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# DIPLOMARBEIT / DIPLOMA THESIS

Titel der Diplomarbeit / Title of the Diploma Thesis

„No Biggie! No Worries!  
An Empirical Investigation of the Australian English  
with a Focus on its Use of Hypocoristics“

verfasst von / submitted by

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angestrebter akademischer Grad / in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of  
Magistra der Philosophie (Mag. phil.)

Wien, 2018 / Vienna, 2018

Studienkennzahl lt. Studienblatt /  
degree programme code as it appears on  
the student record sheet:

A 190 344 299

Studienrichtung lt. Studienblatt /  
degree programme as it appears on  
the student record sheet:

Lehramtsstudium UniStG  
UF Englisch UniStG  
UF Psychologie und Philosophie UniStG

Betreut von / Supervisor:

Prof. Mag. Dr. Barbara Kryk-Kastovsky



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sponsored by The University of Vienna

*To my wonderful Mum - Thank you for always being here for me!*



## Acknowledgements

I would like to use this opportunity to say *Thank You* and *Danke* to the people who have supported me during this, sometimes very challenging, process of writing and finishing my thesis.

First of all, I would like to thank my supervisor Professor Kryk-Kastovsky. Thank you for your interest in my topic from the beginning onwards, your motivational conversations and constructive feedback at any time. I am really thankful that you encouraged me to take on the once-in-a-lifetime opportunity to conduct my research in Brisbane. Thank you also for establishing a network with Professor Goddard for me, which enabled me to come back to Australia and experience a face-to-face research situation with the Australian participants of my study. I am very happy to have had such an encouraging and engaging supervisor like you.

Secondly, I would like to thank Professor Cliff Goddard for your open ear when I was still in the process of developing my topic. Thanks to your inspiring and enriching advice, I could narrow down my topic and find an interesting focus for my research and study. Thank you for co-supervising me during my stay in Brisbane, for your engagement, interest and for your input and thoughts concerning the empirical part of my thesis.

Thank you also to my friends who have supported me during my whole studies, no matter if it was at home or thousands of kilometres away from home. It is very special to have friends like you who are here in so many different situations and also during this demanding time of finishing my degree. I would also like to thank my friend Anna for being my English-buddy throughout the studies and for your support and helpful advice on my thesis.

Thank you Corey for being part of this project from the start onwards and listening to my plans and ideas for my thesis. Thank you for encouraging me again and again to continue working and writing on it, especially when it was difficult and challenging. I am very grateful that you motivated me to keep at it and for simply being here for me when I needed someone to talk to. Thanks for always making me laugh and encouraging me.

Finally, a very special and big *Thank you* goes to my parents who are always supporting me in so many different ways and situations. I can't say how thankful I am for everything you're doing for me, from encouraging me to go on adventures to simply being here for me with your advice, thoughts and love, even on the other side of the world. It is thanks to you that I am where and who I am right now and I am so proud and grateful to have parents like you. *Danke für alles, Mama und Papa!*

Thanks to all of you and everyone who has been participating in my interviews. It is all of your support and encouragement that has enabled me to start and finish this thesis and my studies.



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## **List of abbreviations**

AUS	Australia
AusE	Australian English
AQI	Australian Questioning Intonation
HRT	High Rising Tone
NE	North-East
NSW	New South Wales
NZ	New Zealand
mAusE	modern Australian English
RP	Received Pronunciation
SAusE	Standard Australian English
SC	South-Centre
SE	South-East
SW	South-West
VIC	Victoria
QLD	Queensland

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# **1. Introduction**

When listening to conversations between Australians, it can doubtlessly be noticed that their language contains certain features which distinguish their English from other varieties, such as Received Pronunciation and General American English. Hence, the purpose of this thesis is to first of all provide an overview of the history of Australian English in order to get an understanding of how this fairly recent variety of English has established itself and developed from the time of its settlement until today. Since the linguists' opinions differ from each other, this chapter will discuss some of their theories as well as their criticism in more detail.

Secondly, this thesis will discuss features which are characteristic of Australian English and how they make it different from other varieties of English. In particular, the second chapter will focus on the phonetical, lexical and syntactical characteristics and will also investigate stress and intonation patterns of Australian English. Moreover, a comparison with other English varieties, especially with Received Pronunciation, will be drawn. A further aspect discussed in this chapter is the social and regional variation which occurs in the language of Australians. Even though some linguists believe that regional variation cannot be detected within Australian English, this chapter will also consider theories which provide evidence for such a variation.

Owing to the fact that hypocoristics are a vital feature of Australian English, the third chapter will firstly focus on hypocoristics in English in general and will then analyse this feature with respect to Australian English in particular. As part of this analysis, the morphology of hypocoristics as well as a variety of hypocoristic categories, such as first names, place names and common nouns, will be discussed. Since hypocoristic word forms represent cultural ideas prevalent in Australia, this chapter also focuses on concepts which are desired and valued in Australia. Building on this thorough analysis, the final chapter will cover the qualitative research undertaken for this thesis, which investigates the usage and function of hypocoristics as well as their representation of Australian cultural concepts. Hence, the study's aims and method as well as an analysis of its results will be the focus of the final chapter of this thesis.

## **2. The history of Australian English**

### **2.1. Overview of Australia's settlement history**

In order to get a better understanding of the settlement history of Australia, this chapter provides a brief overview of Australia's colonisation process, which is crucial for a further understanding of its language development. As reported by Ballyn (2011: 15), the first ships from Great Britain arrived at Sydney Cove, on Australia's East Coast, on the 26<sup>th</sup> of January in 1788. This arrival is known as the First Fleet and encompassed 1,500 people of which 759 are reported to have been convicts. Owing to the Second Fleet and the fact that from then onwards ships arrived regularly, "the colony flourished and the gradual exploration and settlement of the continent began" (Ballyn 2011: 16). When discussing the colonisation of Australia, it is crucial to address that the original owners of the land, namely the Aboriginal people, were considered a "dying race" (Ballyn 2011: 19). Moreover, Aboriginal people did not get the same chances as the convicts, who were allowed to be part of the society as soon as they had finished their duties as sentenced people (Ballyn *ibid.*). This also suggests a suppression of the indigenous languages spoken in Australia at the time of the settlement by the British.

When it comes to language development in Australia, O'Shannessy and Meakins (2016: 3) report that when Australia was colonised by the British, about 250 different languages were spoken by the Aboriginal people. However, the settlement of British people in Australia led to an "extensive diffusion of English" as well as to the development of "pidgins, creoles and mixed languages and a range of English-lexified varieties and dialects, such as Aboriginal English" (O'Shannessy & Meakins *ibid.*). Richards (2015: section, English Arrives) explains that once convicts arrived in Sydney, they heard other dialects for the first time and found out that there were different words for the same objects, for instance. Therefore, Richards (*ibid.*) puts forward that the discovery of different English dialects, can be seen as "the birth of the Australian language – the birth of a distinctively Australian form of English". Considering the history of Australia's settlement and hence, the context in which Australian English developed, the following chapter covers a variety of theories that discuss the formation of Australian English after the convicts had arrived in Australia.

## 2.2. Emergence of Australian English

Kniezsa (1997: 65) states that “Australian English is one of the most recent national varieties”, as the country was only colonised in 1788. Since the majority of present linguists consider Australian English a “distinctive variety of English with its own history”, questions discussing how this particular accent established and developed became central in the study of Australian English (Gunn 1975: 5). Blair (1989: 171) stresses that “[e]very language is a living record of its past. [...] Australian English (AusE) is no exception”. Consequently, it can be assumed that the language variation which occurred at a particular time in Australia can be considered a reflection of the country and its colonisers (Blair *ibid.*). Concerning the study of Australian English, Horvath (1985: 29) makes clear that the majority of linguists investigating Australian English also have an interest in the language’s origin. Moreover, Horvath (*ibid.*) formulates the following questions which are considered most crucial when discussing the origins of Australian English:

1. How did Australian English (usually meaning Broad Australian) come to be a distinctive variety of English?
2. How did the different varieties of Australian English develop?
3. Why is Australian English so uniform (in all its diversity) throughout the continent?

It is claimed that it was Turner (1960), Collins (1975) and Gunn (1975) who put forward the assumption that Australian English “is simply the continuation of changes already in progress in England”, whereas Hammarström (1980) argues that Australian English can be regarded as London Cockney English which was brought to Australia by the people who first arrived from England (Horvath 1985: 29). Furthermore, it is also crucial to consider that it is likely that Cockney English was the “culmination” of these changes which are pointed out in the theories supported by linguists like Turner (1960), Collins (1975) and Gunn (1975) (Horvath *ibid.*). Consequently, the two main responses to the questions posed above can be considered to be fairly corresponding (Horvath *ibid.*).

According to Gunn (1975: 6), there is no certain linguistic proof of “the basic speech pattern in early Australia”. This is underlined by the fact that early rhymes and spellings could not be of any help, as there was an urge to adhere to the guidelines developed by people who focused on grammar and lexis (Gunn *ibid.*). In addition, phoneticians did not exist at the time

of colonisation and observations by visitors were considered “vague or prejudiced” (Gunn *ibid.*). Moreover, Cochrane (1989: 176) makes clear that the origin of the Australian language can only be a speculation, since no close monitoring is evident before McBurney’s investigation in 1887. McBurney (1887) observed that a significant number of vowel characteristics of Australian English were developed at the time of his investigation (Cochrane 1989: 176-177). However, Gunn (*ibid.*) clearly states that the most prominent Australian pronunciation features had already evolved about a hundred years before McBurney’s study in 1887. Although Turner believes that the results of McBurney’s investigation (1887) are trustworthy and correlate with more recent research, Hill’s opinion (1967: 43), similarly to Gunn’s, is that the development of Australian English had already been completed before McBurney (1887) conducted his study (Kniezsa 1997: 66). For this reason, it is vital to take into consideration that no written observations exist before McBurney’s study (1887), which results in the fact that it can only be assumed and generally formulated what the Australian language could have been like before investigations had started (Gunn *ibid.*).

Cochrane (1989: 177) points out that various linguists, such as Mitchell (1946), Mitchell and Delbridge (1965) and Bernard (1969, 1981), focus on the idea of Australian English as an amalgam, whereas other researchers such as Collins (1975) support the hypothesis that Australian English is the result of a pidgin produced in Australia. Kniezsa (*ibid.*) adds that it is typical for colonies “that the most influential early group” forms the style of speech, which is then imitated by new people regardless of their former speech characteristics. Gunn (1975: 7) also assumes that although it is likely that a number of early citizens wanted to keep their “special standard or other mode of speech”, most of the speakers were probably attracted towards an amalgam which can be compared with a non-standard London English variety. Further, it is believed that this amalgam was postulated “by socially conscious speakers” (Gunn *ibid.*).

When Australia was colonised, three different groups of language speakers came to Australia, namely the “standard, popular, and low class” (Gunn *ibid.*). Owing to a considerably low number of Standard English speakers, it can be assumed that this group did not have a vital effect on the prevalent Australian pronunciation (Gunn 1975: 7-8). As taken up by Kniezsa, Gunn (1975: 8) postulates that a fast change must have happened, since it is likely that new settlers of the colony wanted to hide the fact that they had just arrived and, consequently, to



adjust their speech accordingly. As a result, also children seemed to have easily taken on this amalgam, which Bernard (ibid.) called “proto-broad” (Gunn ibid.). Kniezsa (ibid.) sums up that despite the number of parallels between the pronunciation of Australian English and South Eastern English that can be identified, no British dialect which has all its characteristics in common with Australian English can be found. In order to gain a more comprehensive understanding of the linguists’ differing opinions concerning the origins of Australian English, the following sections focus on the most prominent theories.

### ***2.2.1. Dialect levelling***

Mitchell and Delbridge (1965: 27) claim that although McBurney’s study (1887) concerning the Australian accent is of interest, it is important to note that no sufficient records of the language of Australia’s first and second generation exist. As a result, they assume that the theory of dialect levelling is a crucial one to consider. Further, Australian English has been compared with other varieties of English by linguists like Dorsch (1939) and although similarities can be found, it is also striking that “the dissimilarities are seen to outweigh the similarities so heavily that further comparison must be dropped” (Mitchell & Delbridge ibid.). Hence, it is emphasised that even though Australian English shares some features with other accents of English, there are some characteristics that significantly differ from each other between the varieties.

Dorsch (1939: 113) puts forward that Australian English evolved as a product of “levelling or generalization of a number of English local dialects”. Moreover, it can be assumed that a large variety of English accents originating from England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland existed in Australia after its colonisation, which is why it is remarkable that the merging of dialects seemed to have happened during a short period of time (Mitchell & Delbridge 1965: 28). Thus, Dorsch (ibid.) arrives at the conclusion that the general Australian accent developed through “fusion and levelling”, and could, hence, also incorporate other less dominant dialects. This is supported by the fact that the language of children who were born in Australia was free of dialectal features, although their parents had been born overseas and had spoken a regional dialect of English at the time of immigration (Mitchell & Delbridge ibid.). This correlates with the assumption that the accent of parents who spoke a local variety of English adapted to the Broad Australian accent over a period of time as well.

Additionally, Mitchell and Delbridge (1965: 30) address the uniformity of Australian English, which is frequently discussed by linguists, as it seems outstanding that such a large country has only few dialects. Although the language emergence of America and Australia can be compared in the way that settlers and immigrants were put together in a new community, the existing colonies in Australia had not yet developed various speech styles as it was the case in America (Mitchell & Delbridge *ibid.*). Consequently, Australian English does not involve a variety of local dialects as e.g. American English does. However, as it is mentioned later in this thesis, other linguists seem to disagree with this statement and have given proof of regional variation within Australian English.

According to Collins and Blair (2001: 1), it is a common belief that Australian English evolved through a variety of dialects spoken in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century in south-east England. Although it is debated whether these dialects emerged in London and were brought to Australia “as a new amalgam”, or were processed and created directly in Australia, it can be assumed that “the process of dialect levelling produced an identifiable variety within the first 50 years” (Collins & Blair *ibid.*). This assumption can be justified by sources which were printed as early as 1822 by James Dixon, for example (Collins & Blair *ibid.*). Dixon (1822: 46) puts forward that owing to the amalgamation, an English variety was formed that is “purer” and “more harmonious” than other varieties in England. Collins and Blair (2001: 1-2) also refer to Bennett (1834: I, 331), who states that Australian English is not influenced by a number of provincial dialects like American English, for instance. Therefore, this language characteristic could be used to distinguish people who were born in Australia from those who came from England. Although Meredith’s (1844: 50) investigation focuses on the nasal twang of Australians, which is similar to the American one, she also mentions that children with English parents born in England use a clear language, while those born in Australia “have the detestable snuffle”. This confirms the accent distinction between English-born and Australian-born children which is also addressed by Dixon (1822) and Bennett (1834) (Collins & Blair 2001: 2). Contrary to these theories which believe in an influence of various dialects towards Australian English, researchers such as Cunningham (1827: II, 60) and Mossman (1852: 19) are of the opinion that the language in the Australian State New South Wales can be identified as Cockney English, as discussed in the following chapter of this thesis.

### ***2.2.2. London influence***

According to Gunn (1975: 6), every research which discusses the spreading of English in the eighteenth century unavoidably underpins the high prestige and importance of England's capital city London. Therefore, the distinction between Cockney English, which is present in the city of London, and a polite pronunciation, which is spoken at the court-end, was defined by Sheridan in 1762 (Gunn *ibid.*). Kniezsa (1997: 65) states that while British people who visited Australia in early days considered the country's language as "pure British without any provincialism", other observations from the mid-nineteenth century report that it was "pure Cockney and nothing else". Since the majority of "free settlers" who made it to Australia with the first few fleets originated from Southern England, the domination of this particular dialect in Australia at that time can be explained (Kniezsa *ibid.*).

Bernard (1969, 1981) argues that Australian English can be regarded as a mixture in which the London accent plays a significant role (Cochrane 1989: 177). Furthermore, Gunn's (1972, 1975) opinion is based on the belief that the origins of Australian English can be found in London English (Cochrane *ibid.*). However, it is also made clear that the number of people speaking Standard English in London in the past was considerably low and the standard language of speakers in London was "closer to popular speech than it is today" (Cochrane *ibid.*). Additionally, during the eighteenth century, "the standard speech had passed away from London and been put into the trusteeship of that amorphous body, the best speakers" (Gunn 1975: 6). The speech that the rest of the people used was labelled "London vulgarism" and is considered most significant when studying Australian English, as the majority of citizens at the time of the colonisation of Australia originated from this region (Gunn 1975: 6-7). Moreover, it is assumed that the "young, urban, unmarried felon was the typical Australian convict" (Robson 1970 in Gunn 1975: 7). Since early governors adapted their speech to that of London men, it is likely that various regional differences were mixed with the London speech around the arrival of the first fleet at Botany Bay or at least shortly afterwards (Gunn *ibid.*).

Kniezsa (1997: 75) analyses McBurney's research (1887) in more detail and sums up that Cockney English and Australian English do not have all major characteristics in common. More specifically, neither the most significant consonantal features, nor all of the vocalic characteristics are shared between the two varieties of English (Kniezsa *ibid.*). However,

owing to some similarities in the vowel systems of the language varieties, it was assumed that Cockney English was a fundamental base in the emergence of Australian English (Kniezsa 1997: 75-76). According to Kniezsa (ibid.), research conducted in the late nineteenth century confirms this assumption on the one hand, but also assigns it more towards the north of London on the other hand. This has to do with the fact that the development of the North London accent shares some vocalic features with Cockney English, but can be differentiated from it when it comes to the /h/-dropping, for example. Finally, Kniezsa (1997: 76) concludes that McBurney's study (1887) is highly useful, as it clearly points out

that in the first hundred years of its development since its foundation as a colony, Australian English, originally a blend of South English dialects, besides preserving the dominance of South Eastern phonetic and phonemic elements, had already developed those features which made it distinctively Australian.

According to Hammarström (1980: 4), a comparison between Australian English and British dialects on a phonetic level prove that the development of Australian English was influenced by London or at least by the language of South-Eastern England. Hammarström (ibid.) reasons this assumption with the fact that the varieties share vowel and diphthong features with each other. In order to get a more comprehensive understanding, Hammarström (1980: 9) exemplifies that the [a:] sound in words such as *car* and *hard* plays a crucial role not only in modern Australian English, but also in Cockney English. Furthermore, Hammarström (1980: 17) refers to Sivertsen (1960: 155), who observes that so-called “drawling” or “lengthening” of syllabic peaks can also be regarded as a typical feature of both Cockney and Australian English. In addition, the “nasal twang”, which is doubtlessly a key feature of Australian English, might not have had its origin in Australia, but has still existed from the start onwards (Hammarström 1980: 18-19). Hammarström (1980: 18) clarifies this assumption by stating that although a nasal twang can be found in American, Australian as well as British English, they cannot be defined as exactly the same. In conclusion, Hammarström (1980: 66) summarises that “Australian pronunciation is not an amalgam but simply the pronunciation of London towards the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century”, and, hence, states clearly that most phonemes in Australian English can be described as similar to the ones of Cockney English in both modern as well as earlier Australian English.

According to Blair (1989: 172), researchers like Cochrane (1989) have come to the conclusion that Australian English developed from the London dialect, since a “prestige-loaded range of accent” was brought to Sydney in the first place and then spread over

settlements and the whole country. Cochrane (1989: 178) states that the vowel systems between Australian and London English are almost congruent. Therefore, Cochrane (1989: 182-183) also arrives at the conclusion that London English can be regarded to be the most likely origin of Australian English. Although some features are not shared between the two varieties, it can still be assumed that Australian English originated from London, as “lexical forms are more readily changed than phonetic realisations” (Cochrane 1989: 183). In order to explain why some characteristics between the two dialects differ, Cochrane (1989: 184) illustrates that reducing the unstressed [i] to [ə] can be seen as a “natural process”, which has developed more significantly in Australia compared to London. When it comes to consonants, the glottal stop [ʔ] is the most prominent difference as it appears in London, but seems to be absent in Australian English. Hence, it is assumed that the glottal stop only developed in London after Australia’s colonisation (Cochrane 1989: 185).

It follows from the above that although Cockney English was rightly assumed to have played a significant part in forming the Australian language, the majority of features do not correlate between the two varieties. For this reason, some researchers concluded that the distinctive features of Australian English must have already been formed in the decades after its colonisation and before studies were undertaken. Since it is also widely discussed whether the present Australian English emerged because of a mixing process in Australia or because of some other language development at its colonisation, the following sections focus on the aspect of merging as a language developing process.

### ***2.2.3. Mixing Bowl Theory***

Linguists such as Wells (1982: 593) and Collins (2012: 76) emphasise the homogeneity of Australian English and make clear that there is only very little regional variation within Australia concerning its language. Considering the geographic size of Australia, it is remarkable that the dialects spoken in e.g. Sydney and Perth or Darwin and Hobart, are “practically indistinguishable” (Wells *ibid.*). In order to explain this striking observation, a number of researchers have provided historical hypotheses concerning the language development.

According to Wells (*ibid.*), Bernard (1969, 1981) defines two main factors which cause the uniformity in Australian English, namely the fact that white Australians were only able to

come to Australia using a low number of seaports as well as their “social solidarity (whether as convicts or as free migrants) against their Britain-based officials and administrators”. According to Fritz (1996: 26), Bernard (ibid.) believes that the availability of a limited number of seaports resulted in a limited amount of places where the dialect mixing could happen. Therefore, Bernard (ibid.) formulated it as follows: “[t]he ingredients of the mixing bowl were much the same, and at different times and in different places the same process was carried out and the same end point achieved” (Fritz ibid.). Collins (2012: 76) reports that Bernard named the dialect that was formed in these places “proto-Broad” and can be regarded as the stem for later varieties. In Bernard’s opinion (ibid.), Australian English “is a mixed variety with mainly south-eastern dialect features which were mixed *on* Australian soil” (Gordon & Sudbury 2002: 71). Cochrane (1989: 178) explains that Bernard (ibid.) also focused on children as a crucial part in the accent development of proto-Broad Australian English. Since wealthier people started to imitate more prestigious accents, language varieties similar to British accents appeared (Cochrane ibid.).

Horvath (1985: 30) discusses Bernard’s theory (1969, 1981) and concludes that Australia became a “migrant country” and that it is only the migrants’ children who were able to access Australian English. According to Bernard (ibid.), Australian English “began as a product of the particular social situation of the early colony”, which is related to the fact that the children adopted the dominant speech patterns or created their own ones with a tendency to the most commonly used type (Horvath 1985: 30-31). This mixture of dialects that evolved as a result was formed out of lower class British regional as well as urban dialects. However, owing to the fact that one third of the final judgements were conducted in London, its speech also had the most influence (Horvath 1985: 31). In order to further confirm the early creation of Australian English, Bernard (ibid.) emphasises that Australian English is generally not compared with Irish English (Horvath ibid.). Although Tasmania became a place for Irish convicts, the language in Tasmania these days is still the same as in Sydney, which furthermore supports Bernard’s view that Australian English developed in Australia, rather than being transferred to Australia at a certain point in time (Horvath ibid.). Thus, it is Bernard’s belief that a proto-Broad variation of Australian English was created by “the first generation of native-born Australians”, whereas General and Cultivated Australian English only developed at a later stage (Horvath ibid.).

