (2011: 103) points out that actors and actresses have predominantly been cast for animated films based on the sound of their voices. We have to ask then who selects the characters' voices. It seems that a film's director is ultimately the one who does so. As Selby (2013: 116) states, a film's director will have a certain idea of what a character's voice should sound like, and it is the casting consultant's task to find a voice actor that meets these criteria. Furthermore, not only does the director choose the voice actors, but he or she also partakes in "'read-throughs' of the script" together with the casting consultant and the voice actor or actress, who are recorded repeatedly until their utterances complement "the actions of the character being portrayed" (Selby 2013: 116). This supports Paul Wells' (2013) argument that "an animation soundtrack is an entirely constructed phenomena" (56), as does an interview with the Pixar's film director Pete Docter and his colleague Lee Unkrich, which revealed that frequently fragments of voice actors and actresses' performances are assembled in order to create one single utterance and obtain the best results (Wells 2013: 57). This highlights the amount of careful planning and crafting involved in the creation of an animated film.

The sound of a character's voice and the way a character speaks are chosen deliberately and carefully, and may even be artificially composed, in order to comply with the director's vision. This inevitably also includes the intentional use of specific dialects and, hence, accents. According to Lippi-Green (1997), directors employ certain accents in order to "draw character quickly" (81), or to indicate "that the action and dialogue would not be taking place in English" (84). Therefore, it seems that a character's voice, and thus its accent, is never selected at random but in a rather careful manner, presumably, because the accent serves some purpose within the film.

7.3 Dialogue in film

Having established how animated films are made and how the characters' voices are chosen, it seems necessary to briefly consider the creation of characters' utterances.

According to Selby (2013: 112-113), dialogue in film is essential as it develops the characters' personalities, as well as their "age, sex, and ethnicity, together with their 'place' as part of the production" (113). As we have seen above, the sound of a character's voice is carefully crafted and so are its utterances. As Azad's (2009) analysis of accents in film has previously shown, it is useful to apply Goffman's (1979) participation framework to the study of spoken dialogue in film, in order to understand the different functions of the parties involved in making a character speak.

In his article on footing, Goffman (1979) re-examines the traditional notion of speaker and hearer.[14] Although one can neatly apply these concepts to conversations between two or more people, Goffman (1979) argues that they do not capture the complexity of podium discussions or oral performances of written speeches. In these contexts, then, Goffman (1979: 17) distinguishes between three types of speaker: animator, author, and principal. If we continue to use the example of the speech, we may explain the three types of speaker in the following terms: the animator is the person who is physically present and produces the sounds, the author is the person who writes the speech, and the principal is the person whose ideas form the basis for the written words (Goffman 1979: 17).

Applied to films, this framework helps to explain the process involved in making a character speak. In Goffman's terms, then, the film's director is the principal, the person who wrote the script equals the author, and the voice actor functions as the animator. In other words, the director is the one to decide what a character says and how, and what he or she sounds like, while it seems that the screenwriters are the ones to provide the words (although these are generally also revised by the director (Buckley 2011: 85)), and the voice actors are the ones who produce and act the written words. Thus, it becomes clear that the final product, the characters' dialogues heard by the audience, demands the contribution of a large number of people who all fulfil different functions in the making of spoken dialogue in film.

As we have seen, a character's dialogue requires careful planning. Not only is the sound of the characters' voice deliberately chosen, but also the words they say are carefully selected and every utterance appears to be meticulously crafted. Arguably, this type of planning is indispensable. Characters in films only have limited time to express

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[14] Given the focus of this study, I will only address the concept of speaker here.

themselves and thereby convey their personalities, motivations, age, and sex, among other things. Thus, writers have to include a large quantity of indexes in the shape of vocabulary, grammaticality of speech, sound of voice, and accent, among others, to characterise a character. We have to keep in mind that nothing of what the audience sees or hears is there by coincidence but by choice, and possibly fulfils some sort of purpose such as characterisation and signalling of setting. With their thoroughly planned visuals and characters, films represent highly constructed realities that do not necessarily correspond to the real world. Thus, the Australia we see in *Finding Nemo* and *The Rescuers Down Under* is an Australia constructed by the filmmakers and hence only a (simplified) version or idealisation of the real country, which is presumably largely based on stereotypes associated with it. Before we move on to the analysis and discussion of the results of this study in Chapter 9, I will present the methodology in the following chapter.

8. Methodology

This chapter explains which methods I used for the analysis of *Finding Nemo* and *The Rescuers Down Under*. I will start by considering the two films in more detail. I will then move on to explain the data collection and coding processes in Chapter 8.2. Moreover, this chapter will include detailed commentary on the non-linguistic and linguistic variables significant in this thesis as well as a discussion of the transcription system used. Finally, I will conclude this chapter by reflecting on the problems encountered during the data collection and coding processes.

8.1 The films

In order to obtain data for this study, the two films *The Rescuers Down Under* (1990) and *Finding Nemo* (2003) were chosen as the primary sources. They were selected because they are the only films by Disney and Disney-Pixar that are set in Australia. Given that foreign English accents and non-US varieties appear to be frequent in films set outside the US (see Lippi-Green 1997, Sønnesyn 2011), the two films were expected to contain a large number of Australian English-speaking characters and, thus, to provide sufficient relevant data for the present study. These two films were further chosen, owing to the continuing popularity of films produced by Walt Disney Pictures and Disney Pixar. We shall now have a closer look at the two films and their voice cast.

The Rescuers Down Under (1990)

The Rescuers Down Under was released in 1990 by Walt Disney Pictures and therefore belongs to the Disney Renaissance period (Pallant 2011: 89). This film is the sequel to the 1977 feature film *The Rescuers* (Pallant 2011: 72). While the first film immediately succeeded at the box-office (Pallant 2011: 72), *The Rescuers Down Under* did not (Pallant 2011: 92). Nevertheless, the film appears was an important one in Disney's history. As touched on above, a group of Disney's artists working on the film went to Australia during the film's preproduction phase to study the Australian environment (Beck 2005: 226). This was the first time such a research-journey was undertaken at Disney, which then started a long Disney-tradition (*The Making of The Rescuers Down Under* 1990). Let us now take a look at the film's plot.

The story takes place in the Australian Outback and revolves around a young boy named Cody, who is captured by a poacher called Percival McLeach. The International Rescue Aid Society based in New York calls two of its members, the mice Bernard and Miss Bianca, to Cody's rescue. They immediately fly to Australia, seated on the back of an albatross called Wilbur, determined to help the boy. Once in Australia, they travel through the Outback, accompanied by an Australian kangaroo rat named Jake, whom they meet upon their landing, in order to find and save Cody. In the meantime, McLeach is looking for a golden female eagle, Marahute, who he wants to kill for money, while Cody and the other captured animals repeatedly attempt to escape. When McLeach discovers that Cody and the eagle are friends, he lets the boy go under the pretext that the eagle had died and her eggs were abandoned, and follows him to the eagle's nest. McLeach then captures Marahute, who is eventually freed with the help of the two mice. In the end, the two mouse-rescuers defeat McLeach and rescue Marahute's eggs and Cody, all with the help of Wilbur and Jake. Throughout the film, Bernard makes several attempts to propose to Miss Bianca. He finally manages to ask the question at the end of the film, and she happily accepts.

Finding Nemo (2003)

Finding Nemo was released in 2003 and was the fourth film made under the Disney-Pixar partnership (Beck 2005: 83). In contrast to *The Rescuers Down Under*, it was an international box-office success (Pallant 2011: 138) and even "received the Academy Award for Best Animated Feature" in the year following its release (Beck 2005: 83).

Like the artists working on *The Rescuers Down Under*, the production team for *Finding Nemo* flew to Australia, only this time to take scuba diving lessons and to study the Great Barrier Reef (*Making Nemo* 2003). Moreover, the artists would model the characters on real-life fish they had closely studied with regards to appearance as well as movement (*Making Nemo* 2003). Let us now move on to the film's story.

The film is set in the Great Barrier Reef in Australia and tells the story of a father-clownfish named Marlin and his newfound female friend, Dory, searching for his lost son, Nemo. At the start of the film, Nemo is captured by a scuba diver off the shores of Australia and taken to a dentist's surgery in Sydney, where he then lives in an aquarium. On their journey, Marlin and Dory face numerous challenges and meet a great variety of underwater and land creatures, including a great white shark named Bruce, a sea turtle called Crush, and a pelican called Nigel. In the meantime, Nemo becomes friends with the animals that share his new home and together they want to help him escape and return to his father. However, Nemo is supposed to be the birthday present for the dentist's cruel niece, Darla. The day she comes to the surgery Marlin and Dory arrive in Sydney and believe Nemo dead, as he pretended to have died in order to get flushed down the drain and thus return home. After Marlin and Dory have left the surgery, carried in Nigel's beak, Nemo finally manages to escape through the sink. In the end, Nemo reunites with his father and, together with Dory, they return home.

The characters' voices

Given the focus of the present study, it seems worth considering the voice actors performing in *Finding Nemo* and *The Rescuers Down Under*. A look at the cast of *Finding Nemo* shows that many internationally renowned actors and actresses, as well as the comedian Ellen DeGeneres, were cast to bring the characters to life. As Beck (2005: 83) points out, these "mostly distinctive performers […] add to the characterization" of the films' characters. He further notes that the story's setting was the reason for the inclusion of "authentic Aussie actors [who] played key supporting roles" (Beck 2005: 83). Australian actors lending their voices to some of the characters include Geoffrey Rush as the pelican, Nigel, Barry Humphries as the great white shark, Bruce, Eric Bana as Bruce's friend, Anchor, and Bill Hunter as the dentist (*Finding Nemo* 2003). In contrast to *Finding Nemo*, the cast of *The Rescuers Down Under* only includes one Australian voice actor, namely Tristan Rogers as Jake (Beck 2005: 226).

8.2 Data collection and coding

The data collection and coding process involved several steps and the employment of various methods. For the data collection I viewed the films *Finding Nemo* and *The Rescuers Down Under* multiple times, each time focussing on a different aspect. Overall, the analysis consisted of four stages. First, the characters were categorised in terms of accents and non-linguistic features. All speaking characters whose utterances were longer than one word were included in the analysis and noted down in a grid. [15] Characters that only appeared as a group and spoke in unison were counted as one character. The categorisation in terms of dialects consisted of the documentation of typical phonological as well as lexical features displayed in each character's speech. Since the study's primary focus lies on AusE, the non-Australian accents were only defined in rather general terms. Second, the AusE-speaking characters were classified in terms of accent type. This involved the auditory analysis and the subsequent phonemic and phonetic transcription of the characters' utterances. Third, the different purposes of the AusE accent in the films were defined on the basis of the AusE-speaking characters' roles and portrayals in the films. Finally, AusE-speaking supporting characters were analysed with regards to the Australian stereotypes and attitudes discussed in Chapters 4 and 6. In the following two subchapters, the non-linguistic and linguistic variables used to classify the characters are explained in detail.

8.2.1 Non-linguistic variables

As mentioned above, the first step of the analysis involved the categorisation of characters regarding dialect and a number of non-linguistic features. These non-linguistic variables were loosely adapted from Lippi-Green (1997) and include 'character role', 'character type', 'motivation', and 'sex'. Let us consider each category in detail.

For 'character roles' I distinguished between protagonists, sidekicks, villains, supporting characters, and minor characters. The heroes and heroines of the films were categorised as protagonists, including supporting protagonists, as they had the most prominent roles in the films. As sidekick classified any character that directly supports

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[15] Notably, the Aquascum aquarium cleaner in *Finding Nemo* also talks but was not counted as a character, given that it is merely a speaking technical appliance. Moreover, one patient in Dr Sherman's surgery, who says a few words, was not included either, because his utterances were highly unintelligible (probably due to the anaesthetics' effect) and his accent unidentifiable.

the protagonist. That is, the sidekicks are not protagonists themselves but rather have a supporting function to the main characters. Notwithstanding, they are highly important characters without which the protagonists would often not achieve their goals. The villains in the films are those characters that want to directly harm the hero or heroine, and any other characters. Finally, any characters that are significant for the development of the story but do not have major roles were classified as supporting characters. They were distinguished from minor characters by their presence in the films, that is, by how often and how much they speak and how frequently they occur, as well as their influence on the plot development. Hence, minor characters may appear frequently in a film but they hardly influence the story's development or have significant functions within the plot.

With regard to the characters' motivations, I differentiated between four types: positive, negative, uncertain, and mixed. The first two types are rather straightforward. That is, a hero's motivations will usually be positive, while a villain's motivations will be negative. Only characters with unambiguously positive or negative motivations were categorised as having such motivations. If a character's motivation was not clearly discernible or completely unknown it was labelled 'uncertain'. This was expected to be the case with minor characters. These characters are arguably too small to make any sound judgement regarding their motivation, as their personality traits are usually not developed in detail. Characters that seemed to have positive motivations, but where there was not enough evidence to support this assumption, were also included in this category. However, if a character's motivation changed in the course of the film, for example, if it was negative at the start but became positive later on, it was classified as 'mixed'.

Concerning the last two variables, 'sex' and 'character type', the distinction was again quite simple. First, a characters' sex was recorded, as either female or male, based on their voice, name, or appearance (if applicable). Second, the variable 'character type' refers to the character's physical appearance. More precisely, the characters were classified as either 'human' or 'animal'. In the case of the latter, the species was noted down as well.

8.2.2 Linguistic variables

The main focus of the first categorisation was the distinction between AusE- and non-AusE-speaking characters. I analysed the characters' speech by using auditory analysis. That is, the characters' dialects were defined based on my judgement of salient phonological and lexical features of a certain dialect present in their speech. Based on the results from previous studies, I expected to find varieties of AmE and BE, and some foreign-accented Englishes, in addition to AusE. Generally, the accents were easily classified since highly stereotypical phonological and lexical features were employed. Yet, whenever the sounds were not clearly identifiable, I used the transcription software Praat (Boersma & Weenik 2016) because it enabled me to closely listen to sounds in isolation and, thus, to more accurately transcribe the AusE-speaking characters' utterances. Overall, I defined the characters' accents according to my personal experience as well as my knowledge of typical phonological and lexical features of the different English dialects. What is more, for the identification of some characters' accents I relied on secondary sources, as in the case of Miss Bianca and McLeach (see Grant 1998). Seemingly contrived accents were registered as the target accent, even when some phonological features were not in agreement with the corresponding sound of the target accent. Furthermore, I did not distinguish between regional, social, and standard varieties of one accent since the purpose of the general categorisation of accents was to illustrate their general distribution among the different character roles, types, motivations, and sexes. Moreover, the analysis of accent distribution was expected to indicate the minor role of AusE and to highlight the predominance of AmE in the films.

8.2.3 Phonemic and phonetic transcription of AusE

The second step of the analysis involved the more detailed auditory analysis of the AusE-speaking characters' utterances and the broad and narrow transcription of highly characteristic stretches of speech. For the transcription of the Australian characters' speech I used the HCE transcription system developed by Harrington, Cox and Evans (1997), which is a revised system of the former one by Mitchell and Delbridge (MD) (Cox 2012: 92). I used this system since its symbols "are reported to more accurately reflect AusE pronunciation" (Cox 2012: 9) and because of its ability of highlighting the "phonemic contrasts in the dialect while at the same time providing an indication of

unique AusE characteristics" (Cox 2012: 10). HCE is used for the transcription of the Australian characters' speech throughout this study.

By means of the phonemic and phonetic transcription, the type of Australian accent could then be determined. Although the broadness continuum is rather out-dated, it seems that the classification of speakers in terms of the three accent types "[has] proven over the years to be reasonably distinguishable for auditory studies" (Horvath 1985: 68). Regarding the process of defining a speaker's accent in terms of the continuum, Horvath (1985: 174) emphasises that instead of "classifying individual speakers as Broad, General, or Cultivated [...] meaning that the individual speakers use *only* (or even predominantly) B, G, or C vowel variants" [original emphasis], every vowel should be analysed individually in order to more accurately describe a speaker's accent. In other words, according to Horvath (1985: 174), accent analyses should describe the degree to which a speaker uses vowels from the three varieties. Therefore, the characters were categorised as Cultivated, General, or Broad according to the overall degree of broadness in their speech.