However, Bernard (ibid.) does not only claim that the mixing happened already in Australia rather than before the colonisation, but also states that this variety emerged at various settlements independently (Gordon & Sudbury 2002: 71). According to Cochrane (1989: 178), Bernard's controversial argument can be summarised with the assumption that "the same accent arose by amalgamation of the same elements independently in each of these places". Consequently, in Bernard's opinion, the homogeneity of Australian English can be explained (Collins 2012: 78). Nevertheless, Blair (1989: 172) claims that Bernard's (1969, 1981) argument that Australian English "was generated independently at each settlement from the transplanted mix, and that the prestige range developed here over a period of time from the lower prestige dialect" can be seen as a view that not many linguists share. On the contrary, Collins (2012: 76) states that the so-called "Sydney Mixing Bowl Theory", which is supported by linguists like Bernard (ibid.) and Trudgill (2004), can be considered the most credible. However, as addressed below, Bernard's point of view regarding the origin of Australian English also initiates some controversies and opposing theories.

#### ***2.2.4. Social varieties from the beginning onwards***

According to Blair (1989: 172), it is generally agreed upon that Australian English spread from the base camp in Sydney and could reach other settlements quickly owing to the high mobility. Moreover, it is commonly believed that other prestigious and less prestigious varieties of Australian English have existed from the start (Blair ibid.). As a result, Bernard's theory on the uniformity of the Australian language variety is questioned by linguists such as e.g. Horvath, who emphasises the prevalent social variance in the main coastal towns (Collins 2012: 76). More specifically, Collins (ibid.) explains that while the Australian States New South Wales and Tasmania were convict colonies, Victoria, South and Western Australia were not. Considering this aspect, it cannot be taken for granted that consistent linguistic characteristics evolved in different places around Australia (Collins ibid.).

Horvath (1985: 37), who outlines the social context of Australia, comes to the conclusion that owing to "an extremely polarized society", the existence of "highly polarized social dialects" can be expected. Hence, it does not seem sufficient to describe a proto-Broad variety in the way Bernard (1969, 1981) did, but a Proto-Cultivated variety needs to be taken into consideration as well (Horvath 1985: 27). Horvath (ibid.) highly doubts that the English variety spoken by the upper class did not undergo any change and remained Received

Pronunciation. This seems highly probable when considering the diverse dialect range within the group and how far away England was. However, Bernard (*ibid.*) believes that it is especially this “distance and dialectal variety” that caused the existence of Broad Australian (Horvath 1985: 37). Therefore, Horvath’s (*ibid.*) opinion is that a variation in dialects between migrants and people born in Australia and also between various social classes within the native Australians has always existed. According to Horvath (*ibid.*), this assumption is confirmed by the fact that variance in Australian English has existed since the 1880s. In particular, McBurney (1887) has presented vowel differences within Australia which seem to be similar to today’s language variation (Horvath *ibid.*).

Furthermore, Horvath (1985) puts forward a theory building on the concept of “extensive population mobility”, which is underpinned by historical files (Collins 2012: 76). In her study, Horvath (1985: 38), raises the question of how the variety spoken in New South Wales was distributed to other places. Ward (1958: 96) as well as Connell and Irving (1980: 58) answer this question by stressing the labourer’s high mobility and the fact that they were repeatedly moving from the bush to Sydney and vice versa. Thus, it seems reasonable to Horvath (*ibid.*) that this movement, which especially occurred in Victoria and Western Australia as a result of the gold rush, caused the spread of Australian English across the country and, further, explains why the varieties are so similar to each other. Consequently, Bernard’s opinion (1969, 1981) that Australian English evolved independently at different places is questioned and criticised. Collins (*ibid.*) confirms Horvath’s rejection of Bernard’s theory (*ibid.*) by mentioning that the language variation caused by the social environment was significant between the different national centres.



### 3. Characteristics of Australian English

#### 3.1. Definition of Australian English

“It [Australian English] is commonly defined as the dialect spoken by (non-Aboriginal) native-born Australians. It is the dominant form of English in Australia, and in one or more of its subvarieties provides the standard for linguistic communication” (Blair 1989: 172).

Collins (2012: 75) writes that *Australian English*, commonly abbreviated as AusE, is “the dialect spoken by native-born non-Aboriginal Australians”, whereas Cox and Palethorpe (2007: 341) define it as “a regional dialect of English which shares its phonemic inventory with Southern British English through the historical connection with the dialects of the British Isles (in particular London) in the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries”. Collins (1989: 10) adds that the language used by speakers who came to Australia at an early age or in their infancy is considered Australian English too. Macquarie University (2009) also defines *Standard Australian English* as a variety of English “spoken by the majority of Australians. It is used by people who are born and raised in this country and also by those who immigrate during childhood”. Cox (2006: 3) mentions that referring to “non-Aboriginal” aims at the differentiation between Standard Australian English and Aboriginal English despite the fact that a high number of Aboriginal people use the standard form as well. The term *Australian English* differs from the phrase *English in Australia*, which includes Australian English as well as all varieties spoken by non-English migrants and Aboriginal communities (Collins 2012: 75).

Furthermore, according to Cox (ibid.), the following three groups within Australian native-speakers can be depicted: “Standard AusE, varieties of Aboriginal English and various ethnocultural AusE dialects”, which are discussed in the following chapters. Finally, Cox (ibid.) puts forward that Australian English plays a crucial role in the national identity of Australians and is also part of the “well-known World Englishes [...] having its own internal norms and standards”. While all dialects of Australian English reflect the speakers’ identities, they also give away the cultural relationship of its speaker (Cox ibid.). Cox (2006: 3-4) puts forward that the term *Australian English* might even become a “superordinate term embracing these various dialectal types rather than excluding minority forms”.

## 3.2. English in Australia

### 3.2.1. *Standard Australian English*

Leitner (2004: 263) states that defining standard languages is a common phenomenon in the study of languages and proposes that “[s]tandard varieties are not ‘natural’ like rural or other dialects are said to be” and rather develop in relation to what is appropriate from a socio-political point of view. Hence, dictionaries, grammar books and grammar guides provide a characterisation of a language variety and also assist in deciding as to what is considered standard and what is not (Leitner *ibid.*). A further aspect of standard languages is that they are “widely intelligible”, which means that they are understood throughout a nation and, additionally, are used “as a focal point” for those who speak a different variety of the same language. Thus, standard languages are not only required in both public as well as private interactions, but also serve a crucial purpose in public discourses (Leitner *ibid.*). Further, Leitner (*ibid.*) refers to Haugen (1966), who has put forward that “[e]very self-respecting nation has to have a language”, which indicates that standard languages have a symbolic rather than a communicative purpose. It appears that although standard languages in general can be labelled as quite homogeneous and refer to the history of a country as well as its use of literature, they do not represent one unique language style (Leitner *ibid.*).

Haugen (1966: 919) is one of the major linguists who focuses on explaining the process of language standardisation. First of all, he makes it clear that a required characteristic of a standard language is that it is written down (Haugen *ibid.*). Secondly, he points out that four aspects, namely “(1) selection of norm, (2) codification of form, (3) elaboration of function, and (4) acceptance by the community”, are of significance when a language develops from a vernacular dialect to a standard language (Haugen 1966: 933). While the first two concepts focus on the form, the latter ones refer to the functional aspects of a language (Haugen *ibid.*). Furthermore, codifying the form as well as elaborating the language’s function is a process that is bound to rely on the speakers, whereas selecting the norm, which is then accepted by the speakers, is related to the language itself (Haugen *ibid.*). This principle allows a discussion of language and dialect problems that occur within a nation. Based on Haugen’s theory, Leitner (2004: 264) adds a fifth process, namely the acquisition of the language.

Concerning a standard language in Australian English, Cox and Palethorpe (2007: 341) point out that Standard Australian English, abbreviated as SAusE, is considered a sub-category of Australian English and is the dialect which is most spoken around Australia. Moreover, compared to Aboriginal English and ethnocultural dialects in Australian English, Standard Australian English is the most frequently used dialect in public circumstances as well as in broadcasting (Cox & Palethorpe *ibid.*). As will be shown below, Mitchell and Delbridge (1965) defined a language continuum within Australian English and Cox and Palethorpe (*ibid.*) make it clear that a range of broadness even occurs within Standard Australian English, namely on a continuum from Broad Australian to Cultivated Australian English. However, recent studies have also shown that it is common that young people make use of the language “from the central of General part of the broadness continuum” rather than using the extreme varieties of Broad or Cultivated Australian English (Cox & Palethorpe *ibid.*).

### ***3.2.2. Indigenous varieties and ethnolects in Australia***

#### **i. Aboriginal English**

According to Malcolm (2001: 201), the term *Aboriginal English* refers to “a range of varieties of English spoken widely, and sometimes written, by Indigenous Australians, which have developed independently of, but alongside Australian English [...] since 1788”. Aboriginal English is, therefore, a variety of English as well as an Aboriginal language (Malcolm *ibid.*). Since Aboriginal English developed as a result of the colonisation of Australia, a comparison to “New Englishes”, such as varieties of English spoken in Asia, Africa as well as the Pacific territories, can be drawn (Malcolm 2001: 201-202). Hence, Siegel (1997: 119) proposes the phrase *indigenised varieties of English*, which means that an initially “foreign language” changes linguistically according to the “local languages” in order to accommodate to the existent culture in a country (Malcolm 2001: 202).

Linguists who discuss the development of Aboriginal English have come to the conclusion that the “pidginisation and creolisation of English”, which took place shortly after the colonisation, can be assumed as a preceding factor in the emergence of Aboriginal English (Malcolm 2001: 210). Thus, it is crucial to consider that the contact between Aboriginal people of Australia and people from overseas who colonised Australia is likely to have played a significant role in the language development of Aboriginal English (Malcolm 2001: 211). Owing to this, indigenous people came into contact with different “social and regional

varieties” of English as well as with the so-called “foreigner talk”, which appears when English speakers talk to people with a different mother-tongue (Malcolm *ibid.*). According to Malcolm (2001: 210), it has been put forward that the *NSW Jargon*, which can be described as a “highly unstable variety, incorporating many transfers from Aboriginal language”, emerged after the colonisation of Australia owing to the language contact between the British settlers and the native Aboriginal tribes. Interestingly, this NSW Jargon was then used by Aboriginal people for the purposes of communication as well as for understanding the foreign cultural aspects, which led to the fact that Pidgin English was “stabilised” by the Aboriginal people rather than by the colonisers (Malcolm 2001: 210-211). Furthermore, this language variety, which developed in the first five decades after the country’s colonisation, led to linguistic changes and, consequently, highly affected the Aboriginal languages (Malcolm 2001: 212). Owing to the fact that the NSW Pidgin English was used as a way of communicating about the colonisers when travelling on the wide spread trade routes in Australia, the language variety was distributed to various parts of Australia (Malcolm 2001: 212-213). Hence, the Pidgin English that was eventually spoken in Queensland consisted of language features from Sydney and doubtlessly evolved from the NSW Pidgin variety (Malcolm 2001: 213). Considering this process, it seems likely that the emergence of Aboriginal English was highly influenced by the spreading of the NSW Pidgin English throughout the country (Malcolm *ibid.*).

As described by Malcolm (2001: 215), Aboriginal English “is a living and changing linguistic system with sensitivity to the many stylistic, situational and regional demands made upon it by its diverse, yet unified, speech community”. Further, the phonology of Aboriginal English, which mostly affects “sibilant, interdental and labiodental consonants” makes it distinguishable from other English varieties such as Australian English (Malcolm *ibid.*). One significant characteristic of Aboriginal English is the elision of consonants, which means that phrases like *we went* and *I was* become *we ‘ent* and *I’s* (Malcolm *ibid.*). Moreover, some differences concerning the pronunciation of vowels can be observed. In more detail, unstressed vowels at the beginning of words, such as /ə/ in *along*, tend not to be pronounced in Aboriginal English (Malcolm *ibid.*). In general, it can be assumed that both the phonological as well as the grammatical system allow more variance in Aboriginal than in Australian English (Malcolm *ibid.*) While the lexicon of Aboriginal English involves words stemming from English, some of their meanings have often undergone change, which was significant in the emergence of Aboriginal English (Malcolm 2001: 216). However, research

by linguists such as Dixon et al. (1990) and Moore (2001) has also shown that Aboriginal languages have had an influence on today's Australian English, especially on its lexis, which is discussed in chapter 3.3.3. of this thesis.

## ii. Torres Strait English

The Torres Strait comprises “[t]he reef-strewn passage [...] between Cape York at the northeast tip of mainland Australia and the southwest coast of Papua New Guinea” and consists of more than “100 islands, islets, coral reefs and cays” (Lawrence & Lawrence 2004: 15). Shnukal (2001: 181) notices that, compared to Aboriginal English, Torres Strait English has not been the focus of linguists who investigated the language of indigenous Australians. This might correlate with the fact that the Torres Strait Islander population only represents 0.2% of the entire population of Australia. However, Lawrence and Lawrence (2004: 18) explain that according to several 19<sup>th</sup> century studies, the Torres Strait could be seen as a “linguistic barrier between Papua New Guinea and Australia”. As Lawrence and Lawrence (ibid.) point out, from a linguistic point of view, the Torres Strait should rather be regarded as “a linguistic bridge, rather than a barrier, for linguistic influences crossed in both directions”. Owing to the geographical separation between the east and the west, there were initially “two unrelated languages”, namely Kala Lagaw Ya, used in the west and centre of the Torres Strait and Meriam Mir, spoken on the eastern islands (Shnukal ibid.). At the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Yumpla Tok, also known as Torres Strait Creole, which is a local creole of Pacific Pidgin English, emerged on the Torres Strait islands (Shnukal ibid.).

Nowadays, Torres Strait Islanders speak various languages depending on the location and the purpose of communication (Lawrence & Lawrence 2004: 19). For example, while Kala Lagaw Ya is still the main language on the western islands, Meriam Mir is spoken by elder inhabitants of eastern islands. Moreover, Torres Strait Kriol, which emerged from Pidgin varieties, is a crucial language used as a lingua franca these days (Lawrence & Lawrence ibid.). Shnukal (2001: 182) describes that while young Torres Strait people know both the creole and English, older men on the islands are commonly speaking the traditional island language in addition to the creole and English. Shnukal (ibid.) demonstrates that the various languages have distinct functions. While indigenous languages are used for traditional purposes, the creole represents a lingua franca for the Torres Strait people, and English is mainly used for written discourse for administrative purposes as well as “mass media, religion, the courts and education”. The exposure of a broad variety of Englishes, such as

standard and non-standard Australian English, Aboriginal English, American and British English as well as various traditional languages, leads to a “rich language mix” and awareness of the different English varieties within Torres Strait Islanders (Shnukal *ibid.*).

### iii. Ethnolects of Australian English

According to Clyne et al. (2001: 223), an *ethnolect* refers to a “variation and change in Australian English [...] on those varieties that mark the ethnicity of second and later generation Australians”. A census of 1966 has shown that 14.6% of Australians speak a non-English language at home and a significant amount makes use of a different language at “the homes of their parents and other relatives, religious institutions or community groups” (Clyne et al. 2001: 224). Considering that Greek is spoken by 120,470 people in Melbourne, it should be noted that ethnolects also have an expressive function when it comes to the speaker’s identity (Clyne et al. 2001: 224-226). Hence, a study undertaken at Monash University in Australia has shown that, for instance, speakers of the Greek ethnolect commonly switch between “ethnolectal AusE and Greek” depending on the content and their conversational partners (Clyne et al. 2001: 229). Therefore, Clyne et al. (2001: 226) conclude that “mainstream AusE, the ethnolect, and Greek each make a contribution in the expression of this informant’s multiple identity”.

Concerning the influence of ethnolects on the main Australian English varieties, it can be assumed that a variety of new lexical items is provided (Clyne et al. 2001: 235). Particularly, when it comes to food and drinks, many vocabulary items have been borrowed and incorporated into Australian English. For example, some of the words used in Australian English which stem from ethnolects are *cappuccino*, *goulash*, *schnitzel*, *humus*, *pita*, *liver sausage* and *apple strudel* (Clyne et al. *ibid.*).

### 3.3. Linguistic characteristics of Standard Australian English

As pointed out by Blair (1989: 174), “[t]here are obviously substantial differences between the AusE of 200 years ago and the dialect that Australians now speak as their native language”. A study conducted by Cox and Palethorpe (2001: 25) has also confirmed that a significant amount of changes particularly within the vowel system took place between the 1960s and 1990s. While at the time of colonisation a variety of British accents was spoken, Australian English gradually developed into a distinct variety of English throughout the years

with some outstanding characteristics (Blair *ibid.*). Thus, it can be stated that the initial linguistic heterogeneity developed into a homogeneity of the language spoken in Australia, although variation can also be pointed out to some degree (Blair 1989: 174-175). Australian English is characterised as a “stable dialect” and can, hence, fulfil its purpose of a “regional standard” (Blair 1989: 175). Mitchell and Delbridge (1965: 33) mention that the characteristics of Australian English can be depicted by looking at its phonetics and phonology. In order to get a more comprehensive understanding of the features which allows a clear distinction between Australian English and Received Pronunciation, the following subchapters discuss the phonetics, stress, intonation, lexis and syntax of Australian English.

### 3.3.1. *Phonetics*

Although Australian English is found to be very similar to Received Pronunciation when it comes to phonology, the phonetic features between the two varieties differ greatly from each other (Wells 1982: 595). Various researchers in this field such as Mitchell and Delbridge (1965), Leitner (2004), Turner (1966) and Cox and Palethorpe (2001) have discussed the differences between Australian English and other varieties of English. Cox and Palethorpe (2001: 17), for instance, make clear that the vowel quality is of particular interest in the study of Australian phonetics, as it allows a differentiation to other varieties of English. Even though striking differences can also be found in consonants and suprasegments, research has focused mostly on vowels (Cox and Palethorpe *ibid.*).

#### i. Vowels

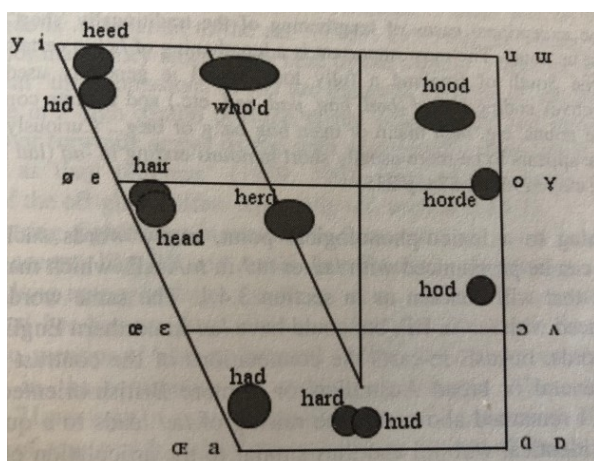


Figure 1 Vowels in AusE and RP

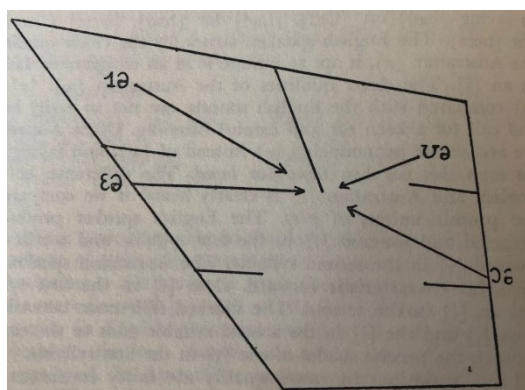
Figure 1 shows a diagram representing “the vowel differences of mAusE [modern Australian English] from RP” (Leitner 2004: 109). It can be said that short vowels are produced at a higher position in Australian English than in RP (Leitner *ibid.*). This vowel chart is based on Mitchell and Delbridge’s findings (1965: 34), who compared the vowels of General, Broad and Cultivated Australian English with Received Pronunciation and pointed

out that a consistent vowel variation can be observed. In more detail, the vowels [ɪ] as in *bitter*, [ɛ] as in *better*, [æ] as in *batter*, [ɜ] as in *bird* and [ə] as in *letter* can be described as “noticeably closer” in Australian English compared to Received Pronunciation. Moreover, the Australian vowel [ɪ] is pronounced in a more forward way than in the English variety, according to Mitchell and Delbridge (1965: 34-45).

To give further examples, Mitchell and Delbridge (1965: 35) mention that both the [ɔ] as well as the [ʊ] vowel are closer in Australian than in British English. Moreover, they compare the vowels [a], [ɑ] and [ʌ] and observe that while the British English [ʌ] is close to the cardinal [ɑ], the Australian [a] is closer to the cardinal [a]. It can be observed that [a] in Australian speech is striking, as it produces “front resonance” (Mitchell & Delbridge 1965: 37). Similarly, [ə] and [ɜ] are closer in Australian than in British English, since [ə] can be described as “above the half-open position on the central vowel line” in English and “at least half-way between half-open and half-close” in Australian English (Mitchell & Delbridge *ibid.*). Owing to these vowel quality differences, Mitchell and Delbridge (1965: 36) put forward a reclassification of Australian vowels compared to the English ones, as Table 1 shows:

**Table 1 Classification of AusE and RP vowels**

Vowel Type	AusE	RP
<b>Front</b>	[ɪ], [ɪ], [ɛ], [æ], [a], [ʌ]	[ɪ], [ɪ], [ɛ], [æ]
<b>Central</b>	[ɜ], [ə]	[ɜ], [ə]
<b>Back</b>	[ʊ], [ɔ], [ʊ], [u]	[ʌ], [a], [ʊ], [ɔ], [ʊ], [u]



**Figure 2 Diphthongs in AusE**

When it comes to diphthongs in Australian English, Mitchell and Delbridge (1965: 38) point out that owing to the closer position of [ɪ], [ɛ] and [ɔ], it seems logical that the same vowels are also closer in the diphthongs (e.g. [ɪə] as in *here*, [εə] as in *air*, [ɔə] as in *four*). In addition, as described above, the [ə] is closer in Australian English,



which results in a closer pronunciation of the diphthongs as a whole (Mitchell & Delbridge *ibid.*). Figure 2 represents the positions of the above-mentioned diphthongs as well as of [ʊə] as in *tour* (Mitchell & Delbridge 1965: 38-39). Owing to a slight glide of the diphthongs in the pronunciation of Australians, it frequently happens that [ə] is almost disappearing entirely causing a vowel lengthening similar to [ɪ:], [ɛ:] and [ɔ:] (Mitchell & Delbridge 1965: 39).

Moreover, it seems noteworthy to consider that this phenomenon is most commonly found within the speech of Cultivated Australian speakers “in stressed syllables, especially when these occur at the very end of an utterance, or before a pause” (Mitchell & Delbridge *ibid.*). Leitner (2004: 111) also confirms that centring diphthongs occur frequently in Cultivated Australian and in words such as *bear* and *hear* are often pronounced as “long monophthongs, [...], and, as a result, words like *beer* and *bee* become homophones”. Additionally, Leitner (*ibid.*) points out that the diphthong [ʊə] in *poor*, for instance, is pronounced as [pɔə] or [pɔ:] in the majority of English accents and that speakers of modern Australian English do not pronounce it as [ʊə] either.

Interestingly, it is noted by Mitchell and Delbridge (1965: 40-41) that the diphthongs [eɪ], [oʊ], [aɪ] and [aʊ] in Cultivated Australian English are highly similar to the ones in “Educated Southern English”, although a slightly closer position can still be observed. However, concerning General Australian English, it can be noticed that in [eɪ] as in *say*, the starting vowel is closer to [ʌ], which results in [ʌɪ] as in ['saɪm] for *same*, for instance (Mitchell & Delbridge 1965: 41). The same applies to [oʊ], which can be represented as [ʌʊ] in General Australian English as in ['rʌʊp] for *rope* (Mitchell & Delbridge *ibid.*). Mitchell and Delbridge (1965: 41-42) continue by describing that [aʊ] becomes [æʊ] as in ['pæʊə] for *power* and [aɪ] becomes [ɒɪ] as in [gɒɪd] for *guide* in General Australian English. Therefore, it is emphasised that vowels do not only differ between Australian English and other varieties of English, but also in terms of the accents of Australian English, namely Broad, Cultivated and General Australian English.

## ii. Consonants

Horvath (1985: 15-16) points out that consonantal variation within Australia was not the focus of studies investigating phonetic differences in earlier times, as it was assumed that the consonants of Australian English correspond to the ones of Southern English. However, as Leitner (2004: 112) notes, some aspects are noteworthy, as they also contribute towards the

shaping of Australian English. Specifically, Tollfree (2001: 45) has discussed the reduction, also known as leniting, of the consonant /t/ in general as well as in Australian English in particular. Her study has shown that “voiced taps (flaps) [ɾ], fricatives [tʰ], and glottalised variations [...] [ʔ],[ʔt] and [t̚] define consonantal characteristics of Australian English (Tollfree 2001: 47). Moreover, while fricatives of /t/ could only be found to a small extent, tapped and glottalised realisations of /t/ are frequently used in Australian English (Tollfree 2001: 63).

Furthermore, results have shown that [ɾ] is used “in intervocalic final contexts e.g. *lot of*, *get up*, and medial contexts, e.g. *bitter*, *mutter*” (Tollfree 2001: 57). Moreover, she found lexical items which include [ɾ] categorically, as in *attitude*, *beauty*, *beautiful*, *theoretical*, *automatic*, *data*, *city*. Another finding of the study is that the fricative sound [tʰ] could most commonly be noticed in the speech of older participants as well as in specific environments, such as in front of a pause in slow speech (Tollfree 2001: 58). Furthermore, according to the study’s results, glottalised forms appeared most frequently in pre-consonantal environments as well as “in medial contexts with no internal morpheme boundary” as in *cutlass*, for instance (Tollfree 2001: 58-59). While glottalisation seems to appear in “intervocalic final contexts” as in *lot of* and *get out*, it is not used in “intervocalic medial contexts” as in *bitter*, which emphasises the influence that the position has on the realisation of /t/ (Tollfree *ibid.*).

A study conducted by Borowsky (2001: 69) has provided some insights into the vocalisation of the dark /l/ in Australian English. Borowsky’s (2001: 81) analysis has shown that the environment in which /l/ occurs influences the vocalisation of the sound to a high degree. Hence, a consonant following the /l/ proved to be the most frequent cause of vocalisation of a coda /l/, whereas a vowel following the /l/ blocks the vocalisation of a coda /l/ (Borowsky *ibid.*). Moreover, when it comes to the effect that adjacent vowels have on the vocalisation of /l/, it could be observed that while the “frontness is a strong inhibitor of vocalisation”, “central and back vowels promote” the vocalisation of /l/ (Borowsky 2001: 83). Finally, Borowsky (2001: 84) points out that words such as *milk* and *real* and phrases like *real cool*, show an especially high degree of /l/ vocalisation, which further contributes to a characterisation of Australian English.

### 3.3.2. *Stress and intonation*

Mitchell and Delbridge (1965: 53) make clear that it is difficult to name a high number of differences between British and Australian English concerning their stress patterns. However, in Australia the stress is more commonly put on the first syllable in words such as *incline* (noun), [ˈɪnklɪn] and *relay* (noun), [ˈriːleɪ] (Mitchell & Delbridge 1965: 54). Moreover, the first syllable of the word *greengrocer* is stressed in British English, whereas the second one is stressed in Australian English. Furthermore, concerning sentence stress some variation can be pointed out, as the number of stressed syllables occurring in a sentence is likely to be higher in Australian than in British English (Mitchell & Delbridge *ibid.*). This is exemplified by the sentence “Half a pound of butter”, which has a stress on the first and last word in British English and a stress on the first, third and last word in Australian English (Mitchell & Delbridge *ibid.*). When observing the stress patterns of the Cultivated, General and Broad Australian accents, it is striking that Broad Australian English sometimes uses “a slow, rather featureless rhythm” (Mitchell & Delbridge *ibid.*). Furthermore, Turner (1966: 144) explains that vital characteristics of Australian English and especially of Broad Australian English are a slow rhythm and flat tones, which additionally assist in distinguishing it from other English varieties.

When it comes to intonation, Mitchell and Delbridge (1965: 56) notice that a small amount of noteworthy differences can be detected between Educated Southern English and Australian English. Mitchell and Delbridge (1965: 57) describe that the voice in utterances in Australian English does not fall or rise as extensively as it does in Southern English, which underpins a smaller range of pitch variation. Horvath (1985: 17) explains that the High Rising Tone (HRT), also known as Australian Questioning Intonation (AQI) is one feature concerning intonation, which distinguishes Australian English from other varieties. As Mitchell and Delbridge (1965: 56-57) explain, questions usually start with a high tone, then “[t]he voice falls through the unstressed syllables or remains level and then rises from a low tone on the last stressed syllable” in British English varieties, whereas in Australian English “the voice begins low and rises on the last stressed syllable”. An example of this phenomenon can be seen in the question tag *don't you*, which “begins high on *don't* and then rises from a low pitch on *you*” in Standard English, whereas “the voice begins low on *don't* and rises through the word *you* in Australian English” (Mitchell & Delbridge 1965: 57). Guy and Vowles (1989: 34) have also analysed this phenomenon in the AQI and have provided some social distributions which affect this feature, as discussed later in this thesis.

### 3.3.3. *Lexis*

Leitner (2004: 118) introduces the concept of *Australianisms*, which refers “to typical expressions of a variety, with *typicality* meaning that they occur there uniquely, were used there before they were used elsewhere or are used with different (shades of) meanings”. As an example, Leitner (2004: 119) mentions the word *galah*, which refers to a cockatoo, a native Australian bird. Moreover, Australianisms can be noticed within non-standard as well as standard speech and in different speaking styles (Leitner *ibid.*). Butler (2001: 151) also explains that Australians recognise other Australians by the language, particular words they use as well as by the history they share. Owing to the colonisation history, words from different periods like “the convict period” (e.g. *canary*, meaning “convict”) and the gold rush period (e.g. *fossick*, meaning “search through other things for an item wanted”) can be found within modern Australian English (Butler *ibid.*). Furthermore, words from both World War I (e.g. *furphy*, meaning “a rumour, usually unfounded”) as well as from the Depression (e.g. *battler*, meaning “a person who struggles to make ends meet and to live decently against the odds”) are still used nowadays (Butler 2001: 151-152).

Furthermore, words which are borrowed from Aboriginal languages (e.g. *billabong*, meaning “a water hole”) have become part of modern Australian English (Butler 2001: 151). Dixon et al. (1990: 1) explain that when people get in touch with foreigners who speak a different language and introduce them to “new animals, plants, tools, and so on”, it is common that terms for these new objects are borrowed from the foreigner’s speech. When Captain Cook came back after discovering Australia, he used the word *kangaroo*, which is an Aboriginal word for the marsupial which was new to him and endemic to Australia (Dixon et al. *ibid.*). Moreover, it is known that people arriving with the First Fleet in the 18<sup>th</sup> century quickly acquired words from the local Aboriginal language such as *dingo*, *wombat*, *waratah* and *boomerang* (Dixon et al. *ibid.*).

In the process of borrowing, it is also possible that shortening occurs, as was the case with the word *yabij*, which means “freshwater crayfish” in a local language spoken in Victoria and which was adopted to *yabby* in Australian English (Dixon et al. 1990: 19). Moreover, the meaning might change with the borrowed word, since the word *purun* originally meant “fighting ground” and is nowadays used in Queensland as *prun*, meaning “fighting corroboree” (Dixon et al. *ibid.*). It is also interesting to consider that most of the words used

in modern Australian English are borrowed from the local languages which were spoken in “Sydney, Perth, Melbourne, Adelaide, and Brisbane”, although the majority of the Aboriginal languages spoken there are no longer used today (Dixon et al. 1990: 23). Dixon et al. (1990: 60) explain that Aboriginal words were borrowed in a variety of categories, such as fauna, flora, religion as well as people. Moore (2001: 141) also confirms that the words used for plants and animals these days originate from the indigenous languages. To illustrate, the word *bilby* comes from the language Yuwaalaraay, which was used in the north of New South Wales and names a “rabbit-eared [...] marsupial of woodlands and plains of drier parts of mainland Australia” (Dixon et al. 1990: 63). A further example is the word *corella*, which originates from the language Wiradhuri, which was spoken in the south-west of New South Wales, and describes a white cockatoo (Dixon et al. 1990: 89).

With regard to the Aboriginal influence, Butler (2001: 154) also points out that American English is affecting Australian English to a considerable degree, as words like *schmooze*, *high five* and *wannabe* are borrowed from American English. Unexpectedly, the word *bush*, which is of high significance in Australia, is borrowed from the American English and originated in the Dutch language (Butler *ibid.*). Further, Mitchell and Delbridge (1965: 31) report that American English has already influenced Australian English in earlier times and does not only concern terms used in slang language. This exposure of American words leads to the phenomenon of incorporating some new lexical items into the Australian language like *beach volleyball* and *caffè latte*, while other words like *advanced television* have not been added to the Macquarie Dictionary yet, emphasising a selectiveness to the words which are added to the Australian dictionaries (Butler 2001: 156-157).

Additionally, Leitner (2004: 120-121) points out that words which end in *-ie*, *-y* and *-o* are common in a number of English varieties, but seem to be particularly dominant in Australian English and are considered slang words, which are “informal and express familiarity”. Similarly, Simpson (2001: 89) notices that while these shortened forms, which are known as hypocoristic forms, are common in English in general, the shortened forms for place names are particularly frequent in Australian English. Owing to the fact that hypocoristics are a specific characteristic of Australian English, chapter 3 includes an extensive analysis of this category.

### 3.3.4. Syntax

Newbrook (2001: 115) states that “the syntactic distinctiveness of standard AusE is hardly obvious”. Moreover, some features which appear to be characteristic for Australian speech, only occur infrequently in specific situations, which, as a result, decreases their prominence (Newbrook *ibid.*). Newbrook (2001: 116) mentions some examples to illustrate the most important syntactic features of Australian English:

- While *didn't use(d) to* is more frequent in other English varieties, the negation *usedn't to*, meaning the negation of *used to*, is more commonly used in Australia (Newbrook *ibid.*).
- In Australian English as well as British English the preposition *from* is following the adjective *different* to compare objects with each other, whereas in American English *than* is most commonly used (Newbrook 2001: 117-118).
- The “singular and plural concord with the names of sport teams” is allowed in Australian speech. Hence, while it is only common to say “North Melbourne are playing well” in England, in Australia it is also frequently said that “North Melbourne is playing well”, which emphasises that both singular and plural are used (Newbrook 2001: 119-120).
- The item *same* can be used as a possessive pronoun as in “Can I keep my same phone number?”. However, this syntactic feature is described as “unfamiliar to most non-Australians” (Newbrook 2001: 120-121).
- When it comes to conditional sentences, “backshifting” is a common phenomenon appearing in Australian speech, since a study has shown that Australians prefer “Kim said she has a bad cold” to “Kim said she had a bad cold”, although the sentence should imply that the subject does not have a cold at the time the sentence is uttered (Newbrook 2001: 121). However, Leitner (2004: 140-141) mentions that it is crucial to consider that the situation is being assessed by the speaker and that “mAusE tends to abolish an ambiguity since backshifting may signal the (non-) persistence of some state of affairs or, alternatively, the fact that the speaker accepts the force of the reported statement as his own”.
- Even though prescriptive grammar suggests that commas are used with restrictive relative clauses, it seems common in Australia that sentences like “Joanne and Marie who had finished left the hall” do not include commas (Newbrook 2001: 125).

According to Shnukal (1989: 70), it is a well-known fact that an object relative pronoun can be left out in utterances, however, the “pronoun when it is the subject of the relative clause” cannot be deleted. This would mean that the sentence “The team (that/which) Peter barracks for lost the game” is considered grammatically correct, while “I had a sister married an Italian” is considered ungrammatical (Shnukal *ibid.*). When studying this grammatical norm in Australian English, it was noticed that the subject relative pronoun was left out by a considerable amount of participants (Shnukal *ibid.*). Moreover, it was discovered that this seems to appear more often in working class speakers compared to middle class speakers, which emphasises the influence of social status on this particular form of variation (Shnukal 1989: 71).

Taking these aspects into consideration, Leitner (2004: 141) arrives at the conclusion that the grammatical norms of Australian English are without doubt close to the ones of British English. However, as Newbrook (2001: 130) puts it, some small differences like the ones mentioned above, support the fact that Australian English is distinct in its syntax. Although it is not entirely clear yet how these stylistic differences are distributed socially and regionally and how Australians perceive those forms, they still contribute to the Standard Australian form of English and are, hence, a crucial aspect to take into consideration in linguistics (Newbrook *ibid.*).

### **3.4. Variation within Australian English**

#### **3.4.1. *Regional variation***

Cox and Palethorpe (2001: 18) point out that there is hardly any empirical proof for regional variety in Australian English. This is also emphasised by Blair (1993: 68), who doubts the existence of another big country which has “as little regional variation as the Australian mainland”. Similarly, Leitner (2004: 249) states that dialects spoken in New York and Texas or San Francisco and Boston can easily be distinguished from each other, while it seems difficult to imagine that a big country like Australia does not have any dialects. The non-existence of regional dialects seems understandable only when Australia’s colonisation is considered, as the colonisers entered the country from a small number of ports, such as Sydney, Hobart and Perth and only then spread throughout the continent (Leitner *ibid.*). Hence, an assimilation process concerning the language was “enforced, or at least, encouraged”, according to Leitner (*ibid.*). The linguists Mitchell and Delbridge (1965: 11)

also state that the uniformity which can be found in Australia's language is extraordinary, as almost the "same mingling" can be found within all of Australia.

Although Mitchell and Delbridge (ibid.) clearly put forward that according to their research, local variation cannot be depicted within Australia, it is also mentioned that other linguists propose the opposite. Mitchell and Delbridge (ibid.) refute these theories though, owing to the fact that this variance is not "systematic" and often correlates with voice quality. Indeed, Mitchell and Delbridge (1965: 12) question the existence of regional variation in more detail by listening to voice recordings "of more than nine thousand secondary school students in the final year of their schooling" from various places throughout Australia. After analysing factors such as "sounds used, speech rate, nasality, assimilation, and other phonetic features", Mitchell and Delbridge (1965: 13) arrive at the conclusion that the speakers' places of origin cannot be determined by their speech and it is therefore argued that "[s]peech differences are not distributed regionally, but rather in terms of social and personal features", as will be seen in chapter 3.4.2.

Building on Mitchell and Delbridge's (1965) findings, Leitner (2004: 251) challenges their point of view by stating that although grammatical and stylistic characteristics within Australian English do not seem to vary regarding the region, phonetic and lexical features which show regional variation can still be observed. Bradley (2008: 111) makes it clear that variation in accents is mostly realised through the pronunciation of vowels, despite the fact some varying phonetic features of consonants can also be found. Moreover, Australians tend to have less awareness of their language's regional variance compared to the social differences that occur (Bradley ibid.). To gain more detailed insights into regional variation within Australian English, some characteristics of vowels as well as consonants are discussed below.

i. Regional variation within vowel pronunciation

- According to Bradley (ibid.), the variation between the vowels [æ] and [a:] is one of the most significant ones in Australian English. This variation involves the "BATH lexical set", which consists of the "TRAP lexical set" with the vowel [æ], known as "short-BATH" dialect, and the "PALM lexical set", which makes use of the [a:] and is called "broad-BATH" dialect (Horvath & Horvath 2001b: 341). As an example, it is investigated whether words like *dance* are pronounced with a short/flat A as in



[dæns] or with a long A as in [dans] (Horvath & Horvath *ibid.*). When it comes to Australian English, Wells suggests that Australian speakers make use of the TRAP vowel if a nasal sound is preceding a consonant as in /ns/, /nt/, /ntʃ/, /nd/ and /mpl/, whereas the broad A sound is used in all BATH words, which are words with a short A in General American English and broad A in Received Pronunciation (Wells 1982: 135, 233).

- The regional differences appearing in Australia these days, are also a reflection of the settlement history and, hence, enable the tracing of the “chronology of this change within southeastern British English” (Bradley 2008: 112). As a result of the settlement process, places such as Sydney, Hobart and Brisbane, which were “settled by the early nineteenth century, and primarily by people of lower socio-economic status”, make more use of the PALM vowel, whereas Melbourne, which was colonised in the mid-nineteenth century and has a more diverse group of people, shows a higher occurrence of the TRAP vowel (Bradley *ibid.*). Additionally, Adelaide, which was settled at an even later stage in the nineteenth century by middle- and higher-status people, shows the highest usage of the PALM vowel and, further “shows a more advanced stage of the shift before nasal + obstruent than elsewhere in Australia” (Bradley *ibid.*).

To illustrate, while in Adelaide only six per cent of the middle class use [æ], 45 per cent of the same class speakers in Brisbane use the vowel [æ] in their speech, which confirms that [a:] implies a higher socio-economic status and a more formal style (Bradley 2008: 112-113). One further interesting phenomenon occurs with the words *tomato* and *potato*. While *tomato* is either pronounced with the FACE or the PALM vowel, *potato* is only produced with the FACE vowel in Australian English (Bradley 2008: 114). However, the vowel realisation for words like e.g. *basic* seems to alternate between the FACE vowel, which is most commonly used throughout the country, and the TRAP vowel, which can frequently be heard in the speech of Queenslanders (Bradley *ibid.*). A regional difference can also be depicted in lexical items such as *cicada*, which can have either of the three vowels and which are pronounced with the PALM vowel in Sydney and with the FACE vowel in Melbourne (Bradley *ibid.*).

**Table 2 Social factors influencing pronunciation of short A**

Place		No. of Speakers
	Adelaide	11
	Mount Gambier	47
	Hobart	28
	Melbourne	39
	Sydney	28
	Brisbane	32
Gender		
	Men	85
	Women	100
Social Class		
	Middle Class	84
	Working Class	101
Age		
	13-19	61
	20-39	61
	40-59	36
	60-80	27

**Table 3 Percentage of short A in given words x place**

Word	Brisbane	Melbourne	Sydney	Hobart	Mt Gambier	Adelaide
<b>dance</b>	100	95	93	89	89	73
<b>advance</b>	94	90	86	86	4	18
<b>plant</b>	97	92	82	82	4	0
<b>grasp</b>	0	3	30	15	2	9
<b>giraffe</b>	0	0	4	19	0	0
<b>mask</b>	3	0	0	0	0	0

Horvath and Horvath (2001b: 348-349) conducted a study in which 185 participants from different places in Australia representing different genders, social classes and age groups were interviewed concerning their pronunciation of the words *dance*, *advance*, *plant*, *giraffe*, *grasp* and *mask*. While the results displayed in Table 2 show that “gender and age play no significant role in the variability of the use of short A in these six words in AusE”, it can clearly be seen in Table 3 that the location of the

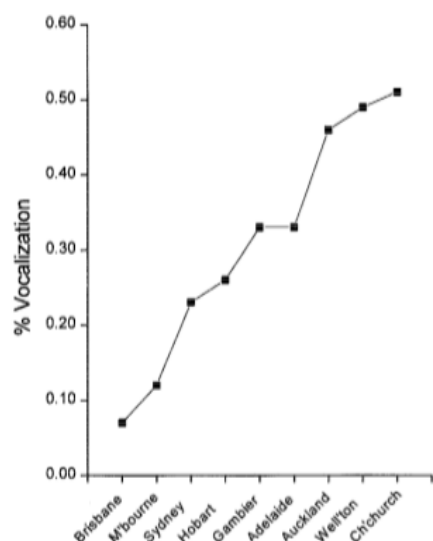
speaker and the word were influencing factors (Horvath & Horvath 2001b: 349-350). Moreover, whereas speakers in Brisbane tend to use the short A frequently, a lower occurrence of short A could be observed in Mount Gambier and Adelaide. However, the study has also shown that the word *dance* was used by 89 per cent in Mount Gambier and by 73 per cent of the participants in Adelaide, which suggests an ambiguity in pronunciation and does, consequently, not support their hypothesis.

- Especially in South Australia and Adelaide, a variation between the vowels /u/ as in *goose* and /oo/ as in *goat* can be noticed (Bradley 2008: 114). This “front-of-central rounded onset of the GOAT vowel” is particularly striking in women from the upper class, although it also appears in the speech of men and women from lower classes (Bradley *ibid.*). In Adelaide, the pronunciation of the GOOSE and GOAT vowels in front of a lateral is most noticeable, even though a comparable quality of the vowel can be found whether a lateral is present or not (Bradley *ibid.*). However, whereas in South Australia words like *school* and *goal* include a fully back vowel, words like *cool* or *go* are pronounced with central-to-front vowels in Adelaide and with central vowels in other parts of Australia (Bradley *ibid.*). Additionally to this difference within South Australia, a nation-wide comparison can be made concerning the offglide in /u/. While in South Australia “[i]t [the offglide in /u/] starts well front of central and remains there in South Australia”, it “starts slightly back of central and moves slightly further back in Victoria, and starts further back from central and moves slightly further front in Sydney and much further in Brisbane” (Bradley 2008: 115.). Together with the fact that consonants which precede /u/ and a lateral as in words like *cool* and *school* tend to be palatalised in Queensland, an existence of regional variation and tendencies can be assumed (Bradley *ibid.*).
- According to Bradley (2008: 115), vowels preceding laterals are undergoing some changes and a vocalisation of /l/ frequently occurs in various English varieties as well as in Australian English. However, in Australia, a regional variation can be observed, as vowels like [e] preceding /l/ often merge together with [æ] in Melbourne, but not in Brisbane, Sydney, Hobart and Perth (Bradley *ibid.*). Consequently, as Bradley (*ibid.*) points out, words like “*Ellen* and *Allen*, [...], *telly* and *tally* and so on become homophonous” (Bradley *ibid.*). A further vowel merger which occurs mainly in

Adelaide and Hobart, but also to some degree in Sydney and Brisbane, is the merging of “prelateral high tense vowels into the corresponding high lax vowel”, which means that the vowel [i:] as in *fleece* becomes [ɪ] as in *kit* and the vowels in *goose* and *cure* merge with the vowel in *foot*. As a result, homophones are created, since *deal* becomes *dill* and *fool* becomes *full* (Bradley 2008: 116.). Bradley (ibid.) emphasises this regional variation further, since it was shown that while eight per cent of the interviewees in Melbourne have merged /ɪl/ into /ɪl/, ten people have done so in Brisbane and 34 in Adelaide.

- Offglides present a further characteristic of regional variation within Australian English, as the “long monophthongal forms for NEAR and CURE vowels” are highly frequent in Sydney and do not appear often in other places of Australia (Bradley 2008: 116). However, since offglides are, according to Bradley (2008: 116-117), also a feature of social variation, they will be further discussed in the next chapter.
- Finally, when it comes to “front lax vowels”, it is without doubt that Sydney and Newcastle show a central position of [ɪ], whereas speakers from Melbourne pronounce it more raised and closer to [i] (Bradley 2008: 117-118). Furthermore, in Melbourne vowel raising has generally taken place to a higher extent than in other parts of Australia, which can be noticed in the DRESS and TRAP vowels (Bradley ibid.).