I predominantly used phonemic transcription for the characters' speech-analysis given that the main distinguishing features of AusE are its vowel sounds, as we have seen, which can be clearly discriminated in phonemic transcription. Phonetic transcription was mainly used to transcribe Broad-speaking characters' utterances since the three accent types are primarily differentiated through phonetic features, such as the prominence of the on-glide before /iː/ and /ʉː/ (see Chapter 5). Although both speakers of General and Broad AusE produce these on-glides, they were only transcribed for Broad-speaking characters. The fact that I did not indicate on-glides in General-speaking characters' utterances does not mean, however, that these speakers did not display on-glides before /iː/ and /ʉː/. Instead, it serves to highlight the difference between the two accent types, and functions as a means for distinguishing between Broad and General speakers. Furthermore, within examples of Broad speech, some words were transcribed phonetically while words with the same phoneme were transcribed phonemically. The narrow transcription here serves to highlight the words that show a more marked Broad pronunciation and thus differentiate them from words with a more neutral pronunciation.

In addition to the phonological features of the AusE accent(s), I analysed the content of the characters' utterances. The several highly characteristic AusE expressions

that I discovered were considered here because of their apparent significance in the context of the establishment of setting.

8.3 Problems

It seems necessary at this point to say a few words about the challenges I faced in the course of this analysis. The classification of some characters' accents proved more difficult than previously expected, especially concerning the AusE accent types. In order to accurately identify the AusE-speaking characters, I used the software Praat and also received help from an AusE native speaker. It was highly interesting to see that the Australian also struggled to classify some characters' accents, which highlighted the complexity of auditory accent analyses. Both the general classification of characters as speakers of AusE and the more detailed categorisation of the different AusE accent types were rather difficult, owing to the phonological similarities across English accents and the AusE accents, and the ambiguous nature of contrived accents.

Similarly, the classification of characters in terms of 'character role', 'character type' and 'sex' presented a challenge. Concerning character roles, the degree of involvement and influence a character has in a film can only be judged subjectively. Thus, my classifications may differ greatly from other scholars' analyses and from what the filmmakers had intended, as they are based on my personal judgement. While the general categorisation of character types in terms of human or animal was straightforward, the detailed analysis of animal characters was often challenging, given that many of the underwater species in *Finding Nemo* were unknown to me. Hence, I consulted secondary online sources (Jose 2013a, 2013b) in order to determine the characters' species. Regarding the classification of the characters' sexes, the characters were generally easily categorised as male or female. However, the categorisation of group-characters proved problematic, given that some of the group-characters appear to have both male and female members, which is why I had to add another sub-category in the category 'sex', namely 'unclear'.

Finally, the general transcription of the characters' utterances as well as the phonemic and phonetic transcription of the AusE-speaking characters was somewhat challenging. During the transcription process of the characters' utterances, I occasionally had to refer to the films' subtitles or ask the AusE native speaker in order to accurately transcribe character's utterances that were unintelligible due to speed of

speech or mumbling. The phonemic transcription was even more demanding than the general transcription of speech. As already mentioned above, I used the software Praat in order to discriminate certain sounds, which then facilitated their classification. This method was especially helpful in the transcription of on-glides in the speech of Broad AusE-speaking characters. These challenges highlight the difficult and subjective nature of auditory analysis compared to instrumental methods.

9. Results and discussion

In this chapter the results of the film analysis will be presented and discussed. First, I will provide an overview of the accent distribution in the two films. This involves the consideration of accents in relation to character roles, character types, motivation, and sex. In the subsequent chapter the results regarding the purposes AusE fulfils in the films will be presented. First, we shall discuss how both phonological and lexical features of AusE are employed to establish the films' settings. Following that, Chapter 9.2.2 will consider AusE with regards to characterisation and the employment of Australian stereotypes. Chapter 9.2.3 examines AusE as a tool for creating comic effect in the films. Finally, the AusE-speaking characters' categorisation in terms of accent type will be presented and discussed in Chapter 9.3.

9.1 Accent distribution

9.1.1 General accent distribution

In the analysis of *The Rescuers Down Under* and *Finding Nemo* a total of 80 characters were identified, which can be grouped into four major dialect groups: American English (AmE), Australian English (AusE), British English (BE), and non-native English (NNE). The category AmE comprises General American English (GA) and regional (e.g., Southern and Boston English) as well as social varieties (e.g., Californian or 'surfer' English) of AmE. I combined these dialects here since this better highlights the dominance of AmE in the films and because a detailed classification of the AmE varieties seems irrelevant in a discussion of AusE. The group of AusE-speaking characters includes all three accent types, that is, Broad, General, and Cultivated. The category 'British English', similar to that of 'American English', includes Standard British English and both regional and social varieties of English spoken in Great

Britain. Again, these dialects were combined since a detailed examination thereof would go beyond the scope of this paper. Finally, the category 'non-native English' comprises French and Hungarian English in the present study. The pie chart below illustrates the overall distribution of accents in the two films in percentages.
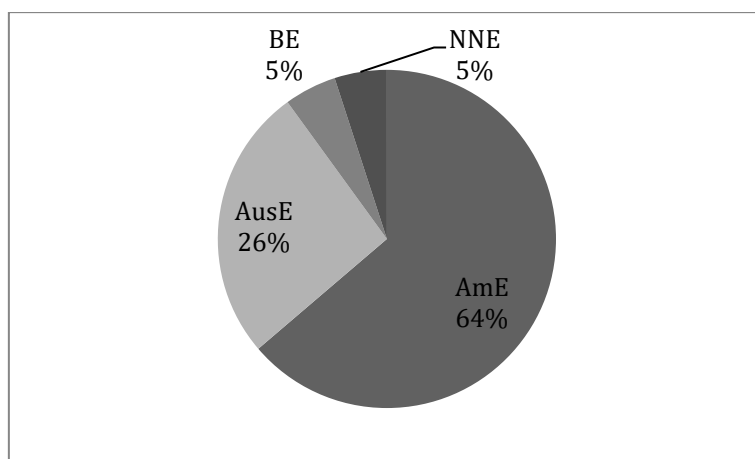
Figure 1 General accent distribution

As can be seen in Figure 1, the vast majority of characters in *Finding Nemo* and *The Rescuers Down Under* speak some form of AmE. Indeed, there are more than twice as many AmE-speaking characters than AusE-speaking ones. Nevertheless, the AusE-speaking characters constitute the second biggest language group, comprising about a quarter of all characters. Thus, AusE-speaking characters form a relatively large part of the cast, which already suggests that AusE is used to signal place. That is, previous research has shown that foreign accents as well as other standard varieties of English are used to signal place when employed extensively in their natural setting (e.g., Lippi-Green 1997, Sønnesyn 2011). The groups of BE and NNE speakers are both small, constituting only ten per cent of the entire pool of characters when combined. Figure 1 also indicates that more than 90 per cent of all characters are native speakers of English, while only 5 per cent have a different first language.

The overall distribution of the accents was expected, given that AmE speakers have been found to be the predominant dialect group in animated children's films overall, as we have seen in Chapter 3. The relatively big proportion of AusE-speaking characters is no more surprising since previous research has shown that the local accents of the films' settings are often used to signal where the stories are set (see Chapter 3).

Thus, it seems that AusE is used extensively in the films in order to convey setting.[16] Let us now have a closer look at the distribution of accents according to the categories 'character role', 'character type', 'motivation', and 'sex'.

9.1.2 Character role

The analysis of *Finding Nemo* and *The Rescuers Down Under* revealed that the characters could be grouped according to five major character roles: protagonist, sidekick, supporting character, minor character, and villain. Table 3 below shows the distribution of accents among the different character roles in both numerical and ratio form. The percentages indicate the relative distribution of accents per character role.

Table 3 Characters by language groups and character roles

	AmE	AusE	BE	NNE	Total
Protagonists	4 (80%)			1 (20%)	5
Sidekick	1 (100%)				1
Supporting characters	8 (62%)	5 (38%)			13
Minor characters	37 (62.7%)	15 (25.4%)	4 (6.8%)	3 (5.1%)	59
Villains	1 (50%)	1 (50%)			2
Total	51	21	4	4	80

Table 3 clearly illustrates that the vast majority of protagonists, supporting characters, and minor characters speak AmE. This echoes previous results discussed in Chapter 3 that AmE is the dominant dialect spoken overall, and by protagonists especially, in animated children's films. While AmE-speaking characters constitute 80 per cent of all protagonists, overall, the majority of AmE speakers have minor roles. This is not surprising given that most characters in the films have minor roles. AmE is, however, not limited to these two character roles: Dory, the sidekick in *Finding Nemo*, and McLeach, the villain in *The Rescuers Down Under*, both speak AmE. On the whole, AmE is without a doubt and unsurprisingly the most frequently employed accent in the films and may be spoken by any character role, which contrasts it with all other language groups in this study.

Table 3 further demonstrates that AusE is spoken by a variety of character roles, although not by all. More precisely, AusE is mostly spoken by a large number of minor characters, some of which only appear once in the films, as well as some supporting characters and one villain. Neither protagonists nor sidekicks speak AusE in the films,

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[16] We will closely consider the purposes of the AusE accent below in Chapter 9.2.

despite it being the local accent of the films' settings. This contrasts AusE with AmE in the films, as the latter can by found in all character role-categories and the former is limited to three. The issue of protagonists' accents is indeed highly interesting, which is why it will be discussed in more detail below.

If we take a closer look at the category 'protagonists', we can see in Table 3 that there is one character in this category that does not speak AmE, namely Miss Bianca. Instead, Miss Bianca speaks a non-native variety of English. According to Grant (1998), Bianca's accent cannot be assigned to any country or language group specifically but it can rather be described as "a sort of all-purpose European one [accent]" (299). Nevertheless, given that Bianca's country of origin is signalled to be Hungary in the film, we can assume that she speaks with some sort of Hungarian English accent. Moreover, the fact that it is the Hungarian actress Eva Gabor who lends the character her voice (Beck 2005: 226) again supports the assumption that Miss Bianca speaks Hungarian-accented English. Disregarding the type of European accent, what is important here is the fact that Bianca, being a protagonist, does not speak AmE. This is surprising, given that the majority of protagonists in animated children's films seem to generally speak AmE. Bianca's non-native English accent, then, is a significant exception to the rule.

Miss Bianca's speaking with a foreign-accented English is clearly noteworthy, but we must not ignore that the majority of characters speaking non-native English have minor roles in the films. As stated above, four characters were classified as speakers of NNE, one of which is Miss Bianca. The other three non-native English speakers are Francois and a cockroach chef in *The Rescuers Down Under*, and Jacques in *Finding Nemo*. As the two names already suggest, they are all speakers of French English. That is, the two named characters both use French words, such as *bonjour*, *oui*, and *monsieur*, and all three show heightened nasality as well as prosodic features resembling those of French. Yet, even though the characters' portrayals appear to be overtly positive, they may still be informed by stereotypes, as other studies have suggested (e.g., Lippi-Green 1997, Sønnesyn 2011). However, this is only speculation and would have to be analysed in more detail.

Similarly to the group of non-native English speakers, all BE-speaking characters are minor characters in the films, as Table 3 indicates. The BE-speaking characters include the Chairmouse and the mouse doctor in *The Rescuers Down Under*, and a swordfish as well as a female seagull in *Finding Nemo*. These characters, like the

French English-speaking ones, are arguably largely based on stereotypical images of British people. That is, Chairmouse is portrayed as wearing a suit and a monocle, the mouse doctor complains about having missed tea, and the swordfish is seen fencing with his friend. Nevertheless, these characters and their representations would have to be studied in more detail in order to make any final judgements about the use and perpetuation of stereotypes.

To summarise, the findings represented in Table 3 indicate correlations between character roles and dialects. That is, the films' supporting characters and villains may speak either AmE or AusE, but not BE or NNE. In contrast, minor characters may belong to any of the four language groups found in the analysis. Finally, protagonists mainly speak AmE, with only one of them speaking NNE. Arguably the most interesting finding regarding character roles is the fact that, despite the films' settings, most characters, and especially the protagonists, in both films speak AmE rather than AusE. This supports previous findings discussed in Chapter 3 above that AmE is the predominant accent in animated children's films overall and that it is also spoken by most protagonists, even if the film is set outside the US.

Yet, the issue of the protagonists' accents is more complicated than it may seem. While all protagonists in *Finding Nemo* should logically be speaking AusE, this is not the case in *The Rescuers Down Under*. That is, whereas most of the characters in *The Rescuers Down Under* originate from Australia, the two main protagonists, Bernard and Miss Bianca, come from the US and Hungary, respectively. Hence, their AmE and Hungarian English accents correspond to the characters' origins. Cody's AmE accent, on the contrary, seems alien in the Australian Outback. In contrast to the boy, Cody's mother does speak the local dialect, as do most of the Australian animals. Thus, although the majority of characters speak AmE overall, it is an illogical dialect for most, given the stories' settings. Despite the AmE accent's predominance in the films, AusE plays a significant role in the films since, on the whole, a relatively large proportion of characters speak the dialect, even if protagonists do not.

9.1.3 Character type

The distribution of character types is rather imbalanced in the two films, as the vast majority of characters appear in animal form. This was, however, expected, given that

the two stories mainly revolve around animal characters. Table 4 below illustrates the distribution of accents among the two character types in numerical and ratio form.

Table 4 Characters by language groups and character types

	AmE	AusE	BE	NNE	Total
Animals	49 (67%)	16 (22%)	4 (5.5%)	4 (5.5%)	73
Humans	2 (28.6%)	5 (71.4%)			7
Total	51	21	4	4	80

It can be seen in Table 4 that only seven of the 80 characters in the films appear in human form. More precisely, there are four humans in *The Rescuers Down Under* and three in *Finding Nemo*. In fact, more than seven human characters appear in the films, but only seven of them have speaking roles. Five of the seven human characters speak AusE, while only two of them speak a form of AmE, as Table 4 shows. What is more, among the seven human characters there is only one protagonist, namely Cody. The remaining human characters are either minor characters, such as Cody's mother, the radio reporter, Barbara, and Dr Sherman, or villains, as Darla and McLeach. Indeed, it is highly interesting that the villains in the films only appear in humanoid form.

Table 4 indicates that the substantial majority of characters are animals. It further illustrates that AmE is the dominant accent spoken by characters that appear in animal form, that AusE is spoken by around a fifth of all animal characters, and that BE and non-native English are spoken by only eleven per cent. Given the large proportion of animals in the films, it is not surprising that the distribution of accents among the animal characters closely resembles the overall accent distribution in the two films. Furthermore, the categories 'British English' and 'non-native English' only include animal characters and no human characters. What is more, in contrast to the humans, the animals in the films are distributed among all character roles.

The more detailed classification of animal characters showed that both films include typical Australian animals, most of which also speak AusE. *The Rescuers Down Under* features a large number of both speaking and mute Australian animals, such as kangaroos, a koala, and a frill-necked lizard, and wombats and kookaburras. The majority of the speaking Australian animals even speak with an AusE accent. In contrast, the cast of *Finding Nemo* includes only a small number of typical Australian animals, such as Australian pelicans, turtles, and crabs, for instance, that generally also

speak AusE. These animals, however, are not as stereotypical of Australia as the ones in *The Rescuers Down Under*, and some of them are not exclusive to Australia.

Finally, if we consider the distribution of AusE speakers among the character types it becomes evident that, although the animal characters dominate the group of AusE speaking characters, overall, the percentage of AusE speakers is higher among human characters than animal characters. This is presumably due to the fact that the protagonists and sidekicks of the two films, most of which speak AmE, are all animals.

9.1.4 Motivation

If we consider the characters' motivations, we can see that the two investigated films, like the majority of Disney films, as argued by Lippi-Green (1979: 90), distinguish between 'good' and 'bad' characters. Table 5 below indicates the distribution of the characters' motivations across accents in numerical and ratio form.

Table 5 Characters by language groups and motivations

	AmE	AusE	BE	NNE	Total (%)
Positive	19	7	1	1	28 (35)
Negative	1	1			2 (2.5)
Mixed		1			1 (1.25)
Unclear	31	12	3	3	49 (61.25)
Total	51	21	4	4	80 (100)

As can be seen in Table 5, there are only two characters with negative motivations in the films, namely the villains McLeach in *The Rescuers Down Under* and Darla in *Finding Nemo*, who speak AmE and AusE, respectively. The findings, then, do not suggest any correlations between negative motivations and a certain accent. In any case, the data would be too small to draw any valid inferences about negative portrayals of a language group. Only a large-scale study of animated children's films, such as Lippi-Green's (1997), would be able to indicate such interrelations.