## ii. Regional variation within consonant pronunciation



**Figure 3** Vocalisation of /l/ in AUS and NZ

and with high frequency in South Australia (Bradley *ibid.*). According to a study by Horvath and Horvath (2001a: 40-42), it can be seen that New Zealand has the highest amount of vocalisation of /l/. While Australia's cities Adelaide and Mount Gambier are also vocalising this particular sound, Brisbane only shows a percentage of seven when it comes to the vocalisation of /l/. As can be seen in Figure 3, the vocalisation is least frequent in Brisbane and most frequent in Adelaide for Australia and, hence, it spreads from "incipient [...] to well-entrenched" (Horvath & Horvath 2001a: 41). Furthermore, Bradley (*ibid.*) summarises that the pronunciation of syllabic /l/ as in *pickle* also varies within Australia, as only three per cent can be noticed in Brisbane, whereas 28 per cent of the speakers in Adelaide and Mount Gambier vocalise the syllabic /l/.

When it comes to consonantal variation within Australian English, it can be observed that owing to a change in the pronunciation of the postvocalic /l/, the offglides are frequently pronounced "half-open nearly-back unrounded" in words like *fill*, *feel*, *feel* and *fuel* in South Australia, whereas this is not occurring as often in other parts of the country (Bradley 2008: 118). Moreover, vocalisation is a noteworthy aspect to consider, since it does not occur frequently in Brisbane and Melbourne, but it occurs to some degree in Hobart and Sydney

## iii. Regional variation within lexis

Dunstan (1979: xiv) states that although some stewardesses might be able to tell the passengers apart according to their origin within Australia, it seems likely that this is determined by the lexical items rather than the accent itself. In this respect, Bryant (1989: 304) differentiates between two terms which play a part in Australian regional variation. On the one hand, *non-regionalised synonymy* is mentioned, which means that a set of people use different names for one item as in the case of *running shoes*, *joggers* and *sneakers*. On the other hand, the term *local synonymy* is at hand in the case of *runners*, which is used in Victoria and the Riverina exclusively, and *sandshoes*, which is a common term throughout the country (Bryant 1989: 304-305). Considering these definitions, *local synonymy* should be

taken into account when studying the regional variation in Australian English (Bryant 1989: 305). As put forward by Bryant (1992: 7), four regions within Australia, namely “the North-East (NE), the South-East (SE), the South-Centre (SC), and the South-West (SW)” can be distinguished in terms of the lexicon used in Australian English. To illustrate the regional variation in Australia, a few examples are listed below (Bryant 1989: 308):

- A small, red sausage is known as *cheerios* in Queensland, while other parts of Australia use synonyms like *frankfurts*, *cocktail frankfurts*, *cocktail saveloys* and *little boys* to describe the same product.
- Depending on the region, there are a number of names to describe a “sharp seed, with hard woody spines, of a low-growing weed”. While in Western Australia it is called a *double-gee*, it is known as a *three-cornered jack* in South Australia, western Victoria and the west Riverina. Moreover, within New South Wales, the name for the seed differs regionally as it is called *cat’s-eye* on the coast in the centre and in the north, and *bindi* in inland areas.
- A “round yeast cake [...] with usually pink icing and desiccated coconut on top” is known as *yeast bun* in South Australia and Broken Hill, whereas it is named a *Boston bun* in Victoria and a *teacake* in New South Wales. However, the synonyms *tea bun*, *fruit bun* and *bun loaf* are used in all of these areas as well, which makes it an example of a “[s]ynonymy with local terms in several areas”.

Considering that vocabulary within a language variety can change rapidly, Billington et al. (2015) as well as Bryant (1992) have undertaken studies in order to map the lexical items used in different parts of Australia. The aim of the two independent studies was to illustrate the variance in people’s speech around Australia (Billington et al. 2015, Bryant 1992). Hence, the maps in Figures 4 to 7 show the distribution of local synonyms throughout Australia according to the results of the study undertaken by Billington et al. (ibid.). Thus, Figure 4 shows which words people around Australia use to describe a “small local shop that sells newspapers, lollies, drinks and basic groceries” (Billington et al. ibid.). As can be seen, while the majority of people in Victoria use *milk bar* to describe a shop like this, inhabitants of New South Wales and Queensland generally tend to use *corner shop* and in the area of Perth in Western Australia *deli* is most frequently used (Billington et al. ibid.). Figure 5 shows an even clearer example of regional lexical difference by investigating different terms for swimwear. Whereas *bathers* is the most common term in Victoria, South Australia and

Western Australia, *swimmers* is mainly used in New South Wales and *togs* in Queensland (Billington et al. *ibid.*). This graphic representation illustrates the correspondence between the state and language boundaries well, since it can be seen that different words for the same object are being used in different states. Similarly, the study conducted by Bryant (1992: 215) confirms the usage of terms describing swimwear in different regions in Australia independent of the speaker's age, as *bathers* is frequently used in the south of the country, while *togs* and *bathers* are mainly used in the South-Eastern parts.

When it comes to using a term for “a battered, deep-fried potato snack”, the survey's results show clearly that the word *potato cake* is almost exclusively used in Victoria and Tasmania (Billington et al. *ibid.*). Figure 6 further shows that while New South Wales and Queensland mainly use *scallop* and *potato scallop*, Western Australia and the area around Adelaide seem to make use of various terms such as *potato fritter*, *potato scallop* and *potato cake*. Finally, compared to the previously mentioned maps, it seems striking that in Figure 7 the lexical item *icy pole* to describe a “frozen, water-based sweet treat” is used in Victoria as well as in the northern part of New South Wales, whereas *ice block* is the main word in the rest of New South Wales and Queensland (Billington et al. *ibid.*). Bryant (1992: 167) also confirms that in the North-East of Australia, which consists of Queensland and New South Wales, and also in the Australian Capital Territory, *ice block* is the most common term to be used. When analysing these examples of mapping the lexical usage within Australia, it is apparent that regional variation exists with regard to vocabulary.

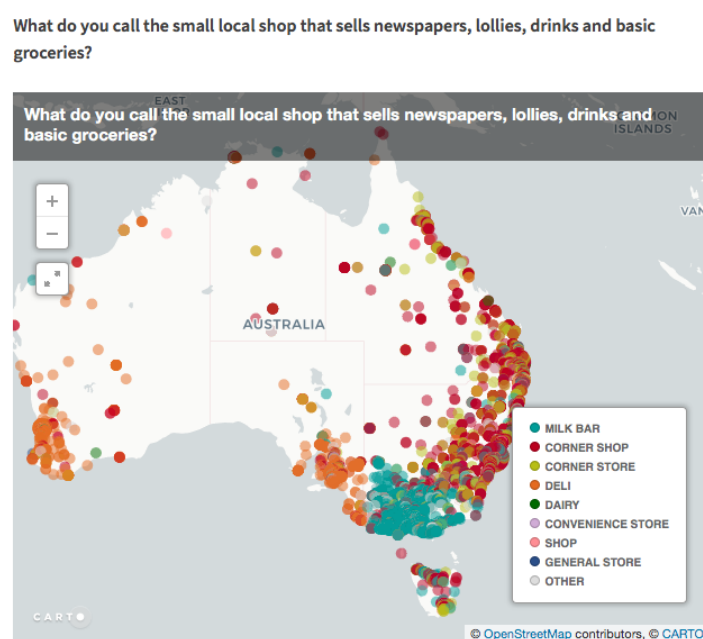


Figure 4 Terms for a small local shop in AusE

What general term do you use to refer to swimwear?

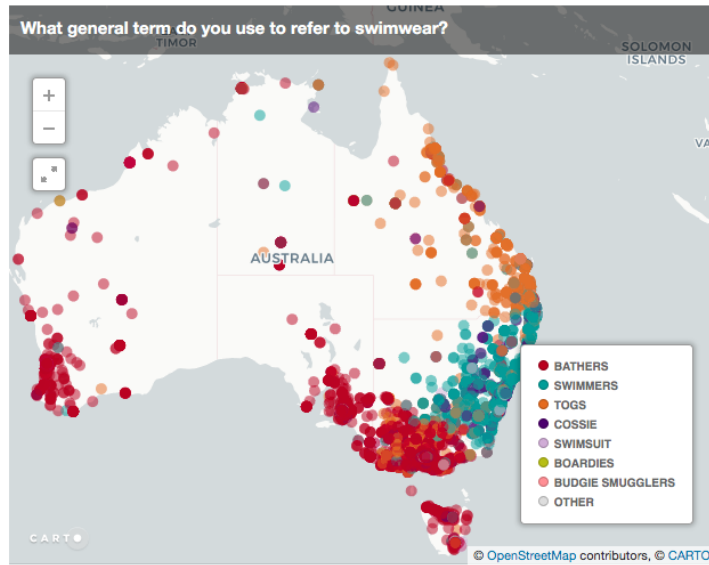


Figure 6 Terms for swimwear in AusE

What do you call a battered, deep-fried potato snack?

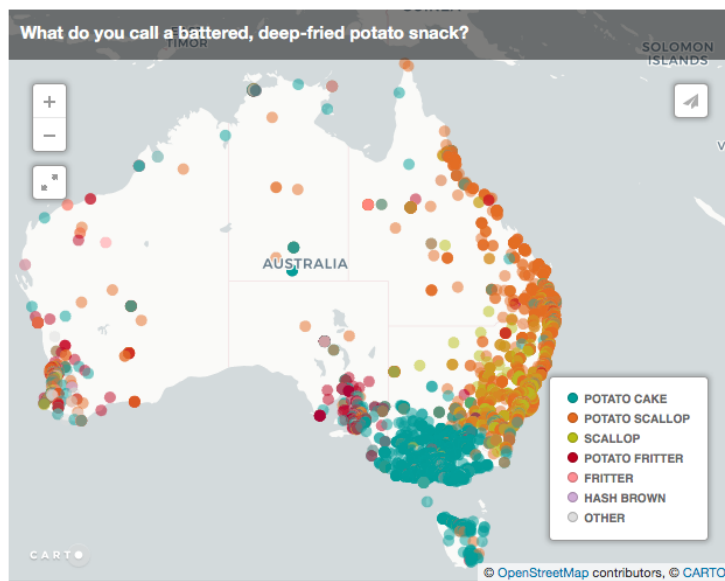
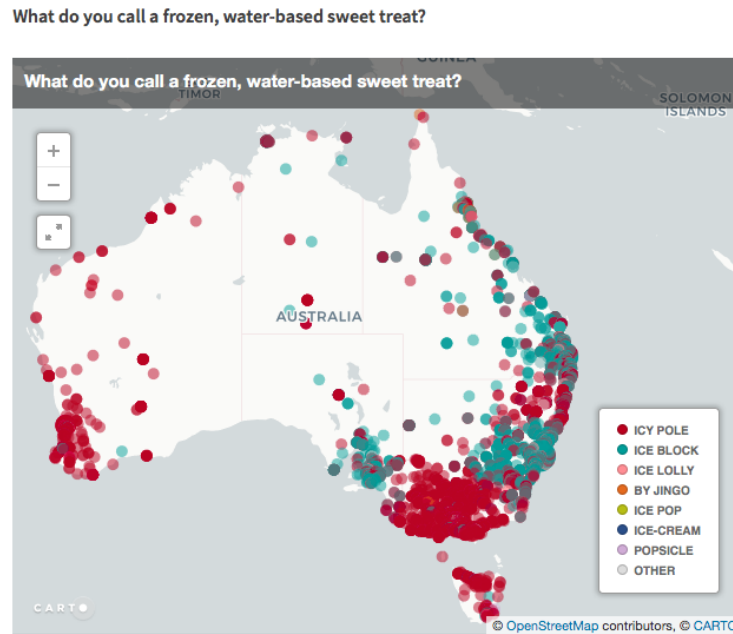


Figure 5 Terms for a potato snack in AusE





**Figure 7 Terms for a frozen treat in AusE**

As discussed above, although Mitchell and Delbridge (1965: 13) claim that the variations within Australian English are not dependent on graphical or cultural aspects, other linguists have questioned this assumption and have demonstrated that variation exists depending on the region. This regional variation is not only determined by the realisation of vowels, but also by the pronunciation of consonants in certain environments and the usage of lexical items.

### **3.4.2. Social variation**

As discussed in the previous chapter, Mitchell and Delbridge (1965: 13) argue against the influence of region on the linguistic variation in Australian English. When it comes to social class as an influencing factor in language, Horvath (1985: 4) suggests that Australians tend to think that their society does not consist of social classes, which would mean that the social environment does not influence the language as significantly as in England, for instance. Still, Mitchell and Delbridge (ibid.) argue that although “geographical or even cultural boundaries” do not exist within Australia, the variance within their speech is determined by other factors, such as “a whole cluster of personal and social circumstances”, “the speaker’s sex, the type of school attended, family background [...] and finally whether he [the speaker] lives in an urban or a rural community”. Horvath (1985: 5) also confirms that gender and ethnicity play a role in shaping how the Australian community is structured. Even though

Australian English appears to be uniform, the speech characteristics vary between speakers. Hence, according to Mitchell and Delbridge (1965: 14-19), three different categories of Australian English, which differ in terms of “speech rate, fluency, stress, and assimilation, and other types of fusion” can be named:

- *General Australian English*: General Australian can clearly be distinguished from Received Pronunciation and represents the speech which is most commonly used in Australia, as 55 per cent of the Australians speak this variety. Although some characteristics can be compared with the ones of the Cockney form, it is not difficult to identify the Australian speaker “irrespective of his fluency, his voice quality and his effectiveness as a speaker” (Mitchell & Delbridge *ibid.*).
- *Broad Australian English*: It is explained that the term *broad* can be understood as a reflection of an underdeveloped utterance with some shortages in fluency, clarity in stress and pitch as well as with more nasality and fusion than that of other varieties. Hence, this accent can be identified by “its vowel nuclei” and its realisation of diphthongs and is, consequently, known as “the most uncultivated form of Australian English” (Mitchell & Delbridge *ibid.*). Leitner (2004: 21) also mentions that Australian English is often described as “excessively nasal, and is characterised by a lack of inflection of the voice (flat); there is generally a failure to move the lips”, which underpins the negative comments on the Australian accent. Indeed, Broad Australian English is the form of Australian English that is most frequently confronted with this reaction (Leitner 2004: 22).
- *Cultivated Australian English*: This form of Australian English is used by the smallest population of speakers (11 per cent) within Australia and is closest to Received Pronunciation, which also allows it to be part of the educated forms of English. It is also striking that, according to the study undertaken in schools by Mitchell and Delbridge, “only one boy to every nine girls” could be observed to speak Cultivated Australian, but it is still assumed that this variety is only spoken by actors and professionals in the broadcasting domain (Mitchell & Delbridge *ibid.*).

However, this classification into General, Broad and Cultivated Australian English by Mitchell and Delbridge also underwent some criticism (Leitner 2004: 251). Bradley’s (1980) criticism, for instance, is based on the assumption that the Broad accent of Australian English

does not seem to be represented sufficiently and the fact that “64 per cent of Broad speakers had tentatively been classified as borderline cases between Broad and General [and] 67 per cent of those in the General category had been General/Cultivated” (Leitner *ibid.*). This shows that a significant amount of participants could not clearly be categorised into one of the three accents. Additionally, it should also be taken into account that the interviewees might have changed their accent to a more formal style in the research situation (Leitner *ibid.*). Similar to Leitner, Horvath (1985: 11) mentions that considering that the study took place at the University of Sydney, it can be assumed that the interviewees might not have been able to relax sufficiently due to the time frame of three minutes. This time frame was set to facilitate accurate results which represent the participants’ usual speech. Moreover, “the problem of observing how people speak when they are not being observed”, which is also known as *Observer’s Paradox*, should be taken into consideration (Labov 1972: 256). Hence, it is emphasised that the categories postulated by Mitchell and Delbridge are only representatives for the various accent types within Australia, but do not allow a definite classification of speakers of Australian English.

**Table 4 Percentage of short A x social class**

	<b>dance</b>	<b>advance</b>	<b>plant</b>	<b>grasp</b>	<b>giraffe</b>	<b>mask</b>
<b>Middle</b>	86	57	54	13	4	0
<b>Working</b>	95	68	69	4	3	1

Horvath (1985: 44-50) puts forward that four factors concerning the social environment are crucial when studying the variation within Australian English, namely the socioeconomic class, the age, the gender and the ethnicity. A later study by Horvath and Horvath (2001b: 351), as discussed in the previous chapter, has shown that although social class is not influencing the usage of short A as strongly as region, for instance, it still plays a role in language variation. As Table 4 illustrates, speakers from a working class tend to use the short A vowel more frequently than the broad A, although it is striking that short A is used more commonly by speakers of the middle class in the word *grasp* (Horvath & Horvath *ibid.*). This is shown by the fact that 95 per cent of the people from the working class, but only 86 per cent of the middle class used a short A in *dance*. However, when it comes to analysing the results of the word *grasp*, 13 per cent of the middle class used the short A, whereas only 4 per cent of the working class speakers did so (Horvath & Horvath *ibid.*). Hence, Horvath and

Horvath (ibid.) conclude that while Bradley's study (1989) has shown "regional, social, stylistic and age differences", their study could not confirm age as a determining factor in language variation. Despite the fact that the short A distribution is a "geolectal feature rather than a sociolectal one", the analysis of the results has proven a slight, but significant influence of the social environment on a speaker's language (Horvath 2001b: 351-352).

A further study by Horvath and Horvath (2001a: 42-43) which investigated the vocalisation of syllabic /l/ in Australia has merely shown a slight correspondence between gender, social circumstances and vocalisation of the consonant /l/ in a syllabic environment. In more detail, the results' analysis illustrates that females as well as working class speakers tend to vocalise more frequently than males and people from the middle class (Horvath & Horvath 2001a: 43). When it comes to age, which did not prove to be a significant factor in the study investigating in short A, it can be stated that older speakers "are least likely to vocalize syllabic /l/s, the young are most likely, and the middle-aged fall in between" (Horvath & Horvath ibid.).

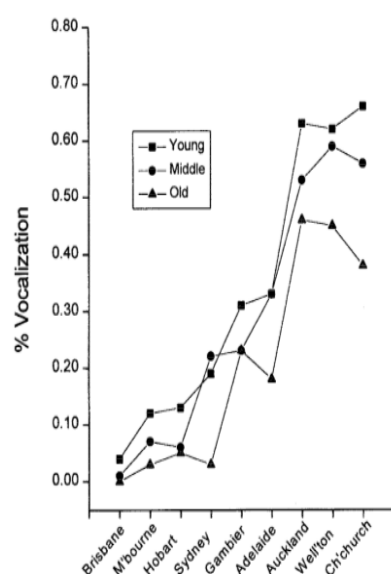


Figure 8 Age distribution of syllabic /l/

When analysing Figure 8, it can be seen that in all locations young people show more vocalisation in their speech than the middle-aged and older people, who show the smallest amount of vocalisation in their speech (Horvath & Horvath 2001a: 44). Horvath and Horvath (2001a: 54) conclude that while the place of the speaker is the most determining factor in language variation for their particular study, social class as well as sex influence language change only slightly. On the contrary, the age factor seems significant when analysing the vocalisation habits of speakers around the country.

**Table 5 Multiple negation distribution for age/sex**

<b>Younger girls (N=10)</b>	<b>Older girls (N=10)</b>
Occurrences: 56/115 %: 48.7 $\chi^2$ : 24.72 $p < .001$	Occurrences: 42/192 %: 21.7
<b>Younger boys (N=10)</b>	<b>Older boys (N=10)</b>
Occurrences: 54/107 %: 50.5 $\chi^2$ : 0.94 $p > .001$	Occurrences: 56/127 %: 44.1

Although Eisikovits (1989: 35) reports that various studies have shown that sex is not affecting the speech in Australia to a certain degree, the change in the role of women has led to an increasing interest in gender variation within Australian English. Hence, Eisikovits (1989: 36) has conducted a study with a focus on variation in grammar between male and female, adolescent speakers. Table 5 (Eisikovits 1989: 39) represents the results for a particular aspect in speech, namely, the multiple negation in relation to the speakers' age and sex (Eisikovits *ibid.*). The results show that the usage of multiple negation forms decreases with the older girls who are about sixteen years old. In comparison, the same speakers displayed more examples of multiple negation when they were thirteen years old (Eisikovits *ibid.*). Particularly, Eisikovits (1989: 39-40) mentions that a female speaker showed an occurrence of 87.9 per cent of multiple negation when she was in Year 8 and two years later the girl used multiple negations only to the extent of 42.9 per cent. When it comes to male speakers, it seems striking that a similar decrease cannot be observed (Eisikovits 1989: 40). Interestingly, the analysis of each speech sample within the males has shown that the usage of these forms either remains similar or even increases (Eisikovits *ibid.*). To be precise, two male speakers have not shown any occurrences of this feature in Year 8 and had a frequency rate of 12.5 and 7.1 per cent in Year 10, which indicates an acquisition of the feature within the period of research (Eisikovits *ibid.*).

The discussion of the results has led to the assumption that both development as well as gender play a role in speech variation (Eisikovits 1989: 41). Further, regarding the differences in gender, it can be argued that "socially prestigious speech" is more commonly

used by women than by men, especially “in lower middle class and upper working class speech” (Eisikovits *ibid.*). Moreover, early studies which have shown that “stylistic variation” is a characteristic for women’s speech, since young women are more sensitive to prestigious standards in formal circumstances (Eisikovits *ibid.*). Considering the studies’ results and the researchers’ analysis, Eisikovits (1989: 54) arrives at the conclusion that gender and age play a highly significant role in the speech of Australians, as the differences, which could be pointed out through this study, “reflect different social and linguistic norms held by the two sex groups”. Hence, a contrast to the results obtained by Horvath and Horvath is demonstrated (2001a). Furthermore, Shin (2013: 135) summarises Eckert and McConnell-Ginet’s (2003) as well as Labov’s (2001) theories by stating that “women are at the vanguard of change in monolingual settings” and, consequently, Eisikovits’ assumption of a gender difference regarding language change is further supported.

As discussed above, the high rising tone is a characteristic feature of Australian English (Guy & Vonwiller 1989: 21). The study by Guy and Vonwiller (1989: 28-30) has also investigated the connection of social class, age and gender with the occurrence of the high rising tone in Australia. Their analysis has shown that the high rising tone is used by women “about twice as frequently as men”, which emphasises the gender differences concerning this particular language feature (Guy & Vonwiller 1989: 29). When it comes to age, it can be concluded that this characteristic is more dominant within young speakers. To be precise, 15- to 19-year-old teenagers use the high rising tone most frequently. Since speakers aged over forty only show an occurrence of 49, and within the 15- to 19-year-olds an occurrence of 306 times could be recorded, it is confirmed that the high rising tone is a “recent innovation, probably arising within the last twenty to thirty years” (Guy & Vonwiller *ibid.*). Finally, the social class was taken into consideration while analysing the high rising tone within Australia (Guy & Vonwiller 1989: 30). It is described that the high rising tone was investigated throughout the middle, upper working and lower working classes and it can be summarised that the lower working class used this feature the most with a frequency of 778 times, whereas only 273 occurrences could be recorded within the middle class (Guy & Vonwiller *ibid.*). Considering all three social aspects, Guy and Vonwiller (1989: 31) confirm the assumption that the high rising tone is a recent language phenomenon, which has not yet completely spread across the country and, hence, represents “the only known case of intonational change”. Moreover, Horvath (1985: 132) states that analysing falling as well as rising tones in Australian speech shows noteworthy aspects about its culture and, thus, a social variation is also emphasised.

It can be concluded that Australian English, which is understood to be the variety spoken by non-Aboriginal speakers who were born in Australia, significantly differs from other English accents and is, hence, an independent variety of English. Contrary to the initial hypotheses of some researchers, the process of research in this field has proven that regional as well as social variation exist within the Standard Australian English. These differences can be observed with regard to the phonetics, the stress and intonation, the syntax as well as the lexis of the Australian language. Since hypocoristic word forms seem to be one striking, characteristic feature, the following chapter discusses the structure of these particular word forms and also focuses on their purpose and meaning in Australian English.

## 4. Hypocoristic Word Forms

### 4.1. Definition of hypocoristics

Bardsley (2010: 55) states that although “[h]ypocoristics are not easy to define”, the majority of researchers have agreed that they can be described as “alternative forms, pet-names, or diminutive forms with the same semantic content”. While it is mentioned that these forms are mostly found in informal contexts, they can also be seen in advertisements and literature, as well as in newspapers of various kinds (Bardsley *ibid.*). Simpson (2008: 398) makes clear that the usage of “alternative forms of words or names”, such as *mozzie* for *mosquito*, is considered a feature of English in general. Although these forms “share part of the same form” and “have the same denotation” as their original form, they “have different connotations and different levels of formality” (Simpson *ibid.*). Bardsley (*ibid.*) agrees with Simpson’s definition and emphasises that owing to their different formality levels, the connotations might differ between the original and the shortened form. These new forms, which are used by adults in both writing and speaking and are also listed in dictionaries in Australian as well as New Zealand English, are known as *hypocoristics*, *diminutives*, *abbreviations* and *clippings* (Simpson *ibid.*). According to Simpson (*ibid.*), various ways to form a hypocoristic word, such as the shortening of words, the shortening with a suffix as well as the suffixation on its own are possible, as explained below.

Furthermore, Hong (2006: 213-214) points out a crucial distinction with regard to the truncations which exist in the English language. The word forms *Dave* for *David* and *Tom* for *Thomas* as well as *Gene* for *Eugene* and *Trish* for *Patricia* are examples of “monosyllabic truncated names” and do not require “a primary stress”. However, if these “monosyllabic truncations” occur with the suffix *-y* or *-ie*, they are known as “bisyllabic hypocoristic forms composed of two light syllables” (Hong 2006: 214). Therefore, *David* becomes *Davy* or *Davie* and *Thomas* is used as *Tommy* or *Tommie* (Hong *ibid.*). Miller (2014: 173) defines the linguistic phenomenon of truncation, also known as clipping, as “an expressive shortening of words by truncation of some part, most frequently the right edge” and emphasises that neither the meaning nor the syntactic category of the original word changes. To illustrate, Miller (*ibid.*) mentions that clipping can occur on a word’s right edge, e.g. *lab* for *laboratory*, on the left side, e.g. *plane* for *airplane* as well as on both sides at the same time, e.g. *fridge* for *refrigerator*. Miller (2014: 177) also states that clipping is common in names, as it is not unusual to hear *Gef* for *Geoffrey* and *Ib* for *Isabel*, for example. Moreover, *Abb(e)y* for



*Abigail* is an example of a hypocoristic name with a clip on the right edge, as the word is shortened and includes the suffix -y (Miller *ibid.*). Keeping these differentiations in mind, the following chapter takes a more detailed look at the morphology of hypocoristic words, since they appear in great variety in English in general as well as in Australian English in particular.

## 4.2. Morphology of hypocoristics

When analysing hypocoristic word forms, Simpson (2008: 399) takes on an approach which is based on templates and explains that the base form is aligned with a particular template. While the first template represents “a two-syllable template in which the base form is reduced to its first syllable and a diminutive suffix is added (e.g., *conductor* → *con* + *ie* = *connie*)”, the second one is “a monosyllabic template for cases where base forms are shortened to the first syllable (e.g. *pavlova* → *pav*)” (Kidd et al. 2011: 361). In order to provide an overview, Simpson (2008: 398-400) offers examples for different ways of forming a hypocoristic word according to these templates:

- Shortening: As in *ump* for *umpire*, the word is reduced to its first syllable and no suffix is added. Hence, a new word form is created by merely shortening the original item. Moreover, shortening is also possible for words with more than two syllables as in *cardie* for *cardigan*. In this specific example, the word was shortened to its first two syllables and since the second syllable matches with the hypocoristic -*ie* ending, no suffix is added.
- Shortening plus suffixation: The hypocoristic form *connie* for *conductor* provides an example for a shortened word with suffixation, since the word is being reduced to its first syllable and the new form is accompanied by the hypocoristic ending -*ie*. Further examples for the phenomenon of shortening with suffixation are *prezzie* for *present* and *dermo* for *dermatitis*.
- Suffixation: Suffixation takes place in words like *blockie* for *block-farmer* and in *birdo* for *bird-watcher*. Further examples are *gifty* for *gift* and *gastro* for *gastro-enteritis*. While the original words are not shortened or reduced to their first syllables, a suffix is added to the end of the word or in the case of compounds, to the end of the first word.

Simpson (2008: 398.) emphasises that although the above-mentioned words undergo a morphological change, an alteration of their denotations does not take place. Hence, the original meaning of the word is not changed in most cases (Simpson *ibid.*). However, as mentioned earlier, Bardsley (2010: 55) states that owing to the fact that the formality levels can differ between the original and the hypocoristic form, it is possible that the connotations and implicatures between the forms alter as well, which is a vital aspect to consider. Kidd et al. (2011: 640) summarise Dabke's (1976) analysis, who points out that it can be distinguished between "base forms that are clipped before a suffix is added", e.g. *journno* for *journalist* and "those that add the target morpheme to the base word, which is typically one syllable in length", e.g. *kiddie* for *kid*. Concerning the latter hypocoristic form, it is important to note that an alteration in the meaning of the original word is not only possible, but also very likely (Kidd et al. *ibid.*).

In terms of morpheme boundaries, it can be said that words are most commonly divided at the acknowledged boundaries, as in *towie* for *towtruck driver*, instead of shortening it to *towtie* (Simpson 2008: 402). Furthermore, Simpson (*ibid.*) explains that although the majority of hypocoristic word forms only comprise one syllable of the original word, it is possible that, for "words with short initial syllables", more than one syllable becomes part of the hypocoristic form. This is exemplified by the words *sophisto* for *sophisticated* as well as *physio* for *physiotherapist*, since the hypocoristic form incorporates more than the first syllable of the original word (Simpson *ibid.*). Interestingly, in German it is common to use *physio* when referring to *physiotherapy*, whereas in English this hypocoristic form denotes the occupation *physiotherapist*. As pointed out by Sussex (2004: 2), hypocoristic word forms can be detected in personal names in English in general. However, it seems that "no other English runs Australian English even close when it comes to creativity and usage of hypocoristics" (Sussex *ibid.*). Therefore, the following chapter focuses on hypocoristic word forms in Australian English in particular.

### 4.3. Hypocoristics in Australian English

As addressed above, Sussex (2004: 2) emphasises the high occurrence rate of hypocoristics in Australian English. Similarly, Kidd et al. (2011: 360) state that hypocoristic word forms are common in almost all varieties of English, but it is striking that within Australian English these word forms are used “across different social situations” and sometimes occur even more frequently than their original forms. According to Sussex (ibid.), hypocoristic word forms are not only part of the spoken discourse in Australia, but also become part of the written language. Additionally, hypocoristics even occur in the speech of adults and politicians in Australian English, which supports the hypothesis regarding their wide usage in various situations (Kidd et al. ibid.). As this feature shapes Australian English in a variety of aspects, the following chapters focus on the use and formation of hypocoristics in Australian English and, consequently, provide a more detailed understanding and a theoretical foundation for the study undertaken in this thesis.

#### 4.3.1. Morphology of hypocoristics in Australian English

As observed by Dabke (1976: 36), it is a well-known fact in the study of Australian lexis that a significant number of words end in */i/* or */ou/*. As mentioned earlier, Dabke (1976: 37) points out that although it is common in English in general that clipped word forms end in the hypocoristic */i/*, it seems that some forms can only be found in Australian English. Dabke (ibid.) lists *posy* for *position*, *mossy* for *mosquito* and hypocoristics for place names such as *Tassy* for *Tasmania* to support her assumption. Bardsley and Simpson (2009: 49) also observe that most hypocoristics are formed with “one syllable from the base form followed by a vowel (*/i/* written “y” or “ey”, */ou/* written “o” or “oh”, or */ə/* written “-er” or “-a”)”. In addition, the consonantal endings *-s* or *-as*, which are written as “-ers” or “-as”, can also be witnessed frequently (Bardsley & Simpson ibid.). As can be seen in Table 6, Simpson (2008: 401) provides a list of the hypocoristic endings occurring in Australian English with regard to her two templates theory mentioned above. Moreover, both Dabke’s (1976) as well as Simpson’s (2008) research include an explanation of how these endings are used in Australian English.

Table 6 Morphology of hypocoristics in AusE

	Template	Number of forms in data	Percentage	Hypocoristic	Base form
/i/	Syllable plus /i(s)/ (Taylor's class 2)	824	47%	<i>coldie</i> <i>gladdie</i>	<i>a cold beer</i> <i>gladiolus</i>
/o/	syllable plus /o/ (Taylor's class 4)	333	19%	<i>prawn</i> <i>journ</i>	<i>prawn seller</i> <i>journalist</i>
1 syl	one syllable (Taylor's class 1)	200	11%	<i>pav</i>	<i>pavlova</i> (meringue pudding)
/a/	syllable plus /(z)a/ ([ə]) (Taylor's class 3)	145	8%	<i>booz</i>  <i>ekka</i> <i>Mazza</i>	<i>pub</i> (from 'booze' alcohol) <i>ecstasy tablet</i> <i>Marian</i>
the	"the" followed by one or two syllables (Taylor's class 6)	125	7%	<i>The Don</i>  <i>The Weal</i> <i>The Brindies</i>	<i>Donald</i> <i>Bradman</i> <i>Camooweal</i> <i>The Brindabella</i> <i>Mountains</i>
/as/	syllable plus /as/ ([əz]) (Taylor's class 5)	48	3%	<i>chocker(s)</i> <i>Tuggers</i>	<i>chock-full</i> <i>Tuggeranong</i> (Canberra suburb)
/s/	syllable plus /s/ (Taylor's class 5)	34	2%	<i>scrotes</i> <i>Jules</i>	<i>scrotum</i> <i>Julie, Julia</i>
2 syl	two syllables	17	1%	<i>chrysanth</i> <i>Mullum</i>	<i>chrysanthemum</i> <i>Mullumbimby</i>
Acr	acronyms (Taylor's class 7)	14	1%	<i>E</i> <i>KI</i>	<i>ecstasy tablet</i> <i>Kangaroo</i> <i>Island</i>
SUBTOTAL		1740			

i. /i/-suffix

As represented in Table 6, the hypocoristic ending *-i/* is most commonly used in Australian speech with a percentage of 47 (Simpson 2008: 401). Although this morphological variation is frequently compared to baby-talk, such as *doggie* and *tummy*, it is used in written language as well as in normal spoken discourse throughout Australia (Simpson 2008: 403). Similarly, Dressler and Barbaresi (1994: 112) confirm that the suffixes *-y/* and *-ie/* are most commonly used in English for hypocoristic forms and when talking to children. Moreover, according to Simpson (ibid.) the suffix *-i/* often appears in proper names, particularly in first names, names of sportsmen, surnames as well as in truncations, as in *The Woodies* for *Mark Woodforde* and *Tony Woodbridge*, for instance. It can further be found in brand names, e.g. *Lykie* for *Lycoming*, place names, e.g. *Palmie* for *Palm Beach* and even in names for religions, e.g. *Prezzie* for *Presbyterian* (Simpson ibid.). Bardsley and Simson (2009: 58) also make clear that most of the hypocoristic words can be found within both concrete as well as abstract nouns. Moreover, polysyllabic words which describe conditions often have a hypocoristic form like *dermo* for *dermatitis* and *sypho* for *syphilis* (Bardsley & Simpson 2009: 59).

Dabke (1976: 37) observes that two categories of *-i/-* derivatives can be named in Australian English: while the suffix in words like *kiddy* and *laddy* only causes a hypocoristic character, the denotation remains the same. However, the hypocoristic form *surfy*, which derives from the noun *surf*, labels a “surfboard rider”, which means that the hypocorism leads to an alteration of the word’s original denotation (Dabke ibid.). Although the suffix is most commonly “taken on to words denoting persons”, e.g. *chappy*, *deary* and *matey*, it can also be found within “words denoting objects or emotions”, e.g. *gift*, *surprisey* (Dabke ibid.). Furthermore, Dabke (ibid.) mentions that in Australian English it is striking that the hypocoristic suffix *-i/* is also “tacked on to short linguistic units”, such as *goody* and *all righty*.

Simpson (2008: 403) observes that the suffix *-i/* can be found in nouns describing jobs, e.g. *speechie* for *speech pathologist*, *devvie* for *developer* as well as in adjectives, e.g. *marvey* for *marvellous*, and in verbs, e.g. *spitty* for *to spit-polish*. However, Bardsley and Simpson (2009: 59) also mention that hypocoristic forms for verbs and adjectives are less common than for nouns. This assumption is confirmed by Sussex (2004: 2), who mentions that his database consists of “4,000 headwords”, which are split up into “1600 proper nouns, 2350

common nouns, 90 verbs [...], and 200 adjectives”. Moreover, quite frequently the suffix is used to make a noun out of the adjective or verb, as in the case of *an oldie*, *toughy*, *quickie* as well as in the case of *a clippie*, which is a person examining tickets (Simpson *ibid.*). Bardsley and Simpson (*ibid.*) confirm that verbs are frequently changed into nouns by adding the suffix *-ie*. This is illustrated by the hypocorisms *bities* for insects that bite, and *coldie* for a cold beer. With regard to pronunciation, it is striking that the /s/ in some hypocoristic forms which end in /i/ changes into a /z/, as in *Aussie*, which is pronounced as [ˈɔzi], whereas the original form *Australian* is pronounced as [əsˈtreɪljən] (Dabke 1976: 43). Finally, it is also vital to consider that while some of these words appear in national dictionaries, others remain to be used in spoken discourse only (Sussex *ibid.*).

## ii. /o/-suffix:

As illustrated in Table 6, the suffix *-o/* is the second most frequently used hypocoristic ending in Australian English and occurs in 19 per cent of the researched utterances (Simpson 2008: 401). However, it is also stated that the hypocoristic *-o/* suffix is not only used in Australian English, but also in other varieties “for words of three or more syllables whose second syllable is open and spelled with an /o/”, e.g. *limo* for *limousine* and *mayo* for *mayonnaise* (Simpson 2008: 404). Furthermore, it is frequent that first names as well as surnames are abbreviated and accompanied by the suffix */o/*, as in *Davo* for *David*. It can also be observed that the suffix *-o/* is mostly added to shortened words and is less likely to be added to monosyllabic words and names (Simpson *ibid.*). However, Dabke (1976: 44) provides examples which support the usage of *-o/* as a suffix to monosyllabic words, for instance, *kiddo*, which is more commonly used in adult conversations, whereas *kiddy* is used when addressing a child. As mentioned earlier, *-o/* can also be added to *good* and *right*, which leads to the hypocoristic forms *goodo* and *rightio*. In addition, Dabke’s study (1976: 45) has shown that *rightio* (123 occurrences) is even more frequently used than *right* in Australia (28 occurrences).

Further, Dabke (*ibid.*) points out that the suffix *-o/* changes the original denotation in some cases. For instance, the word *milko* is used to describe something milky and *druggo* denotes a person addicted to drugs (Dabke *ibid.*). Hence, in the case of *milko* the suffix causes a shift in word class, as the noun becomes an adjective. While the word class remains the same in the example of *druggo*, the word’s meaning undergoes a change, as reference is made not to the drug but to the person addicted to it. Similarly, *-o/* is used to create names for “cleaning

agents” such as *steelo*, which is a person stealing pads (Dabke 1976: 46) Simpson (ibid.) adds the examples *misho* for *missionary* and *reffo* for *refugee*. According to Simpson (ibid.), it is possible, though rare, that verbs are accompanied by the suffix *-o*/, e.g. *gutto*, which means *to be gutless* and *to do something in a cowardly manner*. While Simpson’s (2008) and Bardsley and Simpson’s (2009) studies have shown that *-ie* is the most common hypocoristic suffix, Bardsley and Simpson (2009: 62) found out that a “gradual encroachment of the hypocoristic in *-o*” can be found within Australian English, especially when it comes to lexical items which are used when talking about occupations as well as about fishing, for instance.

While the above-mentioned examples represent common clippings ending in *-o*/ it is also crucial to consider that some forms with the suffix *-o*/ have a derogatory function, such as *bozo*, *bimbo*, *fatso*. As explained by Leitner (2004: 169), in Australian English the hypocoristic word *Abo* for *Aboriginal*, for instance, “carries negative connotations about Aboriginal Australians” and are considered “offensive”. In addition, Kidd et al. (2011: 364) describes that hypocoristics ending in *-o*/ often describe “a category of person”, but sometimes also “have some negative connotations or uses”. Interestingly, some hypocoristics with an *-o*/ suffix carry negative connotations as in the case of *alco*/*alcoholic*, *lezzo*/*lesbian*, *derro*/*derelect* and *povo*/*poverty-stricken*, while other shortened forms such as *ambo*/*ambulance*, *journ*/*journalist* and *servo*/*service station* do not possess this association (Kidd et al. ibid.). Furthermore, Hamans (2012: 28) confirms that clipped forms such as *psycho*, *homo* and *nympho* are not only informal, but also possess negative connotations. However, contrary to Kidd et al. (ibid.), who argue that *journ* for *journalist* does not have a negative character, Hamans (2012: 29) is of the opinion that *journ* “conveys far less respect and appreciation” than its original form *journalist*. In addition, Hamans (ibid.) mentions that the clipped form *intello* for *intellectual* receives a “pejorative meaning”, although its original form “has a positive meaning”, which demonstrates that hypocorism can result in a change of the words’ connotations. Since it appears that no definite answer is provided as to why this negative connotation occurs in some of the hypocoristics in *-o*/, this issue is further discussed in the empirical research of this thesis.

### iii. Reduction to first syllable

While the reduction to a word’s first syllable can be found in many forms of English, it is common in Australian English only to clip a word to its first syllable in both “proper names

and common words” (Simpson 2008: 405). This reduction of proper names can be seen within first names, surnames, names of places, businesses, and sports teams. Occasionally, it can be also observed that the word is reduced to its final syllable, as is the case with the football team *the Magpies*, which is shortened to *the Pies* (Simpson *ibid.*). When it comes to common nouns, the reduction is frequent in reference to particular groups of people, e.g. *crim* for *criminal*, as well as in attributes, e.g. *beaut* for *beauty* (Simpson *ibid.*).

iv. One syllable + /a/ or /as/

While -/a/ as a suffix is often found in place names, e.g. *Coona/Coonabarabran* and *Macker/Macquarie University*, it can also be detected in names like *Mazza/Marilyn* and *Brezza/Brett* (Simpson 2008: 405). Furthermore, it seems striking that in these examples the consonants or liquids are changed to /z/ owing to the addition of the suffix -/a/. Simpson (*ibid.*) supposes that -*er* has a “quasi-agentive” meaning when it is added to nouns, since a *broomer*, for instance, is a person sweeping the floor. However, words like *bummer*, *sanger*, *boozer* do not seem to have an agentive function, which means that this hypothesis cannot be applied to all hypocoristic forms with an /a/ suffix.

The suffix -/as/, which is pronounced as [əz], is attributed to the British accent, but also frequently occurs in Australian English, e.g. *champers/champagne* and *Honkers/Hong Kong* (Simpson 2008: 406). Interestingly, it can be observed that the usage of -/as/ as a suffix in Australian English has become more frequent and can be found in words such as *ackers/acne* and *spackers/spastic* (i.e. medical terms), as well as in surnames, e.g. *Knappers/Tim Knapstein*, first names, e.g. *Anders/Andrew*, and places, e.g. *Lajas/Lajamanu* (Simpson *ibid.*). *Maccas*, which is commonly used as an abbreviation for *McDonald’s* might be another example, although it is debated whether it is an example of “/a/+plural/possessive -s, or /as/” (Simpson *ibid.*).

v. /s/-suffix

When -/s/ is used as a suffix, it is realised as [s], [z] and [əz], and can hardly be detected in common nouns, but rather in proper names as well as in baby-talk, e.g. “*Time for dinsdins/milkies/beddie-byes now*” (Simpson *ibid.*). Kidd et al. (2011: 365) confirm this by emphasising that “this category seems to be almost exclusively reserved for proper nouns”, such as *Sydders/Sydney*, *Honkers/Hong Kong* and *Sainters/St Kilda Football Club*. Moreover, as can be seen in Table 6, the suffix -/s/ only appears in two per cent of the investigated cases



in Simpson's study, which aligns with Kidd et al.'s statement that this template is only a fairly small one (Kidd et al. *ibid.*). A further aspect to consider concerning the *-s/* as a hypocoristic suffix is that it frequently accompanies "monosyllabic forms" like *maybs/maybe*, *mobes/mobile phone*, *peeps/people*, *whatevs/whatever*, *defs/definitely* and *probs/probably* (Kidd et al. *ibid.*). Kidd et al.'s study (*ibid.*) has shown that while these forms are most commonly used by young speakers, they are rarely used by older participants, which suggests that the usage of hypocoristic word forms also represents an influencing factor of social variation and a generation gap within Australian English.

#### 4.3.2. The meaning of hypocoristic categories in Australian English

Wierzbicka (1992: 375) points out that the tendency of Australians to use hypocoristic forms prevalently is often associated with their stereotypes, namely "laziness", "anti-intellectualism" as well as "Australian toughness". Moreover, it is suggested that the hypocoristics used in Australian English can be put into various categories with each of them representing "a characteristic Australian attitude" (Wierzbicka 1992: 375-376).

##### i. First names

Table 7 Hypocoristic first names in AusE

Mar	[maə]	for Mary
Marz, Mars	[ma:z]	for Mary
Mare	[meə]	for Mary
Marz, Mares	[me:z]	for Mary
Baz	[bæz]	for Barry (or Basil)
Tez	[tʰe:z]	for Terry
Gaz	[gæz]	for Gary (or Gavin)
Caz	[kʰæ:z]	for Caroline (or Catherine)
Kez	[kʰe:z]	for Kerrie
Iz	[ɪz]	for Isa (or Isobel)
Muz	[mæz]	for Murray
Shez	[ʃe:z]	for Sheridan
Shaz	[ʃæz]	for Sharon
Juz	[dʒæz]	for Justine
Al	[æɪ]	for Alice (or Alison)
Cor	[kʰɔə]	for Cora
Laur	[lə]	for Laura
Ange	[æŋdʒ]	for Angela
Tash	[tʰæʃ]	for Natasha
Soph	[sʌəf]	for Sophie
Dim	[dɪm]	For Dimity
Rache	[rætʃ]	for Rachel
Man	[mæn]	for Mandy
Ness	[nes]	for Vanessa
Jule	[dʒuɪ]	for Julie
Julz, Jules	[dʒuɪz]	for Julie
Tone	[tʰʌʊn]	for Tony

Wierzbicka (1992: 376) states that the first category comprises first names. Table 7 shows that while a high number of examples end in a consonant in general, it seems particularly striking that many hypocoristic forms of first names end in a *-z* which replaces the original *-r*, as in *Tez* for *Terry* (Wierzbicka *ibid.*). Hence, it can be assumed that in addition to the truncation process, a phonological change occurs, since "*-r* in word-final position" is replaced by *-z* in order to build a hypocoristic form of a first name (Wierzbicka *ibid.*).