As is evident in Table 5, the majority of characters in the two films have either positive or unclear motivations, and only one character has mixed motivations. More precisely, 28 characters or around a third of the total have positive motivations. This group is predominantly composed of AmE-speaking characters, while the remaining nine characters belong to the other dialect groups. Only seven of the twenty-one AusE-

speaking characters, and only one of the BE- and NNE-speaking characters, respectively, have unambiguously positive motivations. The remaining characters have unclear motivations, most of which speak AmE, followed by AusE, BE, and NNE. Notably, the characters with unclear motivations appear to be covertly good characters, but their roles are too minor in the films as to accurately judge their motivations. In addition to characters with positive, negative, and unclear motivations, Table 4 also illustrates that there is one character with mixed motivations, namely the AusE-speaking shark Bruce. While Bruce is a friendly shark with clear positive motivations at first, he turns into a dangerous predator when he smells Dory's blood, showing negative motivations. Due to this change in behaviour, Bruce was classified as having mixed motivations.

Overall, speakers of all four dialect groups are represented as 'good' characters with either positive or unclear (but presumably covertly positive) motivations. These results echo Azad's (2009: 44) findings that AusE-speaking characters are generally portrayed positively.

9.1.5 Sex

The category 'sex' was included in this study in order to determine the overall distribution of sexes and the existence of correlations between certain accents and the characters' sexes. Table 6 shows the distribution of sexes among the language groups in numerical and ratio form.

Table 6 Characters by language groups and sex

	AmE	AusE	BE	NNE	Total (%)
Male	38	17	3	3	61 (76.25)
Female	10	4	1	1	16 (20)
Unclear	3				3 (3.75)
Total	51	21	4	4	80 (100)

Table 6 clearly indicates that the sexes are unevenly distributed across the language groups in the two films. Male characters comprise three quarters of the total and constitute the majority of characters from each dialect group, while female characters only comprise around a fifth of the cast. Like the male characters, female characters mainly speak AmE, but they may belong to any of the four language groups. The overall distribution of the sexes in the films is mirrored by their distribution among

AusE speakers since seventeen AusE-speaking characters are male and only four are female.[17]

As can be seen in Table 6, I have included the category 'unclear' in the discussion of sexes. This category was chosen here since there are three group-characters that presumably include both male and female characters. That is, I have identified a group of fish children, a school of trapped fish, and a group of seagulls in *Finding Nemo* as one character, respectively, as they only appear and speak as a group. However, it is unclear whether these fish and seagulls are all male or female or whether the groups have members of both sexes. Therefore, these characters have been classified 'unclear' with regards to sex.

As we have seen, the findings indicate that the overwhelming majority of characters in *Finding Nemo* and *The Rescuers Down Under* are male. This imbalance of the sexes appears to be typical of Disney films, where male characters commonly dominate the cast of animated children's films, as Lippi-Green (1997: 91) and Sønnesyn's (2011: 57) results suggest. As Sønnesyn (2011: 57) has pointed out, such children's films inaccurately reflect societies and create a distorted picture of reality regarding the distribution of sexes. *Finding Nemo* and *The Rescuers Down Under* arguably also do so, as most characters in the films are male.

In this chapter we have seen that the results regarding the overall distribution of accents in *Finding Nemo* and *The Rescuers Down Under* resemble those of previous studies. AmE is the dominant accent in both films, overall, and the most spoken accent among protagonists. Furthermore, most characters are male and have unclear motivations, owing to their primarily minor roles. Characters with NNE accents have predominantly minor roles and appear to be portrayed according to stereotypical images of their language groups. Most importantly, we have established that AusE is the second biggest language group in the films, spoken by a large number of minor characters but also some supporting characters. This large proportion of AusE speakers is significant since it suggests that the accent is used to signal place in the films. Moreover, given that it is also spoken by supporting characters that have more prominent roles in the films, it is likely to be used for characterisation in addition to the establishment of setting. Let us

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[17] The predominance of AusE-speaking male characters could be interpreted as a reflection of the idea that the typical Australian is male. Nevertheless, given the overall large proportion of male characters in the films, the distribution of AusE-speaking characters seems to simply conform to Disney's conventions.

now turn to the more detailed discussion of the results regarding the AusE accent and its purposes.

9.2 The purposes of AusE

We have seen in Chapter 7 that a character's voice is carefully chosen and its utterances are meticulously crafted for animated children's films. In other words, voices are selected deliberately in order to fit certain characters. Inevitably attached to the voices are the speakers' dialects and thus accents. Like the voice, a character's accent is not selected at random but rather consciously. Previous studies have shown that accents appear to mainly fulfil two distinct purposes in animated children's films, namely the signalling of setting and characterisation (see Chapter 3). The studies have also indicated correlations between certain accents and functions. Both foreign and standard varieties of English sometimes serve to characterise characters by exploiting stereotypes commonly associated with the languages and its speakers, and foreign English accents are also frequently employed to signal that the stories would be taking place in a foreign country (i.e., not in the US) and that the characters would not be speaking English.

The present study's findings suggest that AusE was also chosen deliberately for *Finding Nemo* and *The Rescuers Down Under* for three distinct purposes: First, AusE is used to signal where the films are set. Second, it functions as a tool for characterisation through its association with Australian stereotypes. And third, and this is most interesting, AusE is employed to create comic effect as well as to provide comic relief. These purposes may be fulfilled at the same time, which Azad (2009: 36) showed to be the case for other accents as well. Therefore, the AusE accent(s) may, for instance, simultaneously establish the setting and create comic effect. Furthermore, the results indicate correlations between the accents' purposes and character roles. Whereas all AusE-speaking characters signal the films' settings through their language regardless of their roles in the films, supporting and minor characters may be used for the creation of comic effect, and only supporting characters are characterised through the accent.

The following subchapters provide detailed discussions of the three functions of AusE in the films. I will start by addressing the conveyance of setting in Chapter 9.2.1. This includes the auditory and content analysis of AusE-speaking characters' utterances. Although this thesis predominantly focuses on AusE phonology, lexical features will also be analysed in detail since the analysis has shown their significance with regards to

signalling place. More precisely, typical Australian words and phrases arguably also serve to establish the films' settings, which is why they will be considered here. This is followed by the discussion of AusE as a tool for characterisation in Chapter 9.2.2. Similar to the preceding subchapter, I will analyse characters' utterances phonemically and phonetically in Chapter 9.2.2 but in relation to common Australian stereotypes discussed in Chapters 4 and 6. And, finally, AusE will be considered with respect to comic effect in Chapter 9.2.3. Here, phonemic and phonetic analyses of the characters' utterances will be used in addition to content and scene analyses.

I have to stress at this point that the results in this chapter have to be interpreted with caution, given that I do not know the directors' original intentions behind the choice of accent. The results regarding the purposes of the AusE accents presented in this chapter are based on my interpretation and judgement. Thus, by discussing the accents' purposes I generally speak about my hypotheses about the reasons behind their employment and not about what the filmmakers actually envisioned while creating the films.

9.2.1 AusE as a signal of setting

As we have seen, one major function of accents in animated children's films is to signal the films' settings, and, in the case of foreign accents, to highlight that the stories are taking place outside the US. According to Azad (2009: 36), "[i]f an accent occurs mostly in its natural setting (e.g., if Australian accents occur mostly in movies set in Australia), this is one indication that the accent is primarily functioning as an indicator of setting". We have seen above that AusE characters constitute a relatively large proportion of the total and that many of them are typical Australian animals. The large percentage of AusE-speaking characters in the films and the fact that they appear in their natural setting suggests that AusE is used to indicate place. In other words, the settings are established by means of AusE-speaking characters' speech. The characters' Australianness manifests itself in their pronunciation, prosody and the use of typical vocabulary and thus they indicate that the films are set in Australia. The results further suggest a tendency to predominantly use minor characters as indicators of place. That is, the analysis revealed that the AusE-speaking villain and minor characters are mainly used for the establishment of setting, while supporting characters may also be characterised through the accent or used for comic effect (as are two minor characters).

We have to ask then why AusE is employed in order to establish the settings through minor AusE-speaking characters but not to characterise minor characters. It seems that the explanation lies in the degree of prominence and importance the different character roles have in the films. Minor characters do not feature primarily in the plot, they only appear for short amounts of time in the films, and their personalities are not developed in detail. Thus, minor characters' roles are arguably too small for the accent to aid as a tool for characterisation. Instead, when minor characters speak the local dialect they generally function as reminders and indicators of where the story is taking place. In other words, by speaking AusE, the minor characters signal to the viewer that the stories are set in Australia. This is an easy and quick way for the filmmakers to convey the stories' settings to the audience without providing additional explanation within the film, as Lippi-Green (1997: 81) has previously argued. There appears to be another factor that aids in the establishment of setting, namely the AusE-speaking characters' character types. In other words, it seems that humans signal the setting through their speech and animals do so by means of accent and appearance or, more accurately, species. Since appearance seems to be significant with regards to animal characters we shall now consider the two character types in detail.

As we have seen above, there are five AusE-speaking human characters in the films, which all have minor roles. These characters are, Dr Sherman, Barbara, and Darla in *Finding Nemo*, and Cody's mother and a radio reporter in *The Rescuers Down Under*. Given that they are all minor characters that all speak with a local accent, it seems that they all function as indicators of place. Arguably, the radio reporter in *The Rescuers Down Under* is a prime example of an Australian human character functioning as an indicator of place, given that he is the voice of the local news broadcast and thus representative of the local media and people.

Let us now consider the AusE-speaking human characters' utterances in more detail, in order to discern which phonological features mark them as speakers of AusE. The words including highly typical AusE sounds are highlighted in bold and the phonemic or phonetic transcription is provided after the word. Words that appear more than once in an example, words with the same stem (e.g., *take* and *taking*), and homophones (e.g., *no* and *know*) will only be transcribed once, unless the words differ significantly in terms of pronunciation. Whenever a character's speech displays HRT, this is indicated with an arrow after the word that is pronounced with rising intonation instead of the usual falling intonation. This method will be used throughout this paper.

The dentist, Dr Sherman, in *Finding Nemo* is the first human AusE-speaking character to appear in the film. His AusE accent becomes evident in the monologue illustrated in Example 1 below.

(1)   Dr Sherman: **Hello** /hələʉ/, little **fella** [ˈfelˌɐ] (*Chuckles. Nemo gasps.*) Beauty, isn't he? I **found** /fæɔnd/ that **guy** /ɡɑe/ struggling **for life** /foː lɑef/ **out** /æɔt/ on the reef, and I **saved** /ˈsæɪvd/ 'im. So, that **Novacaine** /ˈnəʉvəˌkæɪn/ kicked in yet?

As we can see in Example 1, the AusE accent manifests itself in Dr Sherman's speech through typical phonological characteristics. That is, his speech includes the characteristic AusE diphthongs /əʉ/ in *hello* and *Novacaine* (lines 1 and 5), /ɑe/ in *guy* and *life* (line 3), /æɪ/ in *saved* and *Novacaine* (lines 4 and 5), /æɔ/ in *found* (line 2), and a very low final /ɐ/ in *fella* (line 1), which is an allophone of the AusE schwa. Moreover, the characteristic non-rhotic nature of AusE is evident in his pronunciation of the word *for* (line 3).

Example 2 below shows that Dr Sherman's assistant, Barbara, also speaks with an AusE accent.

(2)   Barbara: **Darla** /dɐːlɐː/ ↗, **your uncle** /joːɹenkl/ will see you **now** /næɔ/.

As illustrated in Example 2, typical features of AusE found in Barbara's speech are the diphthong /æɔ/ in *now* (line 2), non-rhoticity in the pronunciation of *Darla* (line 1), and the production of a linking /ɹ/ in *your uncle* (line 1). Moreover, the HRT in line 1 is an indicator of her Australianness.

The third and last human AusE-speaking character in *Finding Nemo* is Darla, Dr Sherman's niece. Like the other humans in the film, she speaks AusE, as Example 3 indicates.

(3)   Darla: Fishy? **Wake** /wæɪk/ up! Wake up! (*shakes the plastic bag*)
             Deb: Oh, no.
             Gill: Quick! To the top of Mount Wannahockaloogie!
             Darla: **Why are** /ˈwɑeˌjɐː/ you sleeping?
             Peach: Hurry!
             Gill: Bloat! Ring of Fire!
             Darla: Fishy! (*screams as Gill lands on her head*)
             Dr Sherman: What!? All the animals have gone mad!
             Darla: (*screams*) Get it **out** /æɔt/!

We can see in Example 3 above that the phonological features which mark Darla as a speaker of AusE are the diphthongs /æɪ/ in *wake* (line 1), /æɔ/ in *out* (line 10), /ɑe/ in *why* (line 5), and the non-rhotic production of *are* (line 5). Moreover, the linking with /j/ between *why* and *are* is a common feature of AusE.

As we have seen above, *The Rescuers Down Under* includes three human characters, two of which have minor roles and are speakers of AusE. The radio presenter is the first human to speak in the film. The character never appears on screen but can only be heard through the radio. In Example 4 we can see the first instance in which he speaks.

(4)   Presenter: **Thundershowers** /ˌθɐndəˈʃæɔəz/ are expected in the
                                     Crocodile /ˈkɹɔkədɑel/ Falls area and some of the
                                       surrounding /səˈɹæɔndɪŋ/ gullies.
                                       So take out your… /səʉ ˈtæɪk æɔt ˈjoː/

Example 4 above clearly illustrates that the radio presenter in *The Rescuers Down Under* is a speaker of AusE. That is, his speech displays the typical AusE diphthongs /æɔ/ in *thundershowers*, *surrounding*, and *out* (lines 1, 3, and 4), /ɑe/ in *crocodile* (line 2), /əʉ/ in *so* (line 4), and /æɪ/ in *take* (line 4), and non-rhoticity as, for instance, in *thundershowers* and *your* (lines 1 and 4).

The second AusE-speaking human in *The Rescuers Down Under* is Cody's mother. Her interaction with Cody, shown in Example 5 below, serves to show her Australianness.

(5)   Cody's mum: **Cody** /kəʉdiː/?
              Cody: Yeah, mum?
              Cody's mum: What **about** /əbæɔt/ your **breakfast** /ˈbɹekfəst/?
              Cody: I've got some sandwiches in my pack!
              Cody's mum: Well, be **home** /həʉm/ for **supper** /ˈsɐpə/ ↗!
              Cody: No worries, mum!

As Example 5 above makes clear, the phonological features that mark Cody's mother as Australian are the diphthongs /əʉ/ in *Cody* and *home* (lines 1 and 5) and /æɔ/ in *about* (line 3), and the open STRUT vowel in and the non-rhotic pronunciation of *supper* (line 4). Moreover, the typical close and fronted /e/ in *breakfast* (line 3) and the HRT at the end of her last sentence (line 4) marks her as a speaker of AusE.

While minor human characters seem to only signal place through their language, some minor animal characters also indicate the setting via their physical traits. In

Chapter 9.1.3 above we saw that the majority of AusE-speaking minor characters in the films appear in animal form. Many of these characters are typical Australian animals, such as Australian pelicans, red kangaroos, and a koala. The remaining AusE-speaking animals with minor roles, such as crabs, and seagulls, may be found in and near the ocean surrounding Australia, albeit not exclusively. Thus, it appears that many AusE-speaking minor characters signal the setting through their speech and because they are animals exclusively associated with Australia. There is one Australian animal, namely the frill-necked lizard, Frank, in *The Rescuers Down Under* (Grant 1998: 362), that does not speak AusE but AmE. This is presumably due to his more central role among the captured animals. Nevertheless, the vast majority of local Australian animals with minor roles in the films speak AusE, which again supports my assumption that AusE is used to signal setting. The AusE dialect, in conjunction with the fact that its speakers are largely local Australian wildlife, aids in the establishment of the films' settings. Let us now consider the AusE-speaking minor animal characters' utterances in order to discern which features indicate their Australianness.

Finding Nemo features eight minor animal characters that speak AusE. In the following I will present six of them, as the remaining two will be discussed in more detail in relation to comic effect below. The first minor character that speaks AusE in *Finding Nemo* is a male seagull that is telling Marlin's adventurous story. His utterances, which are shown in Example 6 below, clearly mark him as a speaker of AusE.