It is crucial to consider that word forms such as *Shaz* and *Mare* are not considered "standard abbreviations, in the sense that they are not used as unmarked personal designations"

(Wierzbicka *ibid.*). Therefore, it seems common for a person to be introduced by using the standard abbreviation form, e.g. *Bob Brown*, but it seems unlikely for someone to be introduced as *Shaz Jones*, for instance. According to Wierzbicka (1992: 377), this assumption is supported by the fact that abbreviations like *Bob* and *Pam* are informal, but not affectionate, whereas *Shaz* and *Mare* are affectionate, non-standard as well as “fond ‘distortions’ of a person’s ‘normal’ name”. As a result, names like *Pam* and *Kate* are likely to be used at school, whereas forms like *Marz* and *Shaz* tend to be substituted by *Mary* and *Sharon* in formal settings due to the affectionate character of the above-mentioned abbreviated forms (Wierzbicka *ibid.*). This is also supported by the fact that the hypocoristic forms ending in *-z* are less likely to be used in situations with reference to one’s self. To illustrate, saying *Shaz speaking* when answering the phone is rather uncommon, whereas *Pam speaking* seems more appropriate and is, consequently, more often used in this situation.

Wierzbicka (*ibid.*) further analyses the abbreviated forms of first names and puts forward that “affectionate abbreviations such as *Caz* or *Shaz* must be seen analogous to affectionate diminutives such as *Pammie* or *Katie* rather than to standard designations such as *Pam* or *Kate*”. Thus, it can be assumed that it is not common for someone to introduce him- or herself as *Pammie* or *Shaz* on the phone, which supports the assumption that the hypocoristic forms used in Australia possess an affectionate character (Wierzbicka *ibid.*). Moreover, Wierzbicka (*ibid.*) proposes a further significant point by stating that a difference between the “affectionate diminutives” (e.g. *Pammie*) and the “affectionate abbreviations” (e.g. *Shaz*) can be noticed from a “semantic and socio-cultural point of view”. Therefore, Wierzbicka (*ibid.*) assumes that using an affectionate hypocoristic form of a first name cannot only be regarded as a characteristic of Australian English, but also a representation of the Australian attitudes. According to Wierzbicka (1992: 378), forms like *Caz* and *Mare* are known as “anti-diminutives”, since the speaker separates him- or herself from the diminutives’ emotional associations. Hence, rather than using a childish tone or implying that the addressee is a softie, the abbreviations used in Australian English express a person’s “toughness” or “roughness” as well as the closeness of their relationship with each other (Wierzbicka *ibid.*).

With regard to the structure of the abbreviated forms, it can be noted that while diminutives in different varieties of English commonly consist of more than one syllable, Australian forms are likely to be monosyllabic, which corresponds with their preference to use an informal style and short words (Wierzbicka *ibid.*). In addition, while abbreviations in

Standard English mostly end in vowels, e.g. *Sue* and *Joe*, *-z* is commonly used as an ending in Australian hypocoristics. A further observation by Wierzbicka (ibid.) says that hypocoristic forms of names are mostly used by teenagers in Australian English and it can be noticed that children in high school use word forms ending in *-z* more often than they did in primary school. Thus, the assumption that these forms express toughness and have a non-childish tone is supported. However, longer hypocoristic variations of first names also exist in Australian English, e.g. *Dazza/Darren*, *Lazza/Larry*, *Tezza/Terry*, *Kezza/Kerry* (Wierzbicka 1992: 381). In these forms, a vowel is added to the *-z*, which implies an even closer relationship between the speaker and his or her addressee (Wierzbicka ibid.). Although this form is mainly found within male names, there are also some occurrences for female first names, for instance *Shazza* for *Sharon* (Wierzbicka 1992: 382). It is mentioned that the suffixes *-z* and *-za* seem to be creations of Australian grammar and are, hence, characteristic for this particular variety of English.

Furthermore, Wierzbicka (1992: 380) argues that the use of affectionate hypocoristics in Australian English also functions as an expression of “mateship” between the speaker and the addressee. This supports the idea of sharing the same attitudes and experiences with each other and provides a feeling of belonging into the same group between friends as well as family members, called *camaraderie*. Considering all these factors mentioned above, Wierzbicka (1992: 381) develops a “semantic formula” describing the implications somebody makes when using a hypocoristic form of a first name in Australian English:

- speaking to you about person X
- I feel something good toward X
- not the kind that one feels towards children
- I think that you feel the same way toward X

In sum, Wierzbicka (1992: 382) strongly argues that these forms used for first names in Australian English represent the speakers’ “anti-intellectualism, ‘toughness’, and informality” as well as their need to imply a feeling of mateship and belonging. In one of her later works, Wierzbicka (1997: 202) also concludes that abbreviations for names used in Australian English, such as *Tez*, *Tezza*, *Bazza*, *Shaz* and *Shazza*, are a reflection of “the traditional Australian combination of values: solidarity, equality, and anti-sentimental (‘rough’) affection”.

## ii. Place names

Sussex (2004: 1) makes clear that more than one thousand hypocoristic place names can be found within Australian English, whereas it appears that in other varieties of English it is often considered “indulgent” and “disrespectful” to create a hypocoristic form out of a place’s name. As explained by Bardsley and Simpson (2009: 57), it is common for both New Zealand as well as Australian English to use hypocoristic word forms for place names. Frequently, these forms can be found when asking locals what they call the place they live in. This demonstrates that the usage of these phrases does not only offer “an insider perspective”, as it shows how the people in a particular group name a place, but also “an outsider perspective”, which results in a distinction between the audience and the locals (Bardsley & Simpson *ibid.*). Simpson (2001: 90) has found out that these hypocoristic forms exist for countries, e.g. *Oz/Australia*, states, e.g. *Tazzie/Tasmania*, towns, e.g. *Adders/Adelaide*, sport places, e.g. *The WACA*, schools, e.g. *Stannies/St Stanislaus School*, buildings, e.g. *Wenty/Wentworth Building*, and also pubs, e.g. *The Wello/The Wellington*.

Simpson (2001: 91) claims that the morphology of hypocoristic place names is almost always the same as the one for common nouns and first names. However, hypocoristic place names which are used with the article *the* in front of the word, are seen as exceptions, e.g. *The Loo/Woolloomooloo*. As Tables 8 and 9 show, Simpson (2001: 91-92) has listed ways to form hypocoristic word forms for place names with and without the use of the definite article *the*. Simpson’s (2001: 95-96) analysis has shown that truncation of the initial form as well as suffixation are the most common ways to build hypocoristics in place names. Nevertheless, Simpson (*ibid.*) emphasises the significance of templates in this category and proposes that “hypocoristics are formed by aligning the full form to a template and making whatever changes are necessary (truncation, suffixation or change) for the form to fit the template”. To illustrate, *Brewarrina* aligns with a one-syllable template and becomes *Bree*, while *Montmorency* aligns with a two-syllable template and changes into *Monty* (Simpson *ibid.*). Since the structure of the hypocoristic form has to follow the morphological principles of the English language, the place name *Brisbane* can become *Briz* but not *Brizb*. Moreover, when it comes to the two-syllable templates, suffixes such as *-i/*, *-o/*, *-a/* or *-as/* are frequently required to form the hypocoristic form, as represented in Tables 8 and 9 (Simpson 2001: 97). Consequently, *Stradbroke Island* has *Straddy* as its hypocoristic form and *Palm Beach* becomes *Palmie* (Simpson *ibid.*). However, as Table 9 shows, *The Alice* as a shortened form

for *Alice Springs*, is seen as an exception because it does not end in one of the above mentioned suffixes (Simpson *ibid.*).

**Table 8 Hypocoristic place names without *The* in AusE**

<i>Target form</i>	<i>no. of examples<sup>7</sup></i>	<i>no. of toponyms</i>	<i>example of hypocoristic</i>	<i>example of full form</i>
<b>Forms without <i>The</i></b>				
one syllable plus /i/	764	108	Crowie Birchie	Crows Nest Birchgrove
one syllable plus /o/	303	44	Baulko	Baulkham Hills
one syllable (usually first)	182	33	Shep Port	Shepparton Port Melbourne
one syllable plus /a/ ([ə]) <sup>8</sup>	130	23	Meeka Macker	Meekatharra Macquarie Uni.
One syllable plus /as/ ([æz])	48	17	Tuggers	Tuggeranong
Two syllables <sup>9</sup>	17	13	Mullum Lincoln	Mullumbimby Port Lincoln
One syllable plus /i-s/ ([iz])	33	6	Ursies	Ursula College
One syllable (usually first) plus /s/ ([s] or [z])	40	6	Scarbs Snives	Scarborough St Ives
Two syllables plus /s/ ([z] or [s])	1	1	Utopes	Utopia
Two syllables plus /o/	1	1	Brunswick-oh	Brunswick
SUBTOTAL	1519	252		

**Table 9 Hypocoristic place names with *The* in AusE**

<i>Target form</i>	<i>no. of examples</i>	<i>no. of toponyms</i>	<i>example of hypocoristic</i>	<i>example of full form</i>
<b>Forms with <i>The</i><sup>10</sup></b>				
topographic descriptor		30	The Mount The Hills	Mount Gambier Surry Hills
one syllable <sup>11</sup>		19	The Gong The Steyne	Wollongong North Steyne
one syllable plus /i/		11	The Curry The Impy	Cloncurry The Imperial Hotel
one syllable plus /o/		9	The Wello	The Duke of Wellington Pub
one syllable plus /a/		9	The Isa The Ekka, The Ekker	Mount Isa The Exhibition (event, building)
one syllable plus /i-s/		5	The Tradies	The Tradesmen's Union Club
two syllables <sup>12</sup>		4	The Alice	Alice Springs
<b>SUBTOTAL</b>		87		
OTHER: e.g. consonant distortions, acronyms, other endings <sup>13</sup>		7	KI Sing Sing Port Augutta Civoss	Kangaroo Island Singapore Port Augusta Civic Centre <sup>14</sup>
<b>TOTAL</b>	1612	346		

Hypocoristic place names can also be used to analyse social as well as regional variation within Australia, as some of them are used in broadcasting, e.g. *The Alice/Alice Springs* and *Wagga/Wagga Wagga*, whereas others are seen as “ephemeral hypocoristics” and are, therefore, only used for a limited amount of time, e.g. *Lajas/Lajamanu* (Simpson 2001: 92). In order to gain an understanding of the social and regional variation of hypocoristic word forms in place names, Simpson (2001: 93) has conducted a study and has found out that while in Sydney 68 hypocoristic place names could be recorded, in South Australia and in the Northern Territory only 27 and 13 could be observed, which emphasises a regional variation in the usage of these forms (Simpson *ibid.*). Moreover, the number of abbreviated place names ending in *-o/* is higher in Sydney than in Western Australia, which might suggest that this suffix, which is already common in first names and common nouns in Australian English, is getting more frequent in place names as well (Simpson 2001: 94). In terms of social variation, Simpson (*ibid.*) found out that the abbreviated forms are used by speakers in different contexts and networks.

Simpson’s (2001: 95) investigation has also given insights into the function of hypocoristic place names. These forms are defined as “alternative names” and by using them a familiar feeling with the place is implied and it is conveyed that either the speaker or the addressee knows a certain place well. Moreover, *Brizvegas* is a term for *Brisbane*, which is commonly used by people living in Lismore to convey a humorous attitude as well as familiarity (Simpson *ibid.*). Similarly, the suffix *-as/* is used in hypocoristics, such as *Honkers/Hong Kong* and *Bangers/Bangkok*, and it is assumed that it is used to convey irony and to belittle the mentioned place (Simpson *ibid.*). However, further investigation has also shown that this suffix is used in *Sydders/Sydney* and *Tuggers/Tuggeranong* without implying a deprecation of that place (Simpson *ibid.*). Therefore, it can be assumed that in order to get a better understanding of the meaning of hypocoristic place names in Australian English, further empirical research is required.

### iii. Expressions

Wierzbicka (1992: 388) states that the phrases *No worries* and *Good on you* are considered the most typical Australian expressions. Similar to other hypocoristic forms, *No worries*, which is used for various situations including apologising, thanking as well as requesting and implies that neither the speaker nor the addressee should worry about a particular situation, represents “amiability, friendliness, an expectation of shared attitudes [...], jocular toughness,

good humour, and, above all, casual optimism” (Wierzbicka *ibid.*). Compared to the shortened words mentioned above, it seems remarkable that this expression also conveys optimism, which corresponds with the easy-going and humorous attitude of Australians. Cramer’s analysis (2015: 34) has shown that *No worries* represents the Australian cultural identity, which includes anti-sentimentality, toughness as well as a tendency to make challenging situations seem harmless. Since the interjection is also used to apologise or thank someone, it can also convey a sense of “equality and similarity as well as camaraderie”, which is often made clear by adding the term *mate* to the expression (Cramer 2015: 34).

Similarly, the expression *good on you* also represents the above-mentioned values of Australians (Wierzbicka 1992: 389). While it is frequently used instead of *congratulations* and *well done*, it also occurs when appreciating someone’s toughness in a challenging situation. Hence, Wierzbicka (*ibid.*) states that the expression is used to admire “the attitude displayed by a certain action rather than [...] the action itself”. Wierzbicka (1992: 390) makes clear that *good on you* significantly differs from *congratulations* in its connotations, since the Australian expression implies that the addressee is able to achieve something admirable, while the latter merely appreciates the action itself. Thus, it can be summarised that by using *good on you*, a person’s abilities and attitudes are valued whether or not the intended action could be accomplished (Wierzbicka 1992: 391). Considering these aspects, the expressions *no worries* and *good on you* represent the Australian character and contribute to the nation’s cultural concepts.

#### iv. Common nouns

Wierzbicka (1992: 384) explains a further form of hypocoristics, known as “depreciative”, which seems to be unique to Australian English owing to its specific function and meaning. According to Wierzbicka (*ibid.*), depreciatives are built by shortening a word and adding “a pseudo-diminutive suffix” as in *prezzie/present*, *mozzies/mosquitoes*, *mushies/mushrooms*, *barbie/barbeque*, *lippies/lipstick* and *sunnies/sunglasses*. Although words with this structure are known as diminutives, Wierzbicka (*ibid.*) makes it clear that in Australian English they do not have the same function as diminutives. In addition, in Australian English, these words do not only consist of the base form with a suffix, such as *-ie* in Standard English varieties, but are in fact truncated forms with an added suffix.

Furthermore, the use of Australian depreciatives conveys a humorous tone and is also common in conversations between adults (Wierzbicka *ibid.*). While it is common to hear adults say “those bloody maggies!” (*maggies/magpie*), it does not seem usual for someone to say “those bloody birdies!”, since *birdies* is associated with baby-talk. Wierzbicka (1992: 385) points out that when an Australian uses the word *mozzies*, it sounds like the speaker makes the situation seem harmless, as the speaker “does not think of mozzies as small and endearing but does not think of them as a ‘big thing’ either and expects the addressee to share this attitude”. Hence, Wierzbicka (*ibid.*) claims that the use of diminutives makes something appear small, whereas the use of depreciatives makes it sound like it is not “a big thing”. It is explained that the expression “a big thing” represents significance rather than physical size of the addressed object (Wierzbicka 1992: 386). As was argued for the above-mentioned categories, this usage of hypocoristics once again supports the Australian values, namely “anti-sentimentality, jocular cynicism, a tendency to knock things down to size, ‘mateship’, good-natured humour, love of informality, and dislike for ‘long words’ [...]” (Wierzbicka 1992: 385). Concerning the concept of mateship, Bardsley and Simpson (2009: 53) also state that hypocoristic forms are frequently used to describe the relationship between adults and to express a feeling of belonging to a group. Additionally, Kidd et al. (2011: 360) confirm that the Australian culture of “informality, mateship, and egalitarianism” is expressed by using these forms. However, when using hypocoristics, the speaker might also be associated with being “uneducated and unrefined” (Kidd et al. *ibid.*).

Moreover, Wierzbicka (1992: 386) differentiates between the semantic meaning of hypocoristics ending in *-ie/* to those ending in *-o/*. As summarised by Kidd et al. (*ibid.*), Wierzbicka (1992: 386-387) proposes that while the *-ie/* has an effect of downgrading the significance of the addressed object and establishes informality, the *-o/* suffix is used for the purpose of shortening words and is common when speaking of “common and mutually understood topics”. In order to provide an understanding of the meanings that are conveyed by using the suffixes *-ie/* and *-o/*, Wierzbicka (*ibid.*) puts forward the following definitions, which are also part of her Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM) theory:

*-ie/*, e.g. *prezzie*, *mozzie*

- I don’t want to think much about X
- I think that you think of X like I do
- speaking about it to you I feel something good



-/o/, e.g. *demo*, *acco*

- I don't think of it like people think of things that they don't know
- I think you think of it like I do
- speaking about it I don't want to use long words

McAndrew (1992) puts forward a different classification of *-/ie/* and *-/o/* compared to Wierzbicka, since he refers to hypocoristics with *-/ie/* as “lovables” and diminutives and to those with *-/o/* as “unlovables” and pejoratives (Kidd et al. 2011: 360-361). McAndrew (1992: 174) supports his assumption by stating that shortened words ending in *-/ie/* express familiarity, elegance as well as tenderness, whereas shortened variations with *-/o/* are generally harsh and more commonly used by men. Further, McAndrew observes that while the *-/ie/* suffix is rarely used with words describing professions, *-/o/* as a suffix is commonly found in words which convey a “derogatory” connotation (Kidd et al. *ibid.*). Thus, in comparison to Wierzbicka (1992: 387), who argues that */-o/* is used as a suffix for familiar concepts to shorten the words, McAndrew (1992: 174) is of the opinion that this suffix conveys a rough and male tone.

Wierzbicka (1997: 201) combines the semantic meanings of hypocoristic expressions to a further cultural aspect by mentioning that the shortened word *Aussie*, which is used for both the noun *Australia* as well as the adjective *Australian*, expresses an “attachment to their country”. Additionally, their preference for short words does not only convey a feeling of pride and self-deprecation, but also represents their toughness, braveness, good humour and cheekiness (Wierzbicka *ibid.*). In view of the above-mentioned aspects, Wierzbicka (*ibid.*) emphasises that words such as *mozzies*, *maggies*, *sickie* and *compo*, which are the hypocoristic forms of *mosquitoes*, *magpies*, *sick day* and *workers' compensation*, are regarded as “significant cultural artifacts” and, hence, represent as well as shape Australian culture. Together with hypocoristic forms of first names, e.g. *Bazza*, surnames, e.g. *Richo*, and fixed expressions, e.g. *no worries* and *good on you*, these cultural signifiers convey national principles and values.

With regard to the social variation in the use of hypocoristics in Australian English, a study by Kidd et al. (2011: 365) has shown that although hypocoristic word forms are used by “people across a broad range of ages and backgrounds”, some differences between younger

and older speakers can also be detected and, hence, represents a generation gap. In particular, it appears that hypocoristics ending in *-o/* are gradually disappearing, as they are more commonly used by older speakers, whereas younger speakers tend to use one- and two-syllable hypocoristics more often (Kidd et al. *ibid.*). As a result, it is assumed that younger people in Australia use shortened forms such as *diff/difference*, *hon/honey*, *pash/passionate* more frequently than forms like *ambo/ambulance driver*, *prego/pregnant*, which means that hypocoristic forms also cause social variation within Australia (Kidd et al. *ibid.*).

A further investigation by Kidd et al. (2011: 367) has focused on the attitudes of Australians when utilising hypocoristic word forms and has shown that the use of hypocoristic forms is generally accepted by Australian participants as long as their families have been in Australia for more than two generations. However, when it comes to Australians with immigrated family members, it can be observed that hypocoristic forms are frequently frowned upon (Kidd et al. *ibid.*). Thus, Kidd et al. (*ibid.*) point out the vital part that “social and ethnic identity” has when it comes to the use of hypocoristics and it is put forward “that speakers of AusE are by no means a cohesive, singular category”. As a result, it is emphasised that hypocoristics have an effect on in-group membership and group identity (Kidd et al. 2016: 714). This hypothesis is also supported by Kidd et al.’s study, which has shown that the use of hypocoristic forms, such as *servo* for *service-station* and *ciggie* for *cigarette*, is frequently connected to a feeling of “social closeness between in-group speakers of AusE” (Kidd et al. 2016: 729).

#### **4.3.3. Australian cultural concepts and values**

Considering the cultural aspects that hypocoristics incorporate in Australian English and the fact that “[w]ords are a society’s cultural artifacts”, it seems relevant to define these concepts and describe the cultural values and attitudes of Australians in more detail (Wierzbicka 1997: 201). Wierzbicka (2002: 1169) argues that studying “linguistic practices” is a way to get an understanding of the “attitudes and values” of a society and stresses the vital role of the theory of *cultural scripts* to achieve this goal. Hence, the purpose of cultural scripts is to identify “widely shared and widely known ways of thinking” by looking at their “universal human concepts” and “their universal grammar” (Wierzbicka 2002: 1168). Cultural scripts are used as a method to provide explanations for common attitudes represented in speech and language use (Wierzbicka 2012: 144). Some of the cultural concepts represented by the use of hypocoristics in Australian English are discussed below.

i. Mateship and solidarity

As put by Cramer (2015: 31), *mate* is an informal way of addressing someone, but still expresses friendliness and similarity. Wierzbicka (1997: 101) states that, without doubt, *mate* contributes to “the Australian spirit, Australian national character, Australian ethos” and plays a role in the “Australian self-image”. According to Wierzbicka (1997: 114), it appears that it is an Australian value to be a “good mate” and it, hence, becomes part of their cultural attitude. Moreover, the term *mate* is often associated with being loyal and solidary, meaning that mates support each other (Wierzbicka 1997: 110). Therefore, Goddard (2012: 115) also stresses that the Australian tendency to address people by first names and by the term *mate* conveys a solidary atmosphere between the speakers.

Goddard (2012: 116) formulates an “Anglo-Australian cultural script” which expresses solidarity by implying that “this someone is someone like me”. Goddard and Cramer (2017: 91) define that it is a cultural script in Australia to be socially similar and equal and to have the attitude that “this someone is someone like me”, which means that neither the speaker is superior to the addressee nor vice versa. However, Wierzbicka (1997: 111) makes it clear that *mate* is not only including addressees into a particular group, but at the same time excludes people from it. Owing to the implication that “these people are people like me”, people that are apparently not like the speaker are excluded from the group. Since *mate* mostly refers to white Australian men, Aboriginal people, women as well as immigrants are generally excluded from the addressed group (Wierzbicka 1997: 111-112). Therefore, it should be considered that while *mateship* implies solidarity and belonging on the one hand, it also seems to be exclusive towards people who are not seen as part of the group on the other hand.

However, when Wierzbicka (2002: 1171) defines the cultural scripts for Australia, she mentions that “it is good to be a good mate” is part of the cultural values in Australia. Moreover, it is pointed out that this script can be noticed in the casual speech of Australians and is, hence, a reflection of the cultural attitude of Australians (Wierzbicka *ibid.*). Since Daley and Clyde (1995: 62) put forward that mates do not “abandon” each other, mateship also implies that the addressed person is like the speaker and that bad things should neither happen to the speaker nor the addressed mate (Wierzbicka *ibid.*). In addition, the speaker who uses the term also indicates that in case something happens to his or her mate, he or she “has to do something because of this”, as otherwise “people will think something bad about me

[the speaker] because of this” (Wierzbicka *ibid.*). Owing to these implications that occur when the term *mate* is used in Australian English, the construct *mateship* is regarded as a cultural script in Australia, which is “widely shared, and even more widely recognized” (Wierzbicka 2002: 1171-1172).

## ii. Toughness

Wierzbicka (2002: 1171) argues that being a “whinger”, “sook” and “dobber” is considered undesirable and contributes to the formulation of yet another cultural script existing in Australia. As pointed out by Wierzbicka (1997: 214), “whinge” and “whinger” are considered key words in Australia and form the nation’s culture. As explained by Stollznaw (2003: 2), the word “whinger” is associated with being weak, having self-pity and being unable to deal with problems appropriately. Moreover, it is used synonymously with “sook” and “cry-baby” and the word implies feeling sorry for oneself (Stollznaw *ibid.*). Hence, the usage of the word “whinger” shows a degree of dislike towards someone who complains too much (Stollznaw *ibid.*). Indeed, Wierzbicka (2002: 1171) puts forward that it is admired if somebody can go through “bullshit”, which supports the assumption that toughness is desired in Australia. Doubtlessly, these associations of the word “whinge” and the attempt to avoid being a whinger imply that toughness as well as resilience play vital roles in Australia’s culture and, consequently, in its language (Wierzbicka *ibid.*).

As explained above, the Australian cultural value of toughness is represented in the speech of Australians and particularly in their use of hypocoristic forms. Thus, the shortened form *mozzie* for *mosquito* implies that these insects are not a “big thing” and, therefore, the problem is ignored in a humorous way (Wierzbicka 1992: 385). According to Wierzbicka (*ibid.*), these expressions lead to the assumption that Australians possess a “jocular cynicism” and tend “to knock things down to size”. Similarly, the expression *No worries* is used in a way to avoid being a whinger and to minimise a certain problem (Cramer 2015: 34). At the same time, it implies in a humorous, friendly and familiar way that neither the speaker nor the conversation partner have to worry about something, because it is simply not a big thing (Cramer *ibid.*). In order to express that something is not a big deal and to emphasise this desired toughness, the hypocoristic expression *no biggie*, which derives from *no big deal*, is also commonly used in Australian English.

A further aspect is pointed out by Gladkova (2015: 39), who states that word forms such as *salties* for *salt-water crocodiles* as well as *freshies* for *fresh-water crocodiles*, can be found in Australian English. Based on Goddard and Wierzbicka's (2008) theory, it is analysed that the usage of these hypocoristic forms implies being "unimpressed" as well as "undaunted" and shows that the speaker does not think of it as "a big thing" (Gladkova *ibid.*). Therefore, the usage of the hypocoristic form is not associated with a childish tone or baby-talk as it would be in other varieties of English, but it implies a tough personality of the speaker. Moreover, the form suggests a familiarity between the people engaged in the conversation and the addressed object as well, a phenomenon that will be investigated in more detail below.

### iii. Familiarity and informality

While it is rather uncommon in other varieties of English, the favoured mode of communication in Australia is an informal one (Goddard 2012: 114). This propensity towards the usage of an informal and familiar tone is further supported by the implementation of hypocoristics in Australian English, which also conveys a familiar atmosphere, since these forms are used for objects which are well known within Australia and their people (Gladkova 2015: 39). Hence, when an Australian speaker uses the word *journos* for *journalist*, it should not primarily convey toughness, but rather show a feeling of familiarity with the addressed item or occupation (Wierzbicka 1992: 387). Wierzbicka (*ibid.*), therefore, puts forward that the shortened forms are used because they "are household concepts" and because "no big words (long words)" are required for conversations about these topics and objects. Furthermore, the tendency and preference of Australians to be informal can be regarded as a vital reason for the multitude of hypocoristics that are used in Australian English.

As pointed out by Goddard and Cramer (2017: 93), it is stereotypical for Australians and their mentality to be "laid back" and "easy going" as well as "friendly" and "relaxed". A closer analysis has shown that being laid-back means that the person does not worry or feel pressured, but rather has a positive attitude towards the things he or she can do (Goddard & Cramer 2017: 94). According to Goddard and Cramer (*ibid.*), this attitude is desired by Australians, whereas it might be regarded as lazy in other countries. As summarised by Cramer (2015: 56-57), Australians generally seem to possess a "no worries attitude", which ties in with their tendency to be friendly, informal, humorous as well as laid-back. In addition, Goddard (2009: 31, 38) puts forward that the cultural idea of "not taking yourself too seriously" is highly prevalent in Australia, which also supports their humorous and easy-

going attitude and becomes part of their “national self-image”. Owing to the fact that these characteristics are approved of as well as desired within Australia, their vital contribution to Australian culture and values appears obvious.

Considering the above-mentioned aspects, it can doubtlessly be put forward that hypocoristic word forms play a crucial part in the communication of Australians, since they reflect the cultural values and attitudes of the Australian speakers. As research has shown, hypocoristics are used in a variety of word categories, such as first names, place names, expressions as well as common nouns, and are prevalent in informal and even formal settings in Australian English. Owing to the above-cited findings, it can be summarised that mateship, solidarity, informality, friendliness, familiarity, optimism as well as toughness are considered key values of the Australian culture, which are expressed as well as recognised by the speakers’ language and their tendency to use hypocoristic word forms in various contexts.

## 5. Qualitative study on hypocoristics in Australian English

With regard to the above-mentioned theories and findings by linguists such as Bardsley (2010), Bardsley and Simpson (2009), Goddard (2009, 2012), Kidd et al. (2011), Simpson (2001, 2008) and Wierzbicka (1992, 1997, 2002, 2012), the purpose of this qualitative study is to provide a further in-depth understanding of the usage of hypocoristic word forms in Australian English and their representation of Australian cultural attitudes. In order to fulfil this aim, the following research questions will be addressed:

1. Why are hypocoristic word forms used instead of the original forms in AusE?
2. Which attitudes are conveyed by using hypocoristic forms and how does the usage of these forms affect the audience?
3. Which Australian cultural values and attitudes are reflected by using hypocoristics and how do hypocoristics represent these concepts?
4. Does the usage of hypocoristic word forms make the speaker feel more *Aussie* and how does hypocorism play a role in self-identity and the concept of *We Aussies*?

While the first two research questions address the form of hypocoristic words and their function in Australian English in general, the other two questions cover the socio-cultural aspect of hypocoristic usage within Australia. In particular, the aim of questions 4 and 5 is to take a detailed look at the cultural concepts discussed in the previous chapter of this thesis and their role and representation in the language of Australians. Regarding the culture of Australians, I would like to argue that a feeling of belonging, mateship and equality is particularly valued in Australia. Hence, the concept of *We Aussies*, which incorporates these desired and admired values in Australia and also represents the importance of the hypocoristic word *Aussie* in Australia, will be examined. In addition, I would like to put forward the assumption that using hypocoristic word forms instead of original forms makes the Australian speaker feel and appear more *Aussie*, despite the fact that the speaker might not be aware of that. Considering these aspects, it can be summarised that this empirical study intends to explain why hypocoristic word forms are used and which cultural values and attitudes they represent as well as to show a connection between the concept *We Aussies* and the frequent usage of hypocorism in Australia.

## 5.1. Method

### i. Procedure and Materials

As a first step, examples relevant for this study were collected from various formal and informal real-life contexts and research questions as well as hypotheses were proposed. In particular, the example texts were taken out of advertisements, newspaper articles, news interviews, messages, social media posts and restaurant menus and were then put together into a document which was used during the interviews (see Appendix). Concerning the private messages and social media posts, content consent forms were signed in order to assure that direct quotations and images of the conversations were allowed to be used in this thesis. As a further step, an interview guide (see Appendix) was designed in order to assure that each interview evolved around the initially proposed research questions. Finally, the interview consent forms were signed by the participants and the interviews were conducted and audio-recorded to allow a detailed transcription and analysis. In particular, ten subjects were chosen as interview participants and each interview covered all ten examples which were analysed and discussed in 30 to 45 minutes.

Concerning the analysis undertaken prior to the interviews, my experiences and insights gained during my academic stays in Brisbane in 2017 and 2018 allowed me to incorporate the beneficial method of *autoethnography* into this study, which is, according to Chang (2008: 10), an acknowledged “ethnographic research method that focuses on cultural analysis and interpretation”. Hence, the examples were assessed and analysed with respect to the theories proposed by linguists in the field as well as according to my own auto-ethnographic reflections. Furthermore, in order to include examples from different categories, hypocoristic forms of place names, common nouns as well as first names were chosen in line with the previous research discussed in the above chapter. As Table 10 shows, the hypocorisms appearing in the examples can be categorised according to Simpson’s (2008) template theory. In addition, Table 10 shows that most examples end with the hypocoristic ending *-/i/*, which aligns with Simpson’s (2008) findings that *-/i/* is the most commonly used hypocoristic suffix in Australian English.



**Table 10 Categorisation of hypocoristic examples**

<b>Hypocoristic category</b>	<b>Hypocoristic word</b>	<b>Original form</b>	<b>Template</b>
<b>Place name</b>	Straddie	Stradbroke Island	shortening + /i/
	Brissy	Brisbane	shortening + /i/
	Lowie	Low Level Reserve	shortening + /i/
<b>First name</b>	Loz	Lawrence	shortening + /z/
	Shan	Shannon	Reduction to first syllable
	Tasha	Natasha	shortening + /a/
<b>Common noun</b>	brekky	breakfast	shortening + /i/
	Eggs Benny	Eggs Benedict	shortening + /i/
	Hoggies	Hog's Breath Café	shortening + /i/
	mozzies	mosquitoes	shortening + /i/
	saltie	salt water crocodile	shortening + /i/
	undies	underwear	shortening + /i/
	jocks	jockstraps	shortening + /s/
	Aussie	Australian	shortening + /i/
	Macca's	McDonald's	shortening + /a/
	povo	poverty-stricken	shortening + /o/
	Abo	Aboriginal person	shortening + /o/

Although Wierzbicka (1992: 387) makes it clear that shortened forms, also known as clippings, such as *journ* and *demo* for *journalist* and *demonstration* are commonly used in order to avoid using long words for concepts that are well known, it is also crucial to consider that some hypocoristic words ending in the suffix *-o/* have a negative connotation. Hence, in order to collect results concerning these associations, this study incorporates two specific examples of hypocoristic words ending in *-o/*, namely *povo* and *Abo*. While it is assumed that hypocoristic forms for common nouns are mainly used to represent a laid-back attitude of Australians and to create an informal atmosphere, it appears that some forms ending in *-o/*, such as the above-mentioned ones, do not have the same intentions, but seem rather offensive owing to their negative connotations, which will be discussed in more detail below.

## ii. Interviews

As a method of investigation, this study incorporates semi-structured interviews to collect relevant data. Galletta (2012: 45) explains that the semi-structured interview, which is “valued for its accommodation to a range of research goals, typically reflects variation in its use of questions, prompts, and accompanying tools and resources to draw the participant more fully into the topic under study”. Thus, it is common that open-ended questions as well as questions based on theory are used in order to collect data connected to both the participant’s experience as well as to the constructs prevalent in the field of study (Galletta *ibid.*). According to Galletta (*ibid.*), it is vital that every question asked in the interview has a clear connection to the intention of the investigation, so that “a fully in-depth exploration of the phenomenon under study” can be achieved.

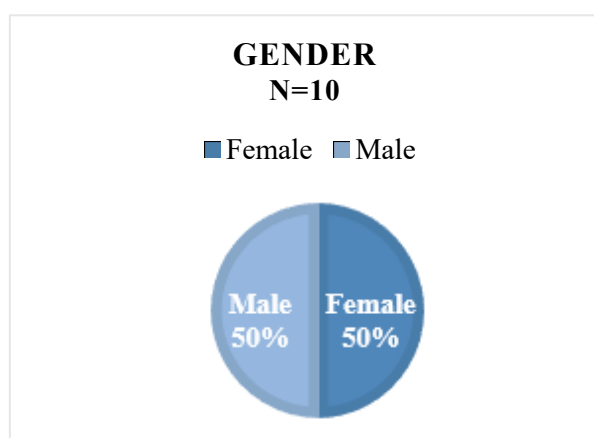
As suggested by Galletta (2012: 46), each of the interviews conducted for the purpose of this study started with a short explanation of the interview’s and research’s goals and the participants were asked to sign a form of consent which addresses the participants’ rights during the research process. Moreover, all of the interviews were audio recorded in order to allow a thorough analysis of the utterances after the interviews had taken place. Furthermore, an interview guide, which can be found in the Appendix, was used during the interviews to ensure “direction and depth” of the conducted interviews (Galletta 2012: 47). Since the interview incorporated open-ended as well as theory-based questions, the interview guide was used by the interviewer not only to give space to the participants’ narration, but also to guarantee that the interview’s content mainly focused on the topic of research.

For the purpose of data analysis, the interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed after the interviews in accordance with the transcription guidelines proposed by Jefferson (1984, 2004). Since McLellan et al. (2003: 66-67) explain that “it may not be necessary to transcribe an entire interview” and owing to the fact that the research focuses on a particular feature of the Australian language, only “selected sentences, passages, paragraphs, or stories relevant to the research question or theory” were transcribed. Furthermore, regarding the usage of punctuation, the transcription of this study’s interviews will use “*punctuations markers* [...] to indicate ‘*the usual*’ intonation”, as suggested by Jefferson (2004: 27) [original emphasis]. In addition, abbreviations were used in the transcription of the interviews as a way to refer to the interview extracts analysed in chapter 5.2 (see Appendix). Thus, the letter *I* stands for *Interviewer*, while *A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, J, K* represent the ten interviewed individuals.

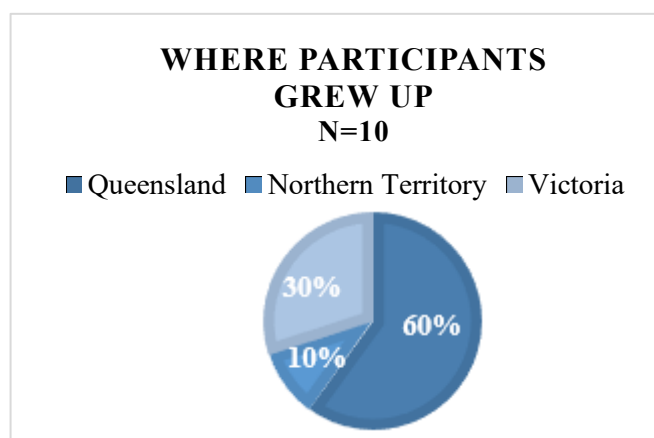
### iii. Participants

The participants for this study were ten individuals aged from 21 to 42 years with a mean age of 26 years. This indicates that the investigation has mainly targeted a younger group of speakers in order to provide insightful results concerning the current usage of hypocoristic forms of younger speakers. As represented in Table 11, the study incorporated an equal number of male and female participants, as five of the participants were female and five were male. Thus, the results of this study concerning the usage of hypocoristic forms apply for both genders. All of the participants were born in Australia and have lived in Australia for the majority of their lives. In particular, this means that none of the participants has lived in a country other than Australia for more than two years. Additionally, the participants were asked in which States they grew up and spent most of their lives in. Since this has shown that some participants have grown up in a different State than they currently live in, both the State in which the participant grew up in and the State in which the interviewee currently resides were taken into consideration when analysing the results. In order to get a better understanding of the participants' origin and residency, Table 12 represents where the participants grew up, whereas Table 13 shows where the interviewees currently reside.

**Table 11 Participant distribution by gender**



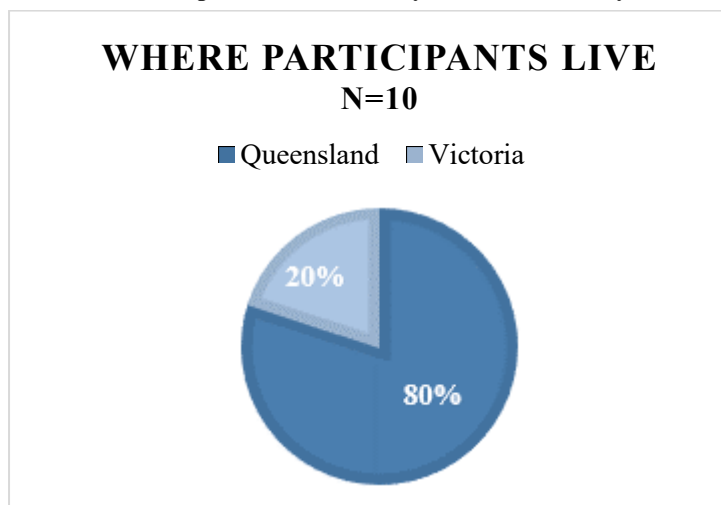
**Table 12 Participant distribution by state of birth**



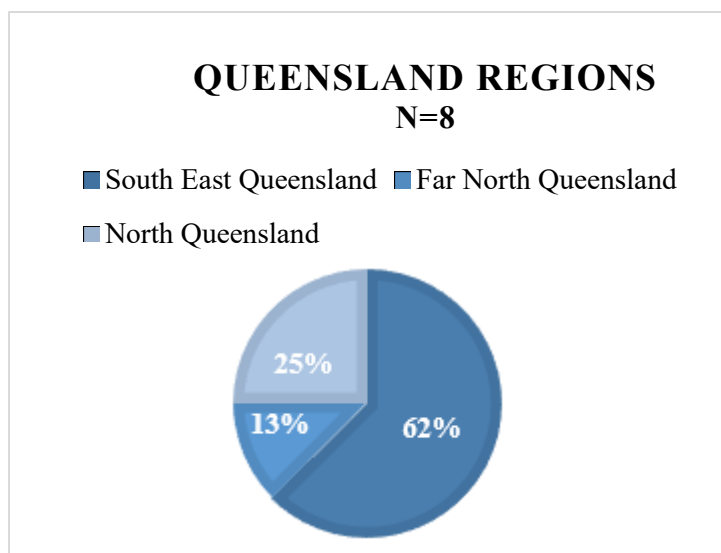
Moreover, considering that 80% of the study's participants currently live in Queensland and owing to the fact that Queensland is Australia's second biggest State, Queensland was divided into its regions in order to allow a more detailed analysis of the responses. Hence, as Table 14 shows, while 62% of the participants live in the South-East of Queensland, in particular in Queensland's capital Brisbane, 25% of the Australians interviewed reside in North Queensland, in particular in Townsville, and only one participant, which represents 13%, comes from Far North Queensland, in particular from Innisfail. This distinction seems

crucial especially when it comes to hypocoristic words such as *salties* and *freshies*, which appear to be particularly present in North and Far North Queensland, while *Straddie* is a local name for an island in the South of Queensland, and *Brissy* is a hypocoristic form of the city *Brisbane* and, therefore, might be more common in the region South-East Queensland. Since two out of ten participants are not from Queensland, but from Victoria, it can be expected that the results will show that the interviewees from Victoria are less likely to know and use regional forms common in the speech of Queenslanders such as *Straddie*, *Brissy* and *saltie*.

**Table 13 Participant distribution by state of residency**

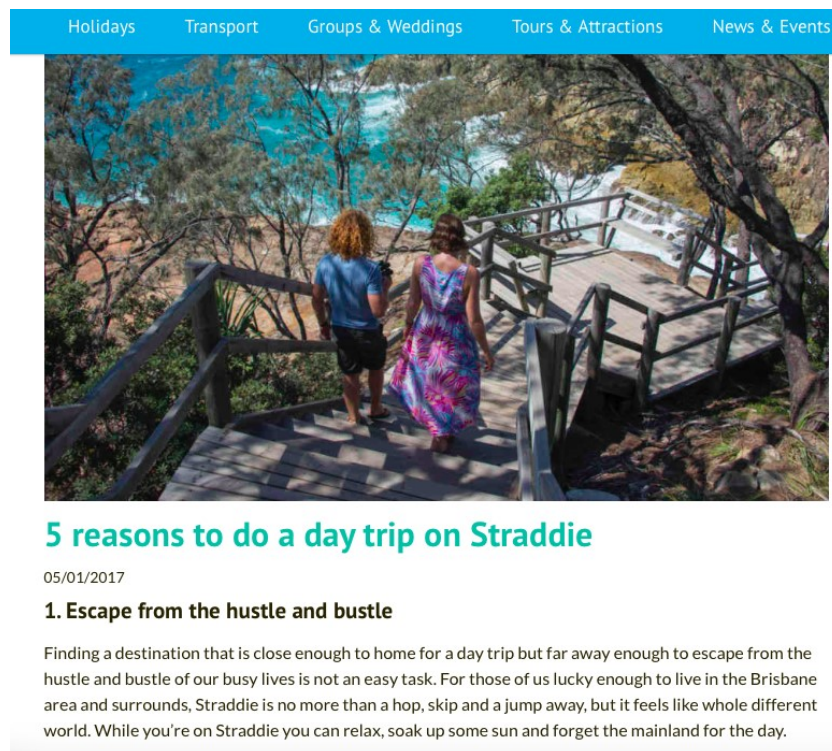


**Table 14 Participant distribution by region of Queensland**



## 5.2. Results

### 5.2.1. Place names



**Figure 9 Example 1 Travel advertisement Stradbroke Island**

Since hypocoristic place names are highly common in Australian English and appear in spoken as well as written discourse, the interview's first example focuses on the usage of the forms *Straddie*/*Stradbroke Island* and *Brissy*/*Brisbane*. As can be seen in Figure 9, the form *Straddie* is used in an online travel advertisement and it can be assumed that this supports a holiday feeling towards Stradbroke Island, whereas *Brisbane*, which is not addressed with either of its shortened forms, such as *Brissy*, *Briz* or *Brizvegas*, is displayed as a more serious working place. When analysing this text in the interview, Interviewee A (Appendix) put forward the following:

I (Interviewer): Okay, yeah. Why would Straddie be used here ehm instead of Stradbroke Island?

A: Because Stradbroke Island is a mouthful and we're too lazy [*laughs*].

I: [*laughs*] Okay, so it is about laziness?

A: I guess it's just the way that we ehm abbreviate and shorten words to, ehm, it almost makes it sound more fun as well. We're going to Straddie sounds a lot better than we're going to Stradbroke Island, like, it's not as formal. So, for me, it feels like it's a lot more relaxed and ehm it gives that vibe of it being more of a holiday or a get-away destination.

I: What I'm wondering is why might they have used Brisbane here instead of an abbreviated form?

A: I guess in a way that they do that, I mean when I read it I read Brissy anyways [laughs].

I: [laughs].

A: but I guess part of the reason is to distinguish it from it being a place where one might work or live compared to ah where one might go for a vacation.

This extract from the interview clearly shows that Interviewee A (Appendix) is of the opinion that shortened forms are commonly used to save time and in this particular example to provide a holiday association towards the advertised place. Interviewee C (Appendix) also mentions this aspect by explaining that *Straddie* “makes it sound more holiday-ish, maybe makes it sound more like a getaway and makes it more exciting”. Moreover, Interviewee A (Appendix), who currently lives in Pottsville, also mentioned that she calls Pottsville *Potty*, which is, according to her, “an affectionate name” and “gives that sense of fondness”. This affectionate character of the hypocoristic form is further supported by the fact that according to Interviewee A (Appendix) someone who dislikes Brisbane would rather say “I hate Brisbane” than “I hate Brissy”. Thus, it can be assumed that the positive attitude which is expressed by using hypocoristic words forms conflicts with the negative connotation of words such as *hate*.

With respect to that example, Interviewee B (Appendix) analysed that the ad might be “more aimed at local people from around” and might also seem “more laid-back, probably more cash, easy-going”, since it makes use of the form *Straddie*. Furthermore, analysing the interviewees' responses has shown that the words *relaxed*, *cash/casual*, *laid-back* were most commonly used to describe the atmosphere that is implied by using the form *Straddie*, whereas the term *Brisbane* was associated with being a working place that is “not very relaxed, but very busy” (Interviewee H Appendix). Interviewee J (Appendix) concluded that they might be “trying to distinguish between a formal city like Brisbane and a more relaxed place like Stradbroke Island”. Considering that all of the interviewees analysed this advertisement very similarly, it can be assumed that using the hypocoristic form for *Stradbroke Island* and using the original form for *Brisbane* creates a more relaxed and holiday-like atmosphere towards the advertised place.