(6)   Seagull 2:   …**Harbour** /heːbə/ in a matter of **days** /dæɪz/. I
                        mean, it **sounds like** /sæɔndz lɑek/ this guy's gonna
                        stop at **nothing** /ˈnɐθɪŋ/ …

As can be seen in example 6 above, the seagull's AusE accent manifests itself in the non-rhotic pronunciation of *harbour* (line 1), the open STRUT sound in *nothing* (line 3), and, especially, the characteristic AusE diphthongs /æɪ, æɔ, ɑe/ in *days*, *sounds*, and *like* (lines 1 and 2).

Pelican 1, who speaks immediately after Seagull 2 and even finishes the seagull's sentence, is also a speaker of AusE, as Example 7 indicates.

(7)   Pelican 1:   …until he **finds** [fɑendz] his **son** /sɐn/. Sure
                        hope [hɐ̈ʉp] he **makes** [mæ̈iks] it.

As we can see in Example 7 above, a variety of phonological features mark Pelican 1 as a speaker of Broad AusE. These include the more marked pronunciation of the AusE diphthongs /ɑe, ɘʉ, æɪ/ in *finds*, *hope* and *makes* (lines 1 and 2), respectively, and the typical open /ɐ/ in *son* (line 1). That is, his speech features a more back and lowered PRICE sound, a raised first target in the FACE vowel, and a more fronted GOAT vowel.

Furthermore, the utterances shown in Example 8 below indicate that Pelican 2 is a speaker of AusE.

(8)　　Pelican 2:　　That's one **dedicated** [ˈdedɪkʰæɪrəd] father if you
　　　　　　　　　　ask **me** [mᵊiː].

As Example 8 shows, Pelican 2 is a speaker of Broad AusE. His accent is indicated by the marked Broad pronunciation of the diphthong /æɪ/ in *dedicated* (line 1), and the marked on-glide in *me* (line 2).

Pelican 3 in the film speaks Broad AusE, as can be seen in his interaction with Nigel, illustrated in Example 9 below.

(9)　　Pelican 3:　　...bloke's been lookin' for his boy **Nemo** [ˈnᵊĩ̃ˌmɘʉ].
　　　　Nigel:　　　　**Nemo** [ˈniːˌmɘʉ]?
　　　　Pelican 3:　　He was **taken** [ˈtʰæɪkʰən] off the **reef** [ɹᵊiːf] by
　　　　　　　　　　divers [ˈd̃ɑevəs] and this…

As Example 9 clearly shows, Pelican 3's Broad AusE accent manifests itself in the marked on-glides in *Nemo* and *reef* (lines 1 and 3) (compare the pronunciation of *Nemo* to Nigel's pronunciation of the name), and the marked pronunciation of the diphthongs /æɪ, ɑe/ in *taken* and *divers* (lines 3 and 4).

The fourth speaking Pelican we encounter in *Finding Nemo* also speaks AusE, as can be seen in Example 10 below.

(10)　　Pelican 4:　　Eh, eh, **Nigel** /ˈnɑedʒəl/. Would you look at that!
　　　　Nigel:　　　　Uh, what, what?
　　　　Pelican 4:　　Sun's **barely** /ˈbeːəliː/ up and already Gerald's had
　　　　　　　　　　more than he can handle.

Example 10 shows that Pelican 4 is a speaker of General AusE, as his production of the typical diphthong /ɑe/ in *Nigel* (line 1) is more neutral. Moreover, his speech displays typical non-rhoticity as, for instance, in the pronunciation of *barely* (line 3).

The group of pelicans, of which Pelican 4 forms part, can also be identified as a speaker of AusE, as Example 11 illustrates.

(11)　　Pelicans:　　**Yeah**, **right**, right. /jeːə ɹɑet/

The pelican-group's utterances shown in Example 11 indicate that they are also speakers of AusE through the typical AusE pronunciation of the diphthong /ɑe/ in *right*. Thus, it becomes clear that all Australian pelicans in *Finding Nemo*, including the supporting character Nigel, speak some variety of AusE.

Similar to *Finding Nemo*, a large number of Australian animals with minor roles speak AusE in *The Rescuers Down Under*. The first one we meet in the film is Faloo, a female red kangaroo, who is a speaker of Cultivated AusE, as Example 12 shows.

(12)　　Cody:　　　Who's caught this time?
　　　　Faloo:　　　You don't know **her** /hɜː/, **Cody** /kəʉdiː/. Her
　　　　　　　　　　name /næɪm/ is Marahute, the
　　　　　　　　　　Great Golden Eagle /ɡɹæɪt ɡəʉldən iːɡl/.
　　　　Cody:　　　Where is she?
　　　　Faloo:　　　She's caught – **high** /hɑe/ on a cliff in a poacher's
　　　　　　　　　　trap. You're the only one who can reach her ↗.

As we can see in Example 12, Faloo's AusE accent manifests itself in typical AusE phonological features. These include, the non-rhotic production of, for instance, *her* (line 2), the characteristic AusE diphthongs /əʉ, æɪ, ɑe/ in *Cody*, *name*, *great*, *golden*, and *high* (lines 2, 3, 4 and 6), respectively, and one instance of HRT in line 7. Faloo's accent can be described as a subtler AusE accent closer to that of RP, which is why she has been classified as a speaker of Cultivated AusE.

The koala, Krebbs, is also a speaker of AusE, which can be seen in his utterances illustrated in Example 13.

(13)　　Krebbs:　　Well, well, well, fancy that. Looks **like** /lɑek/ McLeach
　　　　　　　　　　has begun trapping his **own** /əʉn/ **kind** /kɑend/ ↗.
　　　　　　　　　　There's /ðeːz/ no **hope** /həʉp/ for any of us **now** /næɔ/.

As Example 13 shows, several phonological and prosodic features help to identify Krebbs as a speaker of AusE. That is, the pronunciation of the diphthongs /ɑe/ in *like* and *kind* (lines 1 and 2), /əʉ/ in *own* and *hope* (lines 2 and 3), and /æɔ/ in *now* (line 3), the non-rhotic production of *there's* (line 3), and one instance of HRT in line 2.

Red is another red kangaroo and, like the other two Australian animals that we have seen above, a speaker of AusE, as shown in Example 14.

(14)　　Red:　　　　The kid's **right** /ɹɑet/, what are we
　　　　　　　　　　waiting for /wæɪtɪŋ foː/?

As we can see in Example 14, Red can be classified as a speaker of AusE owing to the fact that his speech displays the typical diphthongs /ɑe, æɪ/ in *right* and *waiting* (lines 1 and 2) as well as non-rhoticity, such as in *for* (line 2).

AusE-speaking minor characters largely speak General AusE and only some speak Broad or Cultivated, as the examples above illustrate. More precisely, some of the minor characters in *Finding Nemo* produce a considerable amount of Broad AusE variants, and one character in *The Rescuers Down Under* speaks with a more Cultivated accent. It seems, then, that the films employ all three types of AusE to establish the stories' settings. Hence, the AusE accents function to signal the films' settings, sometimes in combination with character types associated with the area. We will return to the question of the distribution of AusE accents among the AusE-speaking characters in Chapter 9.3. In the next subchapter we shall explore the use of typical AusE vocabulary for the purpose of signalling place.

Typical AusE vocabulary

While the AusE accent is the most salient indicator of a character's Australianness, characteristic AusE vocabulary is an important additional marker of their origin that also serves to signal place. In Chapter 5 we have seen a large number of colloquialisms and lexical features that separate the AusE dialect from other varieties of English. As the discussion of attitude studies in Chapter 6 showed, some of these words are frequently consciously associated with Australia. This strong correlation between AusE words and Australia suggests that the expressions used in *Finding Nemo* and *The Rescuers Down Under* are deliberately employed as indicators of setting. Therefore, we shall have a close look at the characters' utterances and their use of typical AusE words and expressions in this section. The employment of AusE vocabulary arguably functions to mark the speakers as Australian, in addition to their accent, and thereby aids in the establishment of the settings as Australia. Both minor and supporting characters were found to use typical AusE words, and even the AmE-speaking albatross Wilbur in *The Rescuers Down Under* uses an AusE expression in one instance.

In Chapter 5.5 I presented a brief overview of typical Australian words and expressions, some of which were identified in the films. In the following I will present and discuss the typical AusE words employed in both films by providing examples taken from the characters' interactions. As touched on above, both minor and supporting characters displayed typical AusE lexical features in their speech and will thus be considered here. As in the examples above, the AusE expression of interest will be highlighted in bold. This section does not include any in-depth phonemic or phonetic analyses of the characters' utterances since the focus is on the AusE dialect's vocabulary and not phonology. Nevertheless, I do provide the phonemic and sometimes phonetic transcription after the word in focus.

One widely known and what appears to be one of the most stereotypical AusE colloquialisms is the friendly Australian greeting *G'day*, which we can see in bold in Example 15 below. In the scene shown in Example 15, Bruce is hunting Marlin and Dory, because Dory previously hit her nose and started to bleed, which triggered Bruce's predator instincts. In his pursuit of the two fish, he follows them through the bilge of a sunken ship.

(15)   Bruce: Just one bite! (*Dory is screaming. Bruce follows them through the ship.*) **G'day** /ɡəˈdæɪ/! (*growls*)

As Example 15 indicates, Bruce does not use *G'day* to greet the two fish in the traditional sense but he rather uses it ironically, presumably also in order to scare them. Surprisingly, this is the only instance in which *G'day* is used in both these films. Given its globally renowned status as a typical Australian greeting, one might expect it to be employed more frequently in the films. While Bruce's intention behind using it seems to be to frighten the two fish, in the film's wider context *G'day* arguably merely serves as a marker of setting and a reminder that the film is taking place in Australia.

Another highly typical and internationally known AusE expression is *mate*. As we have seen in Chapter 5.5 above, *mate* is a culturally highly significant word, usually understood as a friendly term of address or reference that may also be used sarcastically. Thus, as previously mentioned, *mate* may be used in various situations. As opposed to *G'day*, *mate* appears numerous times in both films and is used by different characters. Example 16 below includes four instances in which *mate* is used. Notably, *mate* is generally employed as a form of address throughout the films.

(16)	a.	Red:	Take it easy, **mate** /mæɪt/, you don't wanna hurt yourself again.
	b.	Bianca:	Look! It's Bernard!
		Jake:	I don't believe it! Way to go, **mate** /mæɪt/!
	c.	Bruce:	Alright, anyone else? Hello, how 'bout you, **mate** /mæɪt/? What's your problem?
	d.	Jake:	I say again, **mate** /mæɪt/: our runway is too short.
		Wilbur:	I say again, mate: I'm coming in!

As Example 16 shows, *mate* is used in various situations and by different characters with different roles. In Example 16a Red addresses Frank, who is trying to develop an escape plan. Red's calling Frank *mate* marks him as Australian and thus indexes that the setting is Australia. In 16b Bernard finally reunites with the group after having saved Marahute's eggs. Jake addresses him with *mate*, arguably signalling his familiarity with the American mouse. In 16c Bruce asks Marlin whether he wants to share his problems with the group. Similar to Red and Jake, Bruce's using the term indicates his Australianness. Both films portray Australians as constantly addressing others with *mate*. By employing the word, the characters are clearly marked as Australian. Their Australianness, in turn, helps to establish the setting as Australia. In addition to *mate*, the concept of mateship is significant, if, however, in relation to characterisation, as we will see in Chapter 9.2.2 below.

Notably, the *mate* in Example 16d constitutes a special case in the films. While most characters that say *mate* are speakers of AusE, there is one AmE-speaking character that uses it once, namely Wilbur, the AmE-speaking albatross. In the scene shown in Example 16d, Wilbur is about to land on Jake's landing field. However, Jake determines that it is too short for a bird Wilbur's size and asks him to turn around. Wilbur, as we can see in 16d wants to land nevertheless. It seems that Wilbur addresses Jake with *mate*, solely because Jake did so first. Wilbur emphasises the word *mate*, which arguably indicates disrespect and indifference towards Jake's comment. Despite Wilbur's using the term, the purposes of *mate* appear to be the indication of the characters' Australianness and the signalling of setting.

I digress at this point to briefly consider two instances of *mate* that not only differ in form but also in meaning. First, Cody and McLeach use the term *little mate* to refer to Frank and Bernard and to Cody, respectively. However, this form of address is dissimilar from the Australian *mate* because *mate* is seemingly replaceable with *fellow* or *friend* in these contexts and does arguably not entail the same values and attitudes as

the latter. Second, McLeach employs the word *matey* in a song he sings as he is lowering Cody down the cliff at Crocodile Falls. Similar to *little mate*, *matey* is arguably highly distinct from the Australian expression semantically. Although these three expressions vary in terms of form and meaning, they all contribute to Australia's establishment as the films' settings. That is, given that *mate* is closely associated with Australia, the similar expressions *little mate* and *matey* may also function as indexical units for the country and its people, despite the discrepancy in significance for the Australian culture. Thus, due to their orthographical and phonological similarity, all three terms help to indicate the stories' locations.

In Chapter 5 we have seen a variety of colloquial AusE expressions, one of which is *sheila*. In *Finding Nemo* we can find one instance of *sheila* being employed, which is shown in Example 17 below. As defined in the online version of the *Macquarie Dictionary*, *sheila* is a typical Australian, although rather old-fashioned, term for *woman* or *girl* (Butler 2016). Despite its out-datedness, Bruce uses the expression to refer to Dory during their fish-are-friends-meeting. In this scene, the sharks' meeting has just started and Bruce is looking for a volunteer to present themselves in front of the group. He then asks Dory whether she would like to speak at the podium and introduce herself.

(17)   Bruce: Right, then. Who's next?
       Dory: Oh, oh, oh, Pick me, pick me, pick me!
       Bruce: Yes! The little **sheila** [ʃᵊiːlə] down the front.
       Dory: Wooh!
       Bruce: Come on up here.

As Example 17 clearly indicates, *sheila* is used instead of *girl* in this scene. This helps to establish Bruce as an Australian and to, hence, signal that the film is set in Australia. The expression was also among the typical AusE expressions mentioned by respondents in Garrett et al.'s (2005) study. From this we may deduce that Americans commonly associate the term with Australia. Its use in *Finding Nemo*, then, arguably reinforces the stereotype that *sheila* is a widely used term for *girl* or *woman* by Australians. Thereby, the film's setting is clearly established as Australia.

Another typical colloquial AusE expression is *good on ya*, which we saw in Chapter 5.5 above. The film analysis revealed that the expression is used only once, namely again by Bruce in *Finding Nemo*. In this scene, shown in Example 18 below, the sharks' meeting is already underway and Dory is speaking at the podium. When she

tells the sharks that she has never eaten fish, they immediately express their surprise as well as amazement.

> (18) Dory: Hi, I'm Dory.
> Sharks: Hello, Dory.
> Dory: And uh well, I don't I don't think I've ever eaten a fish.
> Chum: Ay, that's incredible.
> Bruce: **Good on ya, mate** /ˌɡʊdˈɔnjə | ˈmæɪt/!

Example 18 shows that both Chum and Bruce are amazed at Dory's great accomplishment of never having eaten fish. To express his feelings, Bruce uses the expression *good on ya* and even addresses Dory with *mate*. As we have seen in Chapter 5.5, *good on ya* "implies admiration for the addressee's attitude and not necessarily for achievement or success" (Wierzbicka 1997: 201). That is, *good on ya* can be used in a variety of situations and does not solely congratulate a person's accomplishments. In this situation, however, it seems that Bruce uses it to praise Dory as well as to signal his feelings towards this achievement. Given that the expression is commonly used in Australia, it serves to emphasise Bruce's Australianness and signals yet again that the story is set in Australia.

Finally, we can find one instance of the Australian response word *righto* in *The Rescuers Down Under*. *Righto* is used by Faloo, as can be seen in Example 19 below, in response to Cody's utterance. In this scene, Faloo tells Cody that a poacher has caught Marahute, and that Cody is the only one who could save the female eagle.

> (19) Cody: Who's caught this time?
> Faloo: You don't know her Cody. Her name is Marahute, the Great Golden Eagle.
> Cody: Where is she?
> Faloo: She's caught – high on a cliff in a poacher's trap. You're the only one who can reach her.
> Cody: I'll get her loose.
> Faloo: **Righto** /ɹɑeˈtəʉ/. Hop on, no time to lose!

In Example 19 we can see that *righto* is used as an affirmative response to Cody's optimistic statement. Moreover, it seems that *righto* stands for 'all right, let's do this, let's go' in this context. According to Wierzbicka (1997), *righto* expresses cooperation and support and "reflect[s] the value placed on egalitarian relations and on a relaxed atmosphere in social interaction" (202). It seems, then, that *righto* is mainly employed here to establish the setting and emphasise that Faloo is Australian. However, the use of

the term here does arguably not index the stereotype of the egalitarian and laid-back Australian, as the term appears to be merely employed owing to its Australianness. Moreover, the underlying meaning of the term is arguably not widely known and its discovery would require much interpretation from the audience.

Having considered typical Australian expressions, let us move on to a lexical phenomenon characteristic of AusE, namely the formation of abbreviations. As we have seen above in Chapter 5.5, there is a tendency in AusE to abbreviate first names. One way of abbreviating first names in AusE is to first shorten the name and then to subsequently lengthen it with the suffixes <–za> or <–o>. There is only one character in both films that addresses another character with an abbreviated form of his first name, namely Jake. More precisely, Jake addresses and refers to Bernard as Berno. Indeed, he does so regularly, as we can find three instances in which Jake uses the abbreviated form *Berno*, which are exemplified in Example 20 below. The abbreviated name *Berno* is one of only three typical AusE lexical features employed in *The Rescuers Down Under*, besides *mate* and *righto* discussed above. It seems, then, that *The Rescuers Down Under* relies more on phonemic and phonetic features with regards to the establishment of setting.

(20)	a.	Jake:	This is how we get around in the Outback Miss B. The only way to travel. Eh, **Berno** /ˈbɜːnəʉ/?
		Bernard:	Uh, yeah, yeah. It's just a little uh bumpy back here.
	b.	Jake:	*(chuckles)* Show 'im who's boss, **Berno** /ˈbɜːnəʉ/.
	c.	Bianca:	Now, now, Cody, we mustn't lose hope. Bernard is still out there.
		Jake:	That's right. If anyone can get us out of this scrape it's ol' **Berno** /ˈbɜːnəʉ/. Nice bluff Miss B.
		Bianca:	I wasn't bluffing. You don't know Bernard like I do. He'll never give up.

If we consider the three scenes included in Example 20 above, we can see that Jake uses *Berno* both as a direct address, like in Example 20a and 20b, and as a form of reference, in Example 20c. In Chapter 5.5 we have seen that first name abbreviations like *Berno* communicate stereotypical Australian toughness and, at the same time, Australian friendliness and affection. It seems that in *The Rescuers Down Under* Jake uses the

abbreviation *Berno* to express toughness rather than affection, as the interaction in Example 20 indicates.

Let us consider the three different instances in detail. Example 20a shows the scene in which Jake, Miss Bianca, and Bernard are travelling through the Outback on an Australian sugar glider. This is the first time Jake calls Bernard Berno. While Jake and Bianca are sitting on the sugar glider's back, Bernard is clinging to its tail, striving not to fall off. Jake is presumably aware of Bernard's precarious position but nevertheless says that travelling aback a sugar glider is *the only way to travel* in the Outback. Indeed, it appears that Jake enjoys seeing Bernard in trouble. In order to emphasise his superiority over the American mouse, Jake uses the normally affectionate nickname in a rather sarcastic manner and thereby also expresses his toughness.

Likewise, in the scene exemplified in 20b, it seems Jake uses the abbreviation rather sarcastically, constantly trying to prove his manliness and toughness. In this scene the three mice are still on their way to find Cody, this time riding on fireflies. While Jake flies his animal without any trouble, Bernard is struggling to keep his firefly under control. Jake then again addresses Bernard as Berno, seemingly as to express his superiority and toughness.

Similarly, the ostensibly affectionate nickname *ol' Berno* in Example 20c contains a hint of sarcasm. That is, Jake does not believe in Bernard's return and capability of saving the group, but wants to assure Cody of Bernard's, for him non-existent, talents nonetheless. Here, *Berno* does not express toughness or superiority but is arguably used more affectionately, albeit covertly sarcastically.

The use of a typical AusE abbreviation again indicates that the film is set in Australia and also signals Jake's Australianness. Moreover, the abbreviation *Berno* used by Jake expresses the kangaroo rat's toughness and superiority over the American, but does not signal affection or friendliness, as it traditionally would. Furthermore, the use of the abbreviated first name seemingly transmits the image of the Australian who speaks a 'rough language'. This 'rough language' appears to be commonly associated with Australians, as Garrett et al.'s (2005) results suggest. Thus, the stereotype of the rough-speaking Australian man is perpetuated in *The Rescuers Down Under* through Jake's AusE dialect. Notably, we will return to a detailed discussion of Australian toughness in Chapter 9.2.2 below.

We shall conclude this chapter with the discussion of another stereotypical Australian word, namely *crikey*. As briefly touched on in Chapter 4.3, Steve Irwin was

famous for his Broad AusE accent and known for his use of the expression *crikey* on his *Crocodile Hunter* television show. Indeed, it seems that *crikey* was his trademark expression. Example 21 below shows the scene in which Dr Sherman in *Finding Nemo* uses that very expression. In this scene, Dr Sherman opens the aquarium and finds it covered in algae, because the fish previously damaged the water filter.

(21)   Dr Sherman: (*Opens aquarium.*) **Crikey** /ˈkɹɑekiː/! What a
                                     state! Oh, Barbara, what's my earliest appointment
                                     tomorrow?

As we can see in Example 21, Dr Sherman uses *crikey* to express his surprise and, possibly, shock. Notably, any other expression of surprise, such as *oh my god*, for instance, could have been used in this situation to signal Dr Sherman's emotions. However, this would arguably have a different effect on the audience. *Crikey* was presumably employed here as a signal of Sherman's Australianness, possibly owing to Irwin's international popularity and the audience's familiarity with the colloquialism. While children may not know the expression, many of the US-American adult viewers would probably recognise it, as they would have been the target audience of Irwin's show. Although the expression only occurs once in the film, its employment may influence the audience's perception of Australians and AusE. The fact that Dr Sherman uses it may possibly lead the adult and child audience to believe that Australians use *crikey* in everyday life. This, however, would be a misconception informed by Dr Sherman's portrayal in the film. A quick search in the Australian National Corpus (AusNC) shows only four entries of the item in a collection of over 6.5 million words.[18] Thus, we may assume that *crikey* is rarely used in everyday conversations. *Finding Nemo*, then, arguably portrays a stereotypical and distorted image of Australians as frequently saying *crikey*. In other words, the fact that *crikey* is employed in the film reinforces the stereotype that it is a commonly used expression in Australia. The idea that all Australians say *crikey* would not create a negative image of Australians but it would nevertheless be a wrong overgeneralisation.

As Lippi-Green (1997: 88) has pointed out, foreign accents are often employed in animated children's films to indicate that the characters would not be speaking English but a different language. Similarly, Sønnesyn (2011) has shown that also native English

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[18] I did not have full access to the AusNC and could therefore not search every corpus included there. Thus, my argumentation is not entirely valid, given it is only informed by a small database.

accents are used to signal a film's setting, as we have seen above. This is the case in *Finding Nemo* and *The Rescuers Down Under*, where AusE is seemingly used to indicate that the stories are taking place in Australia and not in the US. Following Lippi-Green (1997: 88), who refers to live-action films set in non-English-speaking countries, we may argue that it would make sense if all characters in the two films spoke with an AusE accent, given that the stories are set in Australia. Yet, as we have seen in Chapter 9.1, the AusE-speaking characters only comprise about a quarter of all characters. While this is a considerably large proportion, overall, it does not reflect the logical distribution of accents in the films' settings. However, as the scholar points out, only a minority of characters function as indicators of setting (Lippi-Green 1997: 84). This also applies to the two films investigated in the present paper. Lippi-Green (1997) has pointed out that usually only a minority of characters speak the logical dialect in films "where accent is used as a cue to place" (84). In order to explain why so few local accents are used in animated children's films, Lippi-Green (1997) lists a number of likely reasons. The most striking one is the suggestion that "in some cases, accent is used as a shortcut for those roles where stereotype serves as a shortcut to characterization" (Lippie-Green 1997: 84). In other words, according to the scholar, "[a]ctors contrive accents primarily as a characterization tool" (Lippi-Green 1997: 84) rather than as a signal of setting. Hence, the foreign accent in her case or the AusE accent in this case, does not merely convey setting but is also used for characterisation by means of stereotypes associated with the language group, which are indexed through the accent.

We have seen in this chapter that AusE-speaking characters primarily speak the accent in order to signal place. Thus, the AusE dialect aids in the establishment of the films' settings by means of typical AusE pronunciation and vocabulary. It appears that the AusE accents and the many characteristic words were employed deliberately in the films in order to index the characters' Australianness and thus location. While the signalling of setting seems to be the main purpose of minor AusE-speaking characters, both minor and supporting characters, and the villain, indicate that the stories are set in Australia through their speech. Nevertheless, the establishment of setting is not the only purpose AusE fulfils in the films. That is, it is also used for characterisation and comic effect. The following subchapter is concerned with AusE as a tool for characterisation.

9.2.2 AusE as a tool for characterisation

An additional purpose of AusE to signalling setting is the characterisation of AusE-speaking characters. More precisely, AusE seems to be employed as a shortcut for characterisation for the supporting characters in the films, as it indexes certain stereotypes associated with Australians. As we have seen above, Lippi-Green (1997: 81) argues that accents are employed in animated films in order to convey character. More precisely, according to the scholar, "language is used as a quick way to build character and reaffirm stereotype" (Lippi-Green 1997: 85). The two films under investigation here both employ a range of Australian stereotypes to characterise the AusE-speaking supporting characters, Nigel and the sharks in *Finding Nemo* and Jake in *The Rescuers Down Under*. While not all of the stereotypes about the 'typical' Australian discussed in Chapters 4 and 6 are present in the films, the arguably most important and widely held ones are. These include mateship, manliness, toughness, independence, friendliness, helpfulness, and solidarity. The films' AusE-speaking supporting characters embody these characteristics, but no one character displays all of them.

This chapter is concerned with the analysis of how the AusE dialect aids in the characterisation by means of the three major stereotypes of manliness, friendliness, and mateship in combination with the characters' actions. I will start with the discussion of the stereotypical notions of manliness, toughness and independence with regards to the characterisation of Jake in *The Rescuers Down Under*. Subsequently, friendliness and helpfulness will be considered in relation to the supporting characters in *Finding Nemo*. Then I will move on to discuss the Australian concept of mateship and its role in the characterisation of the sharks in *Finding Nemo*. Finally, we shall consider the portrayal of Jake in relation to past stereotypical representations of Australians in international mass media.

The portrayal of Australians as manly, tough, and independent

As we have seen in Chapter 4, the typical Australian is manly, tough, independent, disobeying to authority, easy-going, and laid-back, among other things. Out of these, toughness seems to be the most commonly associated with Australians, as the findings of attitude studies highlight (see Chapter 6). The discussion of stereotypes and attitudes towards Australians has highlighted the importance of the media in relation to attitude and stereotype formation. That is, we have seen that attitudes towards AusE and

Australians seem to be frequently based on stereotypical representations of Australians in film and television. On screen, Paul Hogan (as Crocodile Dundee) and Steve Irwin, for instance, are portrayed as tough, manly, and independent men. And indeed, it appears Australians are generally represented as embodying these stereotypes in international commercials, films, and television shows. This study's findings suggest that even animated children's films resort to these stereotypes, as they are used for the characterisation of supporting characters in *The Rescuers Down Under*.

Jake, the kangaroo rat in *The Rescuers Down Under* (Grant 1998: 360), is a prime example of the stereotypical tough and manly Australian. Like Hogan, Dundee, and Irwin, he speaks with a Broad AusE accent, which arguably underlines his toughness and laid-back, easy-going personality. Jake demonstrates his toughness, manliness, and independence in several situations in the film. In one scene, shown below in Example 22, he tries to intimidate and scare Bernard by parading his knowledge of the Outback.

(22)	Jake:	Oh, gonna rescue that kid **McLeach** [mə'kl̥ᵊiːtʃ] nabbed, eh?
	Bianca:	Ah, that's right. How did you know?
	Jake:	You'll **find** [fæ̃end] it's tough to **keep secrets** [kʰᵊiːp̚ sᵊiːkɹ�original̥əts] in the **Outback** /ˈæɔtˌbæk/, Miss. So, which **way** /wæɪ/ you **takin'** [ˈtʰæɪkʰən]? Suicide **trail** [tɹ̩æɪl] through **nightmare** [ˈnɑet̚ˌmeː] **canyon** [kʰæ̃njə̃n] or the shortcut through **Satan's** [sæɪt̚ⁿˌn̥z] **ridge** /ɹɪdʒ/?
	Bernard:	Suicide trail?
	Jake:	Good choice. More **snakes** [snæ̞ɪks] ↗, less **quicksand** [ˈkw̥ɪk̚sæ̃nd]. Hey, once you cross **bloodworm** [ˈblɐdˌw̥ɝ̃ːm] creek you're scot-free, that is until uh **dead** /ded/ **dingo** [ˈdɪŋɡə̯ʉ] pass.
	Bernard:	Wait, wait, wait a minute, I don't, I don't see any, any of that that stuff on the map.
	Jake:	(*chuckles*) Map's not good in the Outback ↗. What you really need is someone, someone who **knows** [nə̯ʉz] the territory.
	Bianca:	Oh, Mr Jake, will you guide us?
	Jake:	At your **service** [ˈsɝ̣ːvɪs]. Here. Better take my arm Miss ↗, it's gonna be a treacherous **hike** [ɡ̊ek].

As we can see in Example 22 above, Jake's speech displays a large number of characteristic (Broad) AusE phonological features. We can identify vowels typical of AusE in general, such as the closer /ɪ/ and /e/ in, for instance, *ridge* and *dead* (lines 9

and 14). Furthermore, his speech displays some sounds that are characteristic of Broad AusE pronunciation, like the marked on-glide before /iː/ in *McLeach*, *keep*, and *secrets* (lines 1 and 4), the retracted and opened first element in /ɑe/ as in *find*, *suicide*, *nightmare*, and *hike* (lines 4, 6, 7 and 22), which renders the PRICE vowel close to the CHOICE vowel, the raised and fronted /ɜː/ in *bloodworm* and *service* (lines 13 and 21), the more raised first target of the FACE sound in *way*, *taking*, *trail*, *Satan's*, and *snakes* (lines 6, 8, and 11), the more fronted GOAT vowel in *dingo* and *knows* (lines 14 and 19), and a more raised first element in /æɔ/ in *Outback* (line 5). Moreover, the nasal quality of /æ/ in *canyon* and *quicksand* (lines 7 and 12) is typical of Broad AusE. And finally, the /h/ in *hike* is omitted. Thus, as he produces a large amount of Broad variants we can classify him as a speaker of Broad AusE. Moreover, his speech displays typical AusE non-rhoticity, as in *nightmare* (line 7), as well as three instances of HRT, indicated by the arrows (lines 12, 18, and 23). While the accent clearly marks Jake as Australian, it also adds to his characterisation.

In the interaction shown in Example 22 above, Jake is portrayed as a tough, manly, and independent kangaroo rat and thus embodies stereotypical Australian characteristics. His Broad AusE accent arguably serves to index and emphasise these character traits. We have seen above that AusE, and especially Broad AusE, is commonly associated with features such as manliness, toughness, and independence, owing to Hogan and Irwin's representations of the Australian archetype. Jake also conforms to the stereotype of the tough and manly Australian. Throughout the film, and particularly in the scene shown in Example 22 above, Jake is strongly contrasted with the AmE-speaking Bernard, who is represented as a stuttering, stammering, and shy mouse, who is easily scared by names of hiking trails and by the prospect of having to travel trough the dangerous Outback. In this interaction, Jake clearly wants to simultaneously impress Miss Bianca and intimidate Bernard, by signalling his manliness through indicating that he can survive by himself in the Outback, even without a map. Moreover, it seems that he wants to make himself appear indispensable to their mission, by indicating his toughness and expertise in the conversation.

However, Jake does not simply talk about his manliness and toughness but he actually proves his fearlessness in several instances. The scene shown in Example 23 below is an example of a situation in which Jake demonstrates his manliness. In this scene, Jake wrestles a water snake that is trying to attack Miss Bianca and Bernard, constrains it, and then rides it like a horse.