Concerning the question if the form *Straddie* is commonly used by the interviewees, it can be concluded that the majority of the participants agree that the form is very well-known and even more used than its original form. Interviewee C (Appendix), for instance, states that she has “never once called Stradbroke Island Stradbroke Island” and that she has “only ever called it Straddie”, which is similar to the responses by Interviewee B, “It’s probably more commonly called Straddie”, Interviewee E, “and it’s easier than saying Stradbroke Island”, and Interviewee H, “I don’t think I’ve ever used Stradbroke Island” (Appendix). Furthermore, the interviews have shown that the term *Straddie* is not only known by people from South-East Queensland, but also by those who come from the northern regions of Queensland. Owing to the fact that all of the participants from Queensland stated that they use the form *Straddie* almost exclusively or at least more commonly than *Stradbroke Island*, it can be assumed that this term is widely known and used throughout Queensland. However, the interviews with speakers from Victoria have shown that the form *Straddie* is a regional term, as it is less commonly known in the southern parts of Australia. Interviewee J (Appendix), for instance, mentioned that the advertisement addresses local people mainly, as it is less likely for people who have not been “around the Gold Coast” to know what *Straddie* means. Similarly, Example 4, which includes the form *Lowie* for *Low Water Reserve*, has provided proof for the assumption that hypocoristic forms can be dependent on their region, as the following interview responses show (Appendix):

B: But Lowie is certainly not a, well I didn’t know it. A lot of people would have to read the below to know what the Lowie is.

I: And what about the people that come from this place?

B: Oh, people in Katherine, yeah I’d say so. If you’re from Katherine, yeah, they would know.

I: So they’re the insiders ↑?

B: Yeah within that context of where you’re living and what’s around you, you would be more ehm familiar, that would be in your vocabulary I’d say.

D: Hm, it’s less common but again if I lived there, like if I was closer, I would definitely use Lowie and would understand it.

I: So, it almost creates an insider thing for the people from Katherine.

D: Yeah, definitely. That’s right, the audience there would understand it. But I still understand the association between those two.

F: The Lowie.

I: Do you know what that is?

F: I have no idea.

I: It says it in the small text. It’s a Low Level=

F: =Reserve a:h.

I: So you wouldn't know that?

F: No.

I: And do you think people in Katherine would know it?

F: Absolutely and I think they knew that writing it you know.

I: Yeah, so you're assuming that people in Katherine would know?

F: Yeah, definitely. I think definitely based on the region and=

I: =so, it's also an insider thing?

F: Yeah, I've never even heard about the Low Level Reserve at Katherine.

I: Ehm, the Lowie means Low Water Reserve. You wouldn't have known that?

J: I have no idea what that is.

I: Why do you think they would use that in this article?

J: To appeal to people who know what the Lowie is and localise it more.

As the utterances above show, none of the ten participants interviewed knew exactly what the hypocoristic form *Lowie* meant without reading the picture's description. Nevertheless, all the participants believed that this form is well-known and used by people living in Katherine in the Northern Territory, which is why it can be assumed that the newspaper article is mainly aimed at local people. Moreover, Interviewee B (Appendix) pointed out that the author of the article might want "to be creative with the heading" and "have a run on words", which supports Sussex's assumption (2004) that Australians are highly creative with respect to forming hypocoristic words. Interviewee C (Appendix) also mentioned, "sometimes the Gold Coast is the Goldy and different parts of the Gold Coast I use the shorter terms, like there's a place called Duranbah which I call Debah" and Interviewee A (Appendix) uses the form *Potty* for *Pottsville*, as explained above. Thus, these responses also support the assumption by Sussex (2004) and Simpson (2001, 2009) that hypocoristic forms of place names are highly common and widely used in Australia. In conclusion, Bardsley and Simpson's hypothesis (2009: 57) that the usage of hypocoristic forms for place names results in "an insider perspective" is confirmed and, additionally, it can be put forward that a familiar and local atmosphere towards that place is represented by the hypocorism.



## 5.2.2. Common nouns

### a) Brekky, Hoggie's, Eggs Benny



Figure 10 Example 2 Hog's Breath Café Menu

Example 2 is a menu from an Australian café and includes the hypocoristic forms *brekky/breakfast*, *Hoggies/Hog's Style* and *Eggs Benny/Eggs Benedict*. As pointed out by Interviewee B (Appendix), “brekky is so well established in Australia, you’re not not gonna use it” and Interviewee D also mentioned that “brekky [...] is more natural [...] than breakfast”. Moreover, all of the participants who either grew up in or have lived in Queensland for the majority of their lives stated that they use the word *brekky* very frequently, as the following interview extracts show (Appendix):

B: Ehm, brekky is more familiar. I don’t know, it’s probably psychological. At home you’re probably more likely to say brekky here in Australia obviously.

D: Yeah, I just use it, like it’s so natural that I don’t even think about how it’s advertised. Brekky, breakfast, like I actually prefer brekky, like it’s more natural for me than breakfast.

I: Cool and the word brekky do you use that commonly?

E: Yeah, definitely.

I: And would you use the word brekky?

G: Yeah, all the time [laughs]

I: Ehm, do you use the word brekky?

H: Yes, a lot [laughs].

I: [laughs] Do you know why?

H: I don't know, it's fun, it's a lot more shorter than saying breakfast.

Moreover, the interview with a participant whose husband comes from England and moved to Australia fifteen years ago has shown that hypocoristic forms, such as *brekky* are also commonly taken on by people who did not grow up in Australia. When asking Interviewee C (Appendix) if her English husband uses the term *brekky*, the response was “Yeah, definitely we’re going for brekky. And I guess that’s the thing, maybe if you say the longer word to Aussies it just doesn’t feel right maybe?!”. Hence, it is not only pointed out that hypocoristic words are typical for the Australian language, but also that their usage contributes to a feeling of being Australian, as discussed in section 5.2.5. below. Nevertheless, Interviewee A (Appendix) pointed out that having a short form like *brekky* in a menu seems to be “a thing that we see a lot more in the country, [...], you might not see it in Melbourne, but for us on the coast, well you know, we just go out for brekky. And that is a lot more affectionate”. Interviewee K (Appendix) confirms that *brekky* is used in Melbourne as well, although “it’s a bit more used in Brisbane because people in Brisbane tend to use a lot more slang [...] and has a lot more sense of national pride”. Furthermore, the interview with a further participant from Victoria has shown that *brekky* might be more commonly used in certain parts of Australia and is frequently associated with the language of people from Queensland (Appendix):

I: Do you use the word brekky?

J: No, not really.

I: Really?

J: No, I would usually say breakfast but maybe it’s because I speak more formally with most people.

I: Do you feel like all those words are used more in Queensland?

J: Yeah, Queensland or country.

In addition, interviewees from both Queensland as well as Victoria agreed that using the form *brekky* in a menu suggests a casual, relaxed and informal place and it can be assumed that people who go there are laid-back and casual as well. Interviewee B (Appendix), for instance, describes the people going to this café as “Average Joe’s” and Interviewee D (Appendix)

stated that their customers would be “relaxed and maybe they would wear thongs”, which also represents a stereotypical image of Australians. Additionally, the responses by the interviewees suggest that the menu uses these shortened forms in order to create an informal atmosphere and make the text more relatable and accessible for the audience. Furthermore, as Interviewee F puts it, *brekky* can be considered an Australian word, which results in a closer connection between the café and the Australian audience targeted with this menu. With regard to the shortened form *Eggs Benny*, opposing opinions arose in the interviews, since Interviewee A (Appendix) mentioned that it seems “like they’ve gone too far” and as if “they’re trying to get away with a lot more”, while Interviewee F believes that this form is “pretty common” as well. Owing to these differing statements and the fact that *brekky* is used frequently by 90% of the participants, it can be assumed that *Eggs Benny* is, in general, not as commonly used as *brekky* in Australia and might depend more on the preferences of the individuals, whereas *brekky* can be depicted in written and spoken discourse more frequently.

Furthermore, the interviewees were asked whether it appears anti-intellectual to use the form *brekky* in general as well as in a menu in particular. The majority of participants agree that it is not uneducated to use this form, since it is widely spread and used by speakers from different social classes, as the following responses illustrate (Appendix):

B: Because it’s a well-established term to use in Australia [...] Everyone uses that, it’s so universal.

D: I think even a highly educated professional refers to the different terminology for things like that because I’ve heard, you know, people refer to breakfast as brekky. Everyone says it yeah.

F: I mean somehow selfishly I call myself an educated person and I use it all the time. [...] There are plenty of people in suits who use it but also plenty of uneducated people who use it so.

G: Yeah, it’s so common and everyone knows what you mean.

However, contrary to these answers, two interviews have also shown that the form *brekky* in a menu might be considered uneducated. In particular, according to Interviewee D (Appendix), using a clipped form in spoken discourse does not necessarily seem uneducated, whereas “when it’s written down”, it can appear “a bit like uneducated”. Moreover, Interviewee K (Appendix) refers to the regional variation and mentions that it might seem uneducated and “a bit Bogan” to use such a form in Melbourne, whereas in Queensland it is

likely to be considered “more appealing”. Hence, it is indicated that the connotations of hypocoristic forms can alter depending on whether they occur in spoken or written text as well as regarding the State and context in which they are used. Furthermore, a participant from Brisbane pointed out that “if you’re using it [brekky] in casual speech it’s not uneducated I suppose, but when something’s written in a menu as an abbreviation or colloquialism it sort of is” (Appendix). Thus, it can be assumed that the usage of hypocoristics in written text can be associated with a lack of education, while the same forms do not necessarily suggest anti-intellectualism in spoken discourse or in language use in general.

## b) Mozzies



Figure 11 Example 3 The University of Sydney News

In order to provide further insights into the usage of hypocoristic forms and into the question whether hypocorism suggests anti-intellectualism, this news article taken from the homepage of The University of Sydney was analysed in the interviews undertaken for this study. Interestingly, as can be seen in Figure 11, hypocoristic word forms also appear in a written text that is published on a University webpage, which suggests that these forms are not exclusively used by uneducated people or in spoken discourse only. Hence, the interviewees were asked for possible reasons why this article makes use of both the original form *mosquito* and the hypocorism *mozzies* and it was further asked why the shorter form is only used in the subheading and not in the main heading and text. According to Interviewee B (Appendix), this might have to do with the fact that

they have to write in the formal language, but also in a way that appeals to the common folk as well. [...]. Well, they've used the word mosquito in the heading. That's probably the more formal side of it. And then they go on and use mozzies because ah everyone would know what that is, that's just Australian, it's just a universal regularly used word.

Interviewee C (Appendix) also provides a similar answer by stating that the usage of the original form creates an intelligent atmosphere, whereas the abbreviated form makes it Australian and attracts the Australian readership. Hence, as Interviewee F and H (Appendix) state, it can be assumed that the article utilises the original form "to maintain some level of formality trying to keep the headline professional", but also includes the hypocoristic form, which "brings it down to the readers' level" and, therefore, makes it more accessible and relatable to the readership. Similar to the first two examples, the interview responses for this example have also shown that the hypocoristic form creates a more relaxed and accessible atmosphere towards the targeted audience and, moreover, makes it appear more Australian, which suggests that the usage of these forms is considered Australian, as will be demonstrated below.

A further aspect discussed in the interviews is the connotations of the word *mozzies* and the effects its usage has on an audience. As pointed out by Interviewee C (Appendix), somebody who uses the word *mosquito* instead of its abbreviated form might appear posher or as if he or she does not come from Australia. As mentioned above, this indicates that the word *mozzies* is connected to an Australian way of speaking and also contributes to their national identity. Interestingly, as the following responses show, the interviews have indicated that all the participants who use the word *mozzies* frequently would even use it more commonly as its original form (Appendix):

D: Again mozzies [*laughs*] I say it so frequently I don't even really think about it. No yeah, definitely, I say mozzies all the time over mosquitoes. More again like you say it's an Australian term we've somehow adapted into our language.

F: Every time, particularly in summer when it's sort of mosquito season everyone says mozzies, I don't think anyone in my family and friends, I have never heard them say mosquitoes.

H: Yeah, I don't think I've ever used the word mosquito, I can't remember the last time I said it [*laughs*].

J: I would say mozzies at home in Mildura. [...] I mean they all use those word in Mildura.

K: Yeah, that's actually something I use all the time but I would never write it down and that looks really bad to be written down.

Interviewee J (Appendix), who grew up in rural Victoria in Mildura and currently lives in Melbourne, stated that he uses *mozzies* rarely in Melbourne, but more commonly in Mildura, which shows that regional variance can also occur within the same state depending on the situation that the speaker is in. Furthermore, while it seemed striking for Interviewee K (Appendix) that the form *mozzies* is used in a written context, none of the other participants mentioned this issue. Considering these aspects, it can be assumed that the usage of hypocoristic forms in written and spoken discourse varies between individuals according to the particular context and their personal preferences. Nevertheless, with regard to spoken discourse, it can be concluded that the majority of interviewees prefer the hypocoristic over its original form. In addition, the study's participants were also asked for possible reasons of this preference.

A: Yeah mos-qui-toe, that's three [syllables]. Mozzies, that's two [syllables] *[laughs]* [...] You know we're lazy, we don't wanna talk more than we have to.

C: It's why use the full word if everyone knows what a mozzie is and maybe I drop into mosquito when I talk to someone who's not from Australia perhaps.

D: They [shortened words] make it easier and a bit more lazier or just to say mozzies instead of mosquito. [...] we do shorten a lot of words without even thinking about it.

E: Yeah probably, because mosquito's got three syllables and that's just a no go. Mozzies has two that's okay, more than two syllables not really, yeah.

F: It's just a bit lazy and a combination of shortening, you know, I suppose it's cultural too everyone says it so I say it.

G: Because it's easier and it sounds better.

K: Well, firstly it's really a bit lazy, ehm part of our culture is to be lazy but also casual to be casual and really open is something that's really important and valued and by shortening words it automatically makes it feel like it kind of gets rid of the power and gives more of a sense of mateship. Everyone can be everyone's friend.

Considering these answers, laziness, which is according to some interviewees also part of the Australian culture, is doubtlessly a reason for the frequent shortening of words in Australian English, which supports Wierzbicka's (1992: 385) argument that Australians prefer informality and short words. Furthermore, Interviewee A (Appendix) points out another crucial aspect by stating that "we don't wanna waste our time with something that we hate. So here mozzies has that kind of negative affiliation, so it doesn't have that fondness to it". Hence, compared to forms like *Straddie* and *Brissy*, which create a positive and fond atmosphere, shortening the word *mosquito* primarily has to do with laziness. Interviewee B (Appendix) also emphasises this negative feeling towards mosquitoes by saying "Bloody mozzies. I hate 'em". For these reasons, it can be concluded that the hypocorism in this particular case is explained by laziness on the one hand and a feeling of dislike towards the insects on the other hand.

I: And does it, like with the example of mozzies, make it seem like, you know, like mozzies are, ah, not a big deal?

A: We care about that. But it's more, they're just a pain, and they're so annoying, and we don't have to spend a lot of time saying that.

C: A:h, they're annoying, but you know they're a part of life. [...] if you're gonna go outside they'll be there, so it's not gonna stop me and everyone I know from going outside.

### c) Saltie

NOVEMBER 14 2017 - 12:08PM

## Big saltie spotted near the Lowie



Chris McLennan

News

f SHARE t TWEET e COMMENTS



Visitors swimming at the reserve late last month said they did not know about the Crocwise warnings.

A big saltwater crocodile has been spotted near the popular swimming spot at the Low Level Reserve at Katherine.

**Figure 12 Example 4 Katherine Times newspaper article**

Example 4, which is represented in Figure 12, is a newspaper article which was published in the *Katherine Times* in 2017. This example was chosen in order to provide a comparison between the usage of the hypocorism *saltie* and the form *mozzies*, especially with regard to the speaker's possible toughness and, further, to investigate the regional variance of hypocoristic words, since crocodiles can only be found in the northern parts of Australia. Interviewee A (Appendix), who spent the majority of her life in Far North Queensland, pointed out that

Well, as someone coming from up there, it's just a lot easier to say that. It's such a long winded information, for the most part, you just talk in these abbreviated terms. And you're talking to someone you already know, who has some background information. So, you can just say "that freshie over there".

This response emphasises that laziness once again plays a role in the shortening of the word *salt-water crocodile* and that it is used in conversation with someone from a similar background. Hence, it is not surprising that the participants from South East Queensland (Interviewees B-F) and Victoria (Interviewees J-K) are not as familiar with the term and would not incorporate it in their daily speech, although the majority of them knew what it refers to, as the following responses prove (Appendix):

B: Ah, salties, I would say that people in the major cities would not use that word actually. Saltie is probably for people who are more in rural areas.

C: See, from that title I wouldn't know what that is. [...] Yeah, I would never use that term. [...] I mean people in Katherine would know.

D: Nah, I don't really use that. [...] No, no, not as much but I guess that's because where I am where we're situated [...], we don't have a big thing with crocodiles in Brisbane but if I were to go up North it'd be more relatable there.

E: Not in Brisbane, but in the tropics in Far North Queensland. [...] especially you know if you go to the North it's a very unique colloquialism to that area [...].

F: I would probably say a croc. Satie, personally I wouldn't use it, but you see it particularly up North. [...] because we don't have that many salties here, you know, you go up to Far North Queensland where it's a lot more common, so I would assume they would use it more often.

J: I would say crocodiles because I'm not familiar with them, they're not part of my life, so I wouldn't feel the need to shorten it when I say it.

K: Oh, big saltie. That's interesting because I've never used that one before but I know what it means straight away.



However, when comparing the responses from Interviewee A from Far North Queensland with the responses from Interviewee G and H from North Queensland, an unexpected conclusion can be drawn. While it was initially expected that the term *saltie* would be commonly understood as well as used in North and Far North Queensland, the responses from Interviewees G and H have shown that although the term is understood, the participants would not use it as frequently as Interviewee A who prefers the term *saltie* over *salt-water crocodile* (Appendix). In particular, Interviewee G stated, “No, I would say a croc, but I probably wouldn’t refer to it as a saltie, but I know exactly what it means”. Similarly, Interviewee H also understands this term (Appendix). Thus, contrary to the initial expectation, the results show that the term *saltie* does not seem to be as commonly used by people in North Queensland, although salt-water crocodiles occur in this area. Despite these insights, further investigation is required in order to get a more detailed understanding of the usage of the term *saltie* in these parts of Queensland, since this study only investigated a small number of subjects from North and Far North Queensland.

A further aspect of the present investigation is the cultural value of being tough in Australia and its correlation with the hypocoristic form *saltie*, since both Wierzbicka (1992: 385) and Gladkova (2015: 39) put forward that hypocoristics make the addressed item appear smaller in its significance and also suggest a familiarity between the speakers and the object. Interestingly, the responses regarding this aspect of hypocoristics have not been congruent, but have differed between the participants. As can be seen in the statements below, Interviewee B, C, G and J are of the opinion that it makes the speaker appear more familiar with salt-water crocodiles, whereas Interviewees A, D and F are of the opinion that it also conveys a tough attitude (Appendix).

B: With respect to saltie, that’s probably for someone from the outback or someone who’s more familiar with them.

C: Maybe, I don’t know if they’re trying to or show that they’re a local and they, you know, know more about it than we do.

G: Maybe it’s like he knows what he’s taking about more because he can just refer to it casually, yeah more familiar with it, so he can have a shorter word for it. [...] not tougher but they probably know what they’re talking about and they’re familiar with it.

J: If somebody says saltie to me I would feel like, ehm they know what they’re doing with a saltie and I have no idea [*laughs*].

I: And does it make them seem tougher?

J: Ehm I guess ((pause)) nah, I guess it just makes them seem familiar with it.

I: =and with the saltie and freshie, do you think it makes a person sound tough?

A: Hm, I guess so, yeah. Again, having grown up in those areas, I think it's just something that we're used to. We just ehm disregard the ehm potential severity of those animals and the danger that they may pose you know.

D: Yeah, hm, I think you'd know that they are more [...] aware or more used to that thing happening or you know they're spotting them every day and yeah I guess it makes them look cooler too if they're using the you know local slang and terminology. [...] it kinda downplays it a bit and makes it a bit more again relaxed and easy and lazy way and a more friendly way than saying there's a big salt-water crocodile [*laughs*].

F: Yeah so I definitely think it makes you appear more Australian and therefore possibly tougher depending on what the person thinks. [...] I think what it's always is taking a casual approach to something that's very, very serious and very dangerous and so yeah that probably makes you seem a little bit bigger because you're like ah it's just a saltie.

K: I think, ehm more country and ehm maybe in a sense, I suppose, more rough around the edges and I suppose, high-core and tougher.

Therefore, both of the assumed connotations, namely toughness and familiarity towards the addressed object, could be confirmed, although it has to be noted that some participants did not find the word tough, but merely described it as more familiar and associated the abbreviated form with speakers from the outback or the country. Furthermore, as emphasised by Interviewee A, D and F (Appendix), the hypocoristic word *saltie* might also suggest that the speaker dismisses the possible danger of a crocodile by using this abbreviated form and at the same time shows a familiarity towards the animals, which aligns with the assumption that the speaker aims to appear as a tough Australian when utilising this particular abbreviation.

d) Undies, jocks, mate



Figure 13 Example 5 News Interview

someone ran into the shop and I, ah, said, oh what, so I jumped out of bed 'n all I had was me undies on, I walked out the front 'n I've seen a car smashed [...]  
but mate all I had was me jocks on, oh and I was chasing him up the street and I'm just like mate [...]  
yeah, but I had nothing on but me jocks [...]  
it's something you've gotta do for the community mate, it's like you look after your mates and your mates will always look after you [...].

Figure 14 Transcription of News Interview

As can be seen in Figures 13 and 14, Example 5 is a news interview which was broadcast by the Australian TV channel 9 and shows the reaction of an Australian man after his neighbour's shop was damaged. This video was chosen in order to discuss the hypocoristic forms *undies/underwear* and *jocks/jockstraps*, the terminology *mate* as well as the concept of *mateship* in Australia, which will be discussed in chapter 5.2.5. in more detail. After watching the video, the participants were asked how the person in this video appears in general. The responses have shown that 60% of the participants used the term *Bogan* to describe the interviewed person. *Bogan* is a frequently used term in Australia and, according to Oxford Dictionaries (2018), it is used to refer to “[a]n uncouth or unsophisticated person regarded as being of low social status”. Furthermore, one participant used the term *ocker* as a description, which labels “[a] rough, uncultivated Australian man” (Oxford Dictionaries 2018). Both *Bogan* and *ocker* can be considered Australian terms which describe a stereotypical Australian person in terms of appearance and a broad accent.

Interviewee A and D also agree that the man's way of speaking is regarded as an Australian stereotype and might represent "how foreigners would see us [Australians] talking" (Appendix). However, more in-depth questions have shown that the association with anti-intellectualism is mostly due to his appearance and the incorrect grammar rather than the hypocoristic words. Interviewee C (Appendix), for instance, made clear that "pretty much everyone and even I say undies but I wouldn't say me undies" and Interviewee D also states that she uses these words frequently and "everyone says it here all the time" as well. The following responses provide further evidence for the assumption that the usage of hypocoristic words, such as *undies* and *jocks*, does not necessarily suggest a lower social background of the speaker, whereas exchanging the word *my* with *me* as a possessive pronoun is frequently associated with anti-intellectualism:

A: Yeah, instead of saying I was in my underwear he was saying I was in me jocks or me undies, and that there is that informal language that we have. Even my grandma says me instead of my, and my partner does the same, and it does come across uneducated.

B: The way he sounded, it wasn't so much the words he used it was more his Aussie