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(23)   Jake: Look **out** /æɔt/! **No mice** /nəʉ ˈmɑes/ for you,
Twister, not **today** [tʰəˈdæɪ]! There!

Bernard: Miss Bianca!

Jake: I been lookin' all **over** /əʉvə/ for you. **Now** [næɔ]
look! We got a long **way** [wæɪ] to **go** [gə̞ʉ], and
you're gonna **take** [tʰæ̞ɪk] us there, and you're not
gonna give us **any** [ẹni:] trouble **about it** [əˈbæ̞ɔt].
Right? **They're perfectly** [ðeː ˈpɝ̞ːfək̚tlɪ] harmless
once you look 'em in the **eye** [ɑe] and let 'em know
who's boss. **Ain't that right, mate** /æɪnt ðæt ˈɹɑet
ˈmæɪt/? Now get!

Bianca: It's all right, Bernard. Jake has everything under
control.

Bernard: Yeah, I noticed.

Jake's AusE accent is evident again in the interaction in Example 23. His speech includes phonological and lexical features typical of General and Broad AusE, which are highlighted in bold. These features include the raised AusE /e/ and long word-final /i:/ in *any* (line 7), the non-rhotic pronunciation of, for instance, *they're* (line 8), the fronted /ɜ:/ in *perfectly* (line 8). Moreover, the typical AusE diphthongs /ɑe/ in *mice*, *eye*, and *right*, (lines 1 and 9, and 10), /æɔ/ in *out*, *now*, and *about* (lines 1, 4, and 7), /æɪ/ in *today*, *way*, *take*, *ain't*, and *mate* (lines 2, 3, 4, and 8), and /əʉ/ in *no*, *over*, and *go* (lines 4 and 5), which are pronounced with a marked Broad AusE accent. That is, the first elements in /æɔ, æɪ/ are more closed than when produced by characters speaking General AusE. His Broad AusE accent arguably underlines his character traits.

In the scene shown in Example 23 Jake demonstrates his toughness, manliness, and nature-skills to Miss Bianca in order to impress her. Indeed, it seems that Jake, much to Bernard's dismay, fascinates Miss Bianca. Jake is represented as a tough, clever, quick-handed, and manly Australian living in the Outback, where he fights and tames wild animals. *The Rescuers Down Under* reinforces the stereotype of the manly and tough Australian through the character Jake and transmits it to children. Jake's accent and demeanour jointly create the stereotypical image of the tough, manly, and independent Australian. The combination of the Broad AusE and tough behaviour strongly reminds of two other screen personas that live in the Outback and wrestle wild animals. Indeed, the resemblance between Jake and Mick Dundee as well as real-life crocodile hunter Steve Irwin, is undeniable. Moreover, it seems that this resemblance is not coincidental, which is why I will discuss this issue in more detail below.

The portrayal of Australians as friendly and helpful

In Chapter 6 we saw that Australians are frequently associated with solidarity by Australians and non-Australians alike. In other words, Australians are commonly perceived as friendly, helpful, and reliable people. The examination of the AusE-speaking characters showed that these stereotypes are also perpetuated in *Finding Nemo*. More precisely, the AusE-speaking supporting characters in the film, namely Nigel and the sharks, Bruce, Anchor, and Chum, demonstrate high solidarity towards others. This section is concerned with their portrayal as friendly, helpful, and reliable by means of language. Let us first consider Nigel's portrayal as friendly and helpful and then move on the discussion of the three sharks.

Nigel is a prime example of the helpful and friendly Australian in the films. He is portrayed as having a caring personality and as someone who helps his friends and even strangers. In a large number of scenes in the film, Nigel is seen visiting his friends in the dentist's aquarium, where he also meets Nemo, and spending time with fellow pelicans. The fact that he is clearly touched by Nemo's tragic story is a first indication that he has a caring personality. Example 24 below shows the first scene in which Nigel demonstrates his helping personality as he saves his friend Gerald from suffocating. Although a group of other pelicans is present during the incident, Nigel is the only one that helps Gerald.

(24)	Pelican 4:	Eh, eh, Nigel. Would you look at that!
	Nigel:	Uh, what, **what** /wɔt/?
	Pelican 4:	Sun's barely up and already Gerald's had more than he can handle.
	Nigel:	Yeah, **reckon** /ˈɹekən/ somebody oughta help the **poor guy** /poː ˈɡɑe/.
	Pelicans:	Yeah, right, right.
	Nigel:	(*sighs*) Well don't everybody **fly off** /ˈflɑeˌjɔf/ at once! **All right** /ˌoːlˈɹɑet/, Gerald, what is it? Fish got **your** /joː/ **tongue** /teŋ/? (*Gerald opens beak, Dory screams.*) **Love a duck** /lev ə ˈdɐk/!

As Example 24 shows, several phonological features help to identify Nigel as a speaker of General AusE. These traits include features typical of AusE, such as the long monophthong /oː/ in *poor* (line 6), the diphthong /ɑe/ in *guy*, *fly*, and *all right* (lines 6, 8 and 9), the AusE raised /e/ in *reckon* (line 5), and the characteristic low AusE /ɐ/ in

tongue and *love a duck* (lines 10 and 11). Moreover, his pronunciation is non-rhotic as can be seen in the pronunciation of *poor* and *your* (lines 6 and 10).

In the scene illustrated in Example 24 above, Nigel is portrayed as helpful, friendly, and caring. Unlike his friends, he does not hesitate to help Gerald when he is in trouble. This contrast between the characters serves to emphasise Nigel's friendly and helpful personality. Nigel's actions remind not only of the stereotypical friendly Australian, but also of the concept of mateship and the related notions of loyalty and support. Nevertheless, I argue that the stereotype of mates and mateship is of minor importance in Nigel's characterisation, given that Nigel and Gerald's relationship is not explained or developed in detail in the film. Furthermore, Nigel is portrayed as an independent pelican that is not reliant on close bonds with his pelican friends, nor with his fish friends. Thus, he is mainly characterised as friendly and helpful and not as a 'mate'. In other words, Nigel seems to be solely characterised through the stereotype that Australians are friendly, helpful, and generally displaying high levels of solidarity.

Nigel's friendly personality becomes evident again in the scene shown in Example 25 below. As touched on above, Nigel not only helps his friends, but also strangers. In the scene following the one shown in Example 24 above, Marlin and Dory are stranded on the jetty and Nigel wants to carry them to Nemo in his beak. In this scene, then, Nigel's helping nature becomes most obvious as he selflessly prioritises Marlin and Nemo's happiness.

(25)	Nigel:	Okay, **don't** /dəʉnt/ **make** /mæɪk/ any **sudden** /ˈsɐdən/ moves. Hop **inside** /ɪnˈsɑed/ my **mouth** /mæɔθ/, if you want to live.
	Marlin:	Hop in your mouth, huh? And how does that make me live?
	Seagull:	Mine?
	Nigel:	Because, **I** /ɑe/ can **take** /tæɪk/ you to **your son** /jɔːˈsɐn/.
	Marlin:	Yeah, right.
	Nigel:	**No** /nəʉ/. I know your son. He's orange. He's got a gimpy fin on one side.
	Marlin:	That's Nemo!
	Seagulls:	Mine, mine, mine… (*Dory screams. Nigel grabs the two fish with his beak.*)
	Nigel:	**Fasten** /feːsən/ your **seatbelts** /ˈsiːtˌbelts/!
	Seagulls:	Mine, mine, mine…
	Nigel:	Everybody **hold** /həʉld/ on! (*Marlin and Dory scream.*)

As we can see in Example 25, numerous phonological features help to identify Nigel as a speaker of AusE, namely, the characteristic AusE diphthongs /ɑe/ in *inside* and *I* (lines 2 and 7), /æɔ/ in *mouth* (line 2), /æɪ/ in *make* and *take* (lines 1 and 7), and /əʉ/ in *no* and *hold* (lines 10 and 16), the open /ɐ/ in *sudden* and *son* (lines 1 and 7), the /ɐː/ in *fasten* (line 15), the raised /e/ in *seatbelts* (line 15), and the ellipsis of /ɹ/ in *your* (lines 7, 10, and 15).

The scene illustrated in Example 25 highlights Nigel's helpful and friendly personality. This scene stands in contrast to the one shown in Example 24 in the sense that Nigel helps two total strangers instead of his friend. He arguably chooses to help Marlin because he knows it would lead to his and Nemo's happiness. Furthermore, as opposed to Gerald, Nigel does not try to eat Marlin and Dory but instead transports the two fish with his beak. He helps Marlin and Dory escape from the greedy seagulls and then takes them to meet Marlin's lost son, helping the two fish achieve their goal and reunite with Nemo. His actions are accompanied by his friendly General AusE accent, which adds to his characterisation as friendly and helpful since, by indexing the social group and the stereotypes associated with is, it is commonly linked to these attributes.

Throughout the film Nigel is portrayed as a truly helpful, friendly, and kind character that readily helps anyone in need. One could argue that Nigel could have been presented as helpful and friendly speaking any other English accent. However, I argue that his AusE accent adds an important dimension to Nigel's characterisation, owing to its common association with high solidarity and friendliness. Nigel's General AusE accent transmits the stereotype of the helpful and friendly Australian and his portrayal as such serves to perpetuate it. Child viewers may then come to associate the AusE accent with kindness, friendliness, and helpfulness. Notably, while this stereotype is not negative but quite positive indeed, it is still a stereotypical overgeneralisation that may not apply to every Australian.

As I have mentioned above, the sharks in *Finding Nemo* are also characterised by means of the stereotype of the friendly Australian. The scene that best illustrates the sharks' positive intentions and their friendliness is the pledge-scene, shown in Example 26 below. In this scene, the sharks' meeting commences and they all swear not to eat any fish and to be nice sharks.

(26)   Sharks: **I** [ɑe] am a **nice** [nɑes] **shark** /ʃeːk/, not a
                       mindless [ˈmɑendles] **eatin' machine** [ᵉiːťən
                       məˈʃᵖiːn]. If I am to **change** [tʃæ̃ɪndʒ] this **image**

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/ˈɪmɪdʒ/, I must **first** [fɜːst] change myself. Fish are
friends [f̥ɹ̥ẽn̪d̥z], not **food** [f̥ᵉʉːd̥].

Several phonological features found in Example 26 indicate that the sharks are speakers of Broad AusE. These include the retracted diphthong /ɑe/ in *I*, *nice*, and *mindless* (lines 1 and 2), the raised first element of the diphthong /æɪ/ in *change* (line 3), the open /ɐː/ in *shark* (line 1), the marked on-glides before /iː/ in *eating* and *machine* (line 2) and /ʉː/ in *food* (line 5), the raised /e/ in *friends* (line 5), the characteristic close /ɪ/ in *image* (line 3), a more fronted /ɜː/ in *first* (line 4), and the non-rhoticity visible in the pronunciation of *shark* and *first* (lines 1 and 4).

By saying the pledge in the scene in Example 26 above, the sharks reveal their good-natured personalities. The sharks are portrayed as friendly through their promise of abstinence from eating fish and commitment to changing themselves in order to achieve their goal. Moreover, their inclusion of Dory and Marlin in their group demonstrates their friendliness. Thus, the sharks are portrayed as friendly and helpful according to the Australian stereotype. In spite of this, the analysis has shown that they are primarily characterised as loyal and supportive. In order to establish how the dialect serves to portray them as such, let us now move on to the discussion of the sharks' portrayal as 'mates'.

The Australian and his mates

In Chapter 4.2 we saw that mateship is one of Australia's key concepts, which entails loyalty, solidarity, and mutual support among mates. Mates spend large amounts of time together, do things together, and they may do so voluntarily or involuntarily. Thus, mates could be close personal friends as well as co-workers. Most importantly, mates have a strong bond with each other, are loyal and helpful to and supportive of their mates. A prime example of mateship in the films is the relationship within the group of sharks consisting of Bruce, Anchor, and Chum in *Finding Nemo*. These three characters clearly embody the concept, as their behaviour and interactions indicate a strong bond between them, as well as loyalty and mutual support. Moreover, their Broad AusE accents index their Australianness and thereby imply the characteristics mentioned above. Let us now consider some sample dialogues taken from the shark-sequence in order to illustrate how their accent aids in their portrayal as mates.

The first instance in which Bruce shows his support for his friends is after they say the pledge, which is shown in Example 27 below. In this scene, Bruce asks his mates whether they have brought fish friends like they had previously planned. While Anchor has brought a fish to the meeting, Chum has already eaten his. Being a good mate, however, Bruce had already anticipated this possibility and brought two friends, namely Marlin and Dory, one of which he gives to Chum.

(27)   Bruce: **Right** [ɹɒet] then. **Today's** /təˈdæɪz/ **meetin'** [ˈmᵊiːt̬ən] is **step five** [stɛp ˈfɑev]: Bring a fish-friend. **Now** [næɔ], do you all have your friends?

           Anchor: Got **mine** [mɡ̃en].
           Dory: Hey there!
           Bruce: **How 'bout** /ˈhæɔˌbæɔt/ you, **Chum** /tʃɐm/?
           Chum: Oh, well, I um seem to have **misplaced** /mɪsˈplæɪst/ my uh um **friend** [fɹ̩ẽn̪d̪]. (*Shows fish skeleton through his teeth. Marlin gasps.*)
           Bruce: That's all right, Chum ↗. I had a feeling this would be a difficult step. You can help yourself to one of my friends.
           Chum: Oh thanks, **mate** [mæɪt̚]. A little chum for Chum, eh?

As we have already seen in the previous chapter, all three sharks are speakers of Broad AusE. This becomes obvious again in Example 27 above, owing to the presence of characteristic phonological and lexical features in the sharks' speech. These include, again, the low /ɐ/ in *Chum* (line 6), the raised DRESS vowel in *set* and *friend* (lines 2 and 8), the characteristic AusE diphthongs /æɔ/ in *now*, *how*, and *about* (lines 3 and 6), /æɪ/ in *today's*, *misplaced*, and *mate* (lines 1, 7 and 13), and /ɑe/ in *right*, *five*, and *mine* (lines 1, 2, and 4), and the marked on-glide before /iː/ in *meeting* (line 1). Moreover, Chum uses the term *mate* to address Bruce in the interaction (line 13), and we can find one instance of HRT in Bruce's speech (line 10).

In the interaction illustrated in Example 27 above, Bruce is portrayed as a true mate who looks after and helps his mates. Thus, Bruce may be described as supportive of his friends. As we have seen in Chapter 4.2 above, support is one of the principal attitudes involved in mateship. Bruce does not scold Chum for having betrayed the pledge or for not having brought a friend to the meeting. Instead, he tells him that mistakes may happen and even lends him one of his own little friends. Bruce is truly supportive of Chum and seems to believe in his eventual success, despite his relapse. Chum calling Bruce *mate*, then, only emphasises their close relationship.

As the discussion in Chapter 4.2 has shown, mateship involves mutual support. The sharks in *Finding Nemo* are true mates in the sense that they support each other in both good and bad times. In Example 27 above, we have seen that Bruce is highly supportive of his friends. If we consider Example 28 below, then, it becomes evident that this support is mutual. In the scene illustrated in Example 18, Marlin has just found Dr Sherman's diving goggles that he lost when he captured Nemo. Bruce is touched by Marlin's love for his son and then starts to cry, remembering that he does not know his own father.

(28)   Bruce: **Now** [nɐ̝ɔ] there is a **father** /ˈfɛːðə/, looking for his little boy ↗.
           Marlin: Ugh. What do these markings mean?
           Bruce: I never knew my **father** [ˈfɛːðɐ]! (*cries*)
           Chum: Aw, **come here** /kɐm ˈhiː/!
           Anchor: Group hug!
           Chum: We're all mates here, **mate** /mæɪt/!

As shown in Example 28 above, phonological and lexical characteristics indicate the sharks' Australianness. Typical features found in this interaction include the AusE vowel sounds /æɔ, ɐ:, æɪ/ in *now* (line 1), *father* (line 1), and *mate* (line 7), respectively, the more open /ɐ/ in *come* (line 5) as well as in the word-final position in *father* (line 1), where it appears as an allophone of /ə/. Furthermore, Chum uses *mate* (line 7) to address his friend in the conversation, and we can find one instance of HRT in Bruce's speech, signalled through the arrow (line 2). Finally, their speech is characterised by its non-rhoticity, which is evident in the pronunciation of *father* (line 1) and *here* (line 5), for example.

In the scene shown in Example 28, the three sharks are portrayed as highly supportive of each other. Anchor and Chum are represented as supportive and caring mates, as they both comfort Bruce with a hug as well as words as he cries. Chum's final comment *We're all mates here, mate* yet again importantly highlights their strong bond and mateship. As in Example 27 above, their AusE accent plays a significant role in their representation as mates in the scene in Example 28. Given that Australians and AusE are commonly associated with the term *mate* and the concept of mateship, the accent indexes Australian stereotypes and thus aids in the characterisation of the sharks in accordance with the concept.

Their loyalty and mutual support become evident yet again in a later scene, shown in Example 29 below. In this scene, Dory wants to ask the sharks to read the

inscription on the diving goggles. In the process Dory hits the goggles on her nose and starts to bleed. The blood slowly spreads through the water and eventually reaches Bruce's taste buds. As a consequence, Bruce's natural instincts take over and he wants to eat Dory, forgetting all about the pledge.

(29)   Bruce: (*Dory's nose is bleeding.*) Dory are you ok- ooh.
                                    Ooh, that's good.
             A/C: Huh, **intervention** [ˌɪntəˈvɛ̣nʃən]!
             Bruce: Just a **bite** [bɐ̣et]!
             Anchor: **Hold** /həʉld/ it together, **mate** /mæɪt/!
             Chum: Remember, Bruce, fish are friends, not **food** [fᵊʉːd̥].
             Bruce: Food!
             Marlin: Dory, look out!
             Bruce: I'm havin' fish **tonight** [tʰəˈnɑ̣et̚]!
             Chum: Remember the steps, mate!

Again, Example 29 shows typical Broad AusE phonological and lexical features that indicate the sharks' Australianness. In this interaction we can find the AusE diphthongs /æɪ, ɑe, əʉ/ in *mate* (lines 5 and 10), *bite* (line 4), and *hold* (line 5), respectively, the low AusE /ɐ/ in *just* (line 4), the raised /e/ in *intervention* (line 3), and a marked on-glide before /ʉː/ in *food* (line 6). Like in Example 28, the sharks use the term *mate* again in Example 29 to refer to each other.

      The scene shown in Example 29 above represents another situation that indicates the sharks' mutual support and mateship, as Anchor and Chum support Bruce with their words and signal their strong bond. In this scene, Bruce wants to eat Dory, but Anchor and Chum try to prevent him from doing so by reminding him of the pledge and encouraging him to stay strong. They furthermore strive to restrain him, but it seems that their main focus lies in supporting their friend and remaining loyal to him in tough times like these. Thus, the interaction in Example 29 serves to highlight that the three sharks support each other and stick together at all times.

      We have now seen several instances in which the sharks' mateship is demonstrated. Bruce, Anchor, and Chum are best mates that go through thick and thin together. Throughout the entire film they are portrayed as loyal, supportive, and helpful, both in good and bad times, which are core values of mateship (see Chapter 4.2). Their characteristic Broad AusE accent arguably indexes these traits and aids in their representation as stereotypical Australians who value mateship above all else, because of its common association with the concept. The three sharks arguably represent the mates everyone wants to have, who offer unwavering support, prove absolute loyalty,

and demonstrate everlasting solidarity. Although they are portrayed rather positively, their representations are limiting, as they are highly stereotypical.

A special case of linguistic stereotyping: Jake, the kangaroo rat

As I have mentioned above, the kangaroo rat, Jake, in *The Rescuers Down Under* strongly reminds of the fictional character Crocodile Dundee as well as the real-life crocodile hunter Steve Irwin. We have seen that Jake is portrayed as tough, manly, brave, and independent throughout the film. Similar to Dundee and Irwin, his characteristic Broad AusE accent adds to his manliness and toughness, given its close association with these character traits. In Chapter 4.3 we saw that Crocodile Dundee and Steve Irwin represent the typical Australian, who is a manly, tough, and independent man. Their behaviour but also their Broad AusE accent plays an essential part in this stereotypical representation. Jake strongly resembles Crocodile Dundee and Steve Irwin in the way they speak, behave, and look.

As we have seen, the media has played an important role in the formation and perpetuation of these Australian stereotypes. In Chapter 6 the discussion of Garret et al.'s (2005) attitude study revealed that the American respondents commonly associate Australians with toughness, roughness, and masculinity. The reasons for these associations seem to lie in previous representations of Australians in the mass media, as Garret et al. (2005) argue. More precisely, according to the scholars, many of the popular beliefs about Australians may be attributed to the influence of the film *Crocodile Dundee*. Indeed, both Mick Dundee and Steve Irwin embody these popular Australian stereotypes, which have been employed in the mass media on a global level, as we have seen in Chapter 4.3. Films, shows, and commercials featured manly, tough, and independent Broad AusE-speaking men. As Greiner (2001) has shown, the commercials portrayed "Australians as: 1) leisure-loving, adventure-seeking people whose homes are in the Outback" (189). This idea seems to have manifested itself in the American audience's minds, given that Greiner's description of Australians' portrayals may also be applied to *The Rescuers Down Under* in general and to Jake in particular. Jake is indeed a "leisure-loving, adventure-seeking" Australian who lives in the Outback. What is more, he wears typical Australian clothes similar to those worn by Dundee and Irwin (see Chapter 4.3): a hat, khaki shorts and a khaki shirt, a belt, and boots. Thus, it appears that even children's films resort to popular stereotypes for the

characterisation of their characters. Jake's persona seems to be based on former portrayals of Australians in international media, especially that of Paul Hogan, his fictitious character Crocodile Dundee, and Steve Irwin.

Although the parallels between Jake and Mick Dundee seem undeniable, according to Grant (1998: 360), the creators of *The Rescuers Down Under* wanted to avoid merely creating a copy of Dundee. While Jake only somewhat resembles Crocodile Dundee in appearance, he is very much like him in terms of behaviour and personality. Like Crocodile Dundee, Jake is tough, manly, witty, independent, laid-back, and easy-going and thereby incorporates a large variety of Australian stereotypes. Moreover, like Dundee, he speaks with a strong Broad AusE accent. *The Rescuers Down Under* perpetuates and reinforces common Australian stereotypes through Jake, which was first observed by Grant (1998: 360), and introduces children to the stereotypically manly and tough Australian. This makes Jake arguably the most stereotypical Australian character in the two films.

9.2.3 AusE as a tool for comic effect

When I began to analyse the two films I expected to identify two different purposes of the AusE accent, namely establishment of setting and characterisation. I discovered that different AusE accent types had been employed in the films and that the purpose of a character's accent was closely linked to that character's role. As previously stated, all three accents have been employed as indicators of setting, and Broad AusE appears to be largely used for characterisation. As I proceeded with my analysis I identified yet another function of Broad AusE, namely that of creating comic effect.

In their study of animated children's television, Dobrow and Gidney (1998: 116) discovered correlations between certain accents and comic portrayals of characters in animated television shows. They established that the accents used for comic effect are frequently regional or social varieties of a language, or may be varieties associated with a certain age group (Dobrow & Gidney 1998: 116). In Chapter 5.1 we saw that the AusE social variety Broad AusE is perceived as funny, because Australian comedians frequently employ it for comic effect. It seems that the accent is used for the same purpose in *Finding Nemo*. More precisely, Broad AusE appears to be employed for comic effect as well as comic relief in the film. In the following we shall consider how AusE is used for these purposes. We shall first examine the crabs-scene in which Broad

AusE is used for comic relief. Subsequently, we will consider the creation of comic effect by means of the accent in the sharks-sequence.

Broad AusE is used for comic effect, and more precisely for comic relief, in the crabs-scene, in order to heighten the mood after a sad scene. The two crabs in *Finding Nemo* are minor characters that only appear twice in the film. The audience encounters them towards the end of the story, after Nemo has already escaped and Marlin and Dory are returning home, believing Nemo dead. The three fish all meet the two crabs as they swim past, but only Nemo and Dory encounter each other. Example 30 below shows this scene and the dialogue between the two crabs. In this scene, the two crabs are eating bubbles coming out of an underwater pipe in Sydney Harbour. In the meantime Marlin swims past them, only to miss Nemo, who comes out of the pipe a few seconds later.

(30)	Crab 1:	Manna from heaven ↗.
	Crab 2:	Sweet nectar of **life** [lɑef]! (*Another crab walks past.*)
	Crabs:	Hey, hey, hey,…
	Crab1:	This is our spot!
	Crab 2:	Go on, **get outta here** [geɾ ˈæ̞ɔɾə hiː]! (*Marlin swims past.*)
	Crabs:	Hey, hey, hey…
	Crab 1:	Yeah that's it fella, just **keep on** [ˈkʰəiːpˌɔn] swimming. You got that!
	Crab 2:	**Too right, mate** [ˌtʰəʉː ˈɹɑeʈ ˈmæɪʈ]! Oh, oh, I got a **live** /lɑev/ one here! (*Nemo comes out of the pipe.*)
	Nemo:	Hey, have you seen my dad?
	Crab 1:	(*snaps at Nemo*) Gotcha! (*Nemo swims away.*)
	Crab 2:	Hey, hey. Come back **here** /hiː/!
	Crab 1:	You let him **go** [ɡə̞ʉ]!
	Crabs:	Hey, hey, hey…

As Example 30 shows, both crabs' utterances display phonological and lexical features typical of Broad AusE. More precisely, they produce marked on-glides before /iː/ and /ʉː/, evident in *keep* (line 9) and *too* (line 11), respectively, a more raised and retracted PRICE vowel in *life*, *right*, and *live* (lines 2, 11, and 12), /t/-taps in between vowel sounds in *get outta here*, a characteristic Broad /əʉ/ in *go* (line 16), and they pronounce *here* with the long monophthong /iː/ rather than the off-glide /ɪə/ (line 15). Furthermore, the speech of Crab 1 shows an instance of HRT (line 1), indicated by the arrow, and Crab 2 uses the highly stereotypical AusE form of address *mate* (line 11). These features all mark them as speakers of Broad AusE.

The scene shown in Example 30 portrays the two crabs as comic characters that are fighting over food and hitting each other, which renders the entire scene funny. Indeed, it appears they are in constant rivalry. We have seen above that Broad AusE is commonly associated with toughness, manliness, independence, and a laid-back and easy-going attitude. The crabs' Broad AusE accent, then, arguably adds a certain air of mock-toughness to their personalities and heightens the comic nature of the scene. However, these two characters are not characterised through the accent, as their roles are too fleeting. The scene illustrated in Example 30, merely functions as a funny interlude in the film. The scene prior to the crabs-scene shows Marlin, disappointed and sad, believing Nemo dead, abandoning Dory and thus breaking her heart. The comic banter between the two crabs brings welcome comic relief for the audience after the emotional good-bye. The crabs' Broad AusE accents, in conjunction with their actions, help to portray them as comic characters. Broad AusE, then, is employed to lighten the audience's mood after a sad scene by aiding in the crabs' portrayal as funny, wannabe-tough guys, through its association with comedy.

Like the crabs, the sharks in *Finding Nemo* are comic characters, whose Broad AusE accent is used to create comic effect in the film. Admittedly, the fact that these menacing sharks would abstain from eating fish is quite humorous as such already. Their Broad AusE accent contributes greatly to their comic appearance, as viewers might expect a more typically 'bad' accent, such as BE (see Azad 2011), for example, when they first meet Bruce. That is, the Broad accent does not conform to the audience's expectations and is hence perceived as funny. Example 31 below illustrates the first encounter between Marlin, Dory, and Bruce.

(31)   Bruce: **Hello** [həˈɫəʉ]. (*Marlin gasps*)
            Dory: Well, hi!
            Bruce: **Name's** [næ̃ɪmz] Bruce. It's **all right** [ˈoːlˌɹɑet], I understand. Why trust a **shark** /ʃɐːk/, right? (*Bruce snaps at Marlin and Dory. They both gasp. Bruce laughs.*) **So** [sə̈ʉ], what's a couple of **bites like** [bɑets ɫɑek] you doin' **out** [æ̞ɔt] so **late** /læɪt/, eh?

As becomes clear in Example 31, the Great White shark scares Marlin. The viewers would presumably also find Bruce frightening and expect him to be a villain when they first meet him. However, once Bruce begins to speak, his Broad AusE accent manifests itself and it soon becomes evident that he is a nice and friendly shark. More precisely, the marked pronunciation of the diphthongs /əʉ, æɪ, ɑe, æɔ/, for instance in *hello* (line

1), *name*, and *late* (lines 3 and 7, the latter being less marked)*, right*, *bites*, and *like* (lines 4 and 6), and *out* (line 7), and the dark /l/ in *hello* (line 1) mark him as a speaker of Broad AusE. The non-rhoticity of his speech visible in the pronunciation of *shark* (line 4) is another indicator of his Australianness.

This combination of the dangerous animals, which are arguably generally portrayed as evil (e.g., see the *Jaws*-films and DreamWorks' *Shark Tale*), with the Broad AusE accent, which is commonly perceived as funny by Australians, aids in the sharks' establishment as comic characters. The sharks' Broad accent heightens the surrealism of the sequence, and transforms these predators into a group of caring mates. It ridicules the seemingly precarious situation in which Marlin and Dory find themselves and turns it into an enjoyable encounter for the audience. Arguably, it is the clash between the characters' appearance and the sound of their voices that adds the comic air to their personalities. The combination is arguably so effective, because it does not conform to the audience's expectations. As mentioned above, viewers might expect the sharks to speak with a different accent, based on previously encountered media representations of 'bad' characters (see Lippi-Green 1997, Lawless 2014). In the audio-commentary to *Finding Nemo* the director Andrew Stanton partly explains the reason behind the sharks' AusE accents. Stanton thought "it would just be so much funnier if the sharks felt like local boys. Like just sort of guys that have been out in the Outback and sort of separated from society a little bit; and just simple" (*Making Nemo 2003*). This strongly supports the assumption that Broad AusE is used to create comic effect in the film.

As Examples 30 and 31 show, AusE, or more precisely Broad AusE, has a third function in addition to characterisation and signalling place, namely the creation of comic effect. We have seen that both minor and supporting characters may be used as comic-effect- or comic-relief-characters, when they speak Broad AusE. The Broad AusE accent is employed for comic relief, when spoken by the crabs, but for pure comic effect when spoken by the sharks. Arguably, the employment of the Broad accent for comic effect in the film is logical, given that Australians and Americans (if we understand Andrew Stanton's view as representing that of the majority) appear to commonly perceive it as funny.

9.3 The AusE-speaking characters along the continuum

As we have seen above, the AusE dialect has traditionally been described as including three different accent types. These types were distinguished on the basis of the pronunciation of certain vowels and were labelled General, Broad, and Cultivated. As stressed above, they are not distinct accents but should be understood as belonging to a continuum. General AusE is the standard dialect spoken in modern Australia, Broad has been losing speakers, and Cultivated appears to have died away almost completely. Given these current trends in AusE, the broadness continuum has been described as out-dated and unrepresentative of modern Australian society (see Chapter 5). The findings of this study do not entirely correlate with the linguistic developments in Australia, as they indicate that all three types of AusE are employed in the two films. Table 7 below illustrates the distribution of character roles among the three accent types in numerical and ratio form.

Table 7 Distribution of AusE accents among character roles

	Supporting character	Minor character	Villain	Total
General	1 (10%)	8 (80%)	1 (10%)	10
Broad	4 (40%)	6 (60%)		10
Cultivated		1 (100%)		1
Total	5	15	1	21

Table 7 clearly shows that all three AusE accent types can be found in the two films. As discussed in Chapter 8, the characters are classified according to the relative occurrence of phonetic features from the respective accent types. As can be seen in Table 7, the majority of AusE-speaking characters speak General or Broad AusE and only one character can be found at the Cultivated end of the continuum. Thus, modern Australian society is reflected in so far as that the group of Cultivated-speakers is extremely small. The large number of Broad speakers, in contrast, does not correspond to the linguistic reality in Australia. Indeed, it is surprising given that General is the most widely spoken accent in modern Australia. We shall now consider the distribution of the three accent types in more detail in order to ascertain the existence of any correlations between AusE accent type and character role.

Correlations between AusE accent type and character role

Table 7 clearly indicates that the majority of characters from all accent groups belong to the category of 'minor characters'. More precisely, 80 per cent of General- and 60 per cent of Broad-speaking characters have minor roles in the films. Notably, the Cultivated AusE-speaking character also belongs to the group of minor characters. Regarding the supporting characters, Table 7 shows that the majority of AusE-speaking supporting characters speak with a Broad AusE accent, that is 80 per cent of this character group to be precise. Thus, only one supporting character speaks General AusE. The remaining General-speaking character was categorised as a villain. Overall, minor characters constitute the majority of all three speech communities, while most of them speak General AusE. The results regarding minor AusE-speaking characters, then, arguably reflect modern Australian society and Australians' language behaviour.

What is striking, however, is the distribution of AusE accents among supporting characters, as the vast majority of supporting characters speak with a marked Broad AusE accent. If we consider media portrayals of Australians in the past, the choice seems obvious. Famous TV-personalities, such as Paul Hogan and Steve Irwin, famously spoke Broad AusE and familiarised American audiences with this type of AusE accent. Thus, the stereotypical characteristics of toughness, manliness, and independence, among others, embodied by these two men became associated with Broad AusE and Australians in general. It seems that the accent's predominance among AusE-speaking supporting characters in the films is due to its publicity and popularity in America. Arguably, Broad AusE is also the AusE accent type most readily recognised as Australian (given that we could describe it as an exaggerated form of General AusE), which is another argument in favour of its choice as the main AusE accent used for characterisation in the films.

The question remains why the supporting character Nigel does not speak Broad but General AusE. As argued above, it seems that Broad AusE is preferred due to its status as the most stereotypical and 'funniest' AusE accent. A possible reason for Nigel's General accent, then, is his helpful, friendly, and problem-solving personality. More precisely, it appears that Nigel's General AusE accent serves to differentiate him from the other supporting characters and the stereotypes embodied by them. The absence of the stereotypical Australian traits such as manliness and toughness, and the fact that Nigel is not a comic character distinguish him from the other supporting

characters. His General AusE accent arguably highlights this dissimilarity. As Hewstone and Giles (1997) importantly argue, "stereotypes generate expectancies, and perceivers seem to want to see expectancies confirmed" (276). This seems highly relevant in the discussion of Nigel. If Nigel spoke Broad AusE, like the sharks and Jake, the audience might possibly expect different personality traits and a friendly and helpful Nigel would not fulfil the audience's expectations. Thus, it seems that Nigel speaks General AusE because it aurally distinguishes him from the other AusE-speaking supporting characters and distances him from the image of the typical tough and manly Australian.

Concluding remarks

Although the film analysis has yielded suggestive evidence, I cannot draw any sound judgements regarding correlations between AusE accent type and character role. Nevertheless, there seems to be a trend to use Broad AusE for characterisation, given that the majority of supporting characters speak the accent. A possible reason for this is the accent's popularity in America as well as its stereotypical nature. That is, as we have seen in Chapter 6, many non-Australians associate Australia, Australians, and AusE with characteristics typical of Broad speech. Moreover, Broad AusE was the accent used in internationally broadcast commercials, films, and television shows. Hogan and Irwin are both famous speakers of the accent, who have promoted the stereotypes of manliness and toughness. Thus, the Broad accent seems to be attached to these characteristics, among others (see Chapter 4). Furthermore, as mentioned above, Broad AusE is perceived as funny by many Australians, which may explain its employment in comic scenes. The findings, then, indicate a trend to use Broad AusE for characterisation and comic effect in the two films. However, these speculations only regard the two films investigated in this thesis and not the total of animated children's films featuring AusE-speaking characters. Given the relatively limited number of speakers of AusE in the films, we cannot draw any general inferences.

10. Conclusion

The main objective of this thesis was to determine the purposes AusE fulfils in *Finding Nemo* and *The Rescuers Down Under* and to explore the Australian stereotypes

employed for characterisation as well as correlations between AusE accent types and character roles.

Overall, the analysis of the characters' accents showed that AmE is the dominant dialect spoken by protagonists, supporting characters, and minor characters. Most AmE-speaking characters appear in animal form and have unclear motivations, which are presumably covertly positive. AusE is spoken by about a quarter of all characters. Thus, AusE-speaking characters constitute a large proportion of characters, which already indicates that AusE functions as a signal of setting in the films. In contrast to AmE, AusE is limited to supporting and minor characters as well as villains. It is moreover mainly spoken by male animal characters and characters with unclear motivations. Together, BE and NNE speakers constitute only 10 per cent of the total. BE-speaking characters all appear in animal form, have minor roles and unclear motivations, and are largely male. Although NNE-speaking ones are largely similar to BE characters, they differ in that one character is a protagonist. In sum, the general findings suggest correlations between certain accents and character roles, echo previous results that the majority of characters in animated children's films are male, and show that, like in most of these films, AmE is the predominant language used in *Finding Nemo* and *The Rescuers Down Under*.

When interpreting the results of this study we have to keep in mind that films are highly constructed entities that represent only certain versions of places, people, and things. Thus, as touched on above, the Australia portrayed in the two films is the filmmakers' version of the real country and, hence, the distribution of AusE accents is also carefully planned and does not reflect reality.

What are the purposes of the Australian accent in the films?

The analysis has shown that the AusE accent has three different purposes in the films. That is, AusE functions as a signal of setting and as a tool for both characterisation and comic effect. What is more, there appear to be correlations between its purposes and character roles. The primary purpose of AusE is the establishment of the films' settings as Australia, which is indicated by the large percentage of AusE-speaking characters. The results of the detailed analysis of characters' utterances showed that the films' settings are established through the AusE accents, typical AusE vocabulary, and animal characters' appearances. Moreover, the function of conveying place is not limited to one

character role but may be fulfilled by all AusE-speaking characters. The secondary purpose of AusE is characterisation by means of commonly held and popular Australian stereotypes. AusE may be used as a shortcut for the characterisation of characters with supporting roles but not for those with minor roles or the villain, as these roles are too small for the accent to index stereotypical features. The third function is the creation of comic effect and comic relief. The findings suggest that the dialect is employed to create comic effect and relief through the utterances of both supporting and minor characters in *Finding Nemo*.

Which kinds of stereotypes are employed when the accent is used for characterisation?

The analysis showed that a variety of common Australian stereotypes have been used for the purpose of characterisation in *Finding Nemo* and *The Rescuers Down Under*. As we have seen, only supporting AusE-speaking characters are characterised by means of such stereotypes. More precisely, the supporting characters' portrayals reinforce the stereotype of the manly, tough, and independent, but also friendly, helpful, and loyal Australian, who prioritises his mates.

A prime example of linguistic stereotyping in the films is Jake in *The Rescuers Down Under*. He conforms to the most popular Australian stereotypes that were previously popularised by Paul Hogan and Steve Irwin. He is portrayed as manly, tough, independent, laid-back, and brave. His Broad AusE accent, in conjunction with the content of his speech, his behaviour, and appearance (resembling those of the two actors), functions as a tool for characterisation. In other words, this combination works to perpetuate the stereotype of the tough, manly, and independent Australian who lives in the Outback and wrestles wildlife.

The second Australian stereotype we can find in the films is that of the typical Australian who is loyal to and supportive of his mates. The sharks in *Finding Nemo* are portrayed according to this popular Australian stereotype. Their Broad AusE plays a significant role in this stereotypical representation. Together with their actions and the content of their utterances, the Broad AusE functions to reinforce the stereotype of the loyal, friendly, and always supportive Australian mate. In other words, the sharks are portrayed as embodying the Australian key concept of mateship.

The third stereotype employed in the films for characterisation is that of the friendly and helpful Australian. Nigel in *Finding Nemo* represents the archetype, as he

is portrayed as friendly and helpful throughout the film. His General AusE accent, in combination with his actions, serves to characterise him as the stereotypical Australian that is friendly and always ready to help someone. This stereotype is further used to characterise the sharks in *Finding Nemo*. That is, their Broad AusE accent, together with their actions, aids in their representation as friendly sharks that do not eat fish and are friendly to strangers. However, they are mainly characterised as supportive and loyal mates, who also happen to have friendly personalities.

Overall, the AusE-speaking supporting characters are portrayed rather positively. Nevertheless, they are represented according to images of the stereotypical Australian perpetuated by previous media representations and, seemingly, held by many Americans and Danes. Thus, although AusE-speaking characters with supporting roles are not represented negatively, their representations are nonetheless highly stereotypical and limited to the widespread beliefs about and attitudes towards Australians. These stereotypes and attitudes are indirectly transmitted through AusE, because it indexes Australians as a social group and thereby also the beliefs associated with them.

Are there any correlations between character role and type of AusE accent?

At this point it is necessary to address the issue of the broadness continuum one last time. As I have pointed out above, the distinction between Broad, Cultivated and General AusE is not relevant anymore in modern Australian society. Nevertheless, I have used it in this study because it serves to highlight the strong presence of the most salient and stereotyped variety of AusE, namely Broad, in the films. Moreover, I have to emphasise again that I have taken a compounded impression throughout this paper. That is, I considered pronunciation and lexis, and even behaviour and appearance, in my analysis of the portrayal of Australian characters, as I deemed them highly crucial components in the representation of the AusE-speaking characters, in the signalling of setting, and the creation of comic effect.

In total, the majority of characters can be found at the centre and the Broad end of the continuum and only one character's accent was classified as lying at the Cultivated end. The considerably minor role of Cultivated AusE in the films is reflective of the general attitude towards the accent type and Australia's current linguistic reality. With regards to correlations between the accent types and character roles, the findings suggest a trend in employing Broad AusE for more prominent

characters and General AusE for minor characters. That is, most supporting characters speak Broad AusE, with the exception of Nigel, and all but one minor character speak General AusE. Indeed, it seems that the Broad AusE-speaking supporting characters are portrayed more stereotypically than the rest. That is, Broad AusE, being the most marked accent, is strongly associated with the most commonly held Australian stereotypes, namely toughness, manliness, independence, but also friendliness, and an easy-going attitude. Presumably owing to these associations, the Broad AusE accent has been used as a shortcut for characterisation of supporting characters. Broad AusE is not limited to characters with supporting roles, but is also spoken by some minor characters, namely most of the pelicans and the two crabs in *Finding Nemo*. Here, the accent does not function as a tool for characterisation but as a signal of setting instead.

Overall, then, the findings suggest that AusE was chosen deliberately as an indicator of setting and as a tool for characterisation and comic effect in *Finding Nemo* and *The Rescuers Down Under*. Although the AusE-speaking characters are generally portrayed positively, those with supporting roles are represented according to common Australian stereotypes, reinforced by the mass media. These characters' portrayals perpetuate the stereotype of the manly, tough, and independent, but also friendly, helpful, supportive and loyal Australian. *Finding Nemo* and *The Rescuers Down Under* present children with social and linguistic stereotypes commonly held about Australians. Australians, then, like other language groups (see Chapter 3), are portrayed stereotypically in animated children's films. More precisely, the characters' portrayals are limited to popular Australian stereotypes while not being overtly negative. As we have seen, Trowell's (2008) study indicated that children's attitudes were possibly influenced by the portrayals of certain language groups in films targeted at children. While the results of this study indicate that Australians are portrayed stereotypically, they do not show whether the films' portrayals of Australians affect children's attitudes towards that social group. The films' influence on children's attitudes is an open question one would need to investigate further.

Limitations of this study

At this point it seems necessary to comment on the limitations of this study, some of which have already been addressed above.

First and foremost, this study's results are all inevitably subjective, as the categories (including accent types, character categories, and Australian stereotypes) were all chosen according to my own personal interpretations and judgements. Thus, it is important to keep in mind that my own subjectivity applies to everything (and everybody) involved in the study of the two films.

The auditory technique chosen for the phonemic analysis of the characters' utterances does not come without its problems. As Milroy and Gordon (2003: 151) have pointed out, auditory analyses of speech are subjective and, thus, reliability is an important issue. Therefore, the phonemic and phonetic transcriptions included in this thesis may not be completely accurate, as they are subject to my personal judgements of the sounds produced by the characters. Nevertheless, this method was chosen owing to its simplicity and because it allows for larger samples to be analysed in relatively little time as opposed to instrumental measures (Milroy & Gordon 2003: 151).

Implications for future research

Given that I only analysed two films with AusE-speaking characters, I cannot make any generalisations about the portrayal of AusE characters in animated children's films. Thus, future research should explore whether the trends suggested by these findings can be detected in other animated children's films featuring AusE-speaking characters. The analyses of both American-produced (e.g., *Rise of the Guardians*) and American-Australian co-produced films (e.g., *Happy Feet*), as well as Australian versions of Disney films (e.g., *Planes*) would deepen our understanding of the portrayal of Australians in animated children's films.

Since my study merely focused on the Australian characters' representations in the films, it cannot say anything at all about the portrayals' possible influence on the general viewers' and, more precisely, children's attitudes towards speakers of AusE. In order to determine whether viewers are indeed influenced by the accent portrayals in these two films, more detailed ethnographic studies targeting child viewers of the two films are necessary. As touched on above, while we can analyse child viewers' attitudes towards certain languages, we cannot precisely determine the films' effects on their development without questioning them before and after viewing the films. Moreover, personal experience must not be ignored in the context of attitude formation, as nothing is monocausal.

Finally, in a study of Australian stereotypes in films it would be important to establish which kinds of features are noticed by the viewers and seen as markers of the Australian, i.e., pronunciation features, lexis, or stereotypical Australian topics. This could also include a study solely targeted at Australian viewers. Most importantly, it would be interesting to investigate which kinds of features filmmakers perceive as especially salient markers of Australianness and how they employ these in order to create Australian characters.

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Appendix

Abstract

Animated children's films employ accents for characterisation and the signalling of setting by exploiting stereotypes associated with the language, which culminates in the stereotypical portrayal of certain language groups. This paper argues that this is the case for the Australian English-speaking characters in the American animated children's films *Finding Nemo* (2003) and *The Rescuers Down Under* (1990). It investigates the purposes of the Australian English accent in the films, the kinds of Australian stereotypes employed for characterisation, and possible correlations between character roles and the types of Australian English accents. The films' characters were grouped according to accents and the categories 'character role', 'character type', 'motivation', and 'sex'. The Australian English-speaking characters were classified in more detail as speakers of General, Broad, or Cultivated by means of the phonemic and phonetic transcription of highly characteristic stretches of speech and were then related to common Australian stereotypes. The findings suggest that Australian English has various purposes in the films, that popular Australian stereotypes are used for characterisation, and that certain correlations between the accent types and the characters' roles exist. More generally, these results confirm that American-produced animated children's films employ linguistic stereotyping to convey characters and to establish settings.

Deutsche Zusammenfassung

Animationsfilme für Kinder benutzen Akzente für die Charakterisierung von Figuren und die Signalisierung von Schauplätzen, indem sie Stereotypen, die mit der jeweiligen Sprache verbunden sind, ausschöpfen, was die stereotypische Darstellung gewisser Sprachgruppen zur Folge hat. Die vorliegende Arbeit argumentiert, dass dies der Fall bei den Figuren, die australisches Englisch in den amerikanischen Animationsfilmen *Findet Nemo* (2003) und *Bernard und Bianca im Känguruland* (1990) sprechen, ist. Die vorliegende Arbeit untersucht die Aufgaben des australischen Akzents in den Filmen, die Arten von Stereotypen die für die Charakterisierung verwendet werden, und mögliche Zusammenhänge zwischen den Charakterrollen und den Arten des australischen Akzents. Die Filmcharaktere wurden gemäß Akzenten und den Kategorien ‚Charakterrolle', ‚Charakterart', ‚Motivation', und ‚Geschlecht' gruppiert. Die Australisch sprechenden Figuren wurden durch die phonemische und phonetische Transkription hochcharakteristischer Redeabschnitte als Sprecher von General, Broad oder Cultivated klassifiziert und dann mit verbreiteten australischen Stereotypen in Beziehung gebracht. Die Ergebnisse zeigen, dass australisches Englisch verschiedene Aufgaben in den Filmen hat, dass populäre australische Stereotypen zur Charakterisierung verwendet werden und dass bestimmte Zusammenhänge zwischen den Akzenttypen und den Charakterrollen existieren. Im Allgemeinen bestätigen diese Resultate, dass amerikanische Animationsfilme für Kinder linguistisches Stereotypisieren einsetzen, um Charaktere zu vermitteln und um Schauplätze darzustellen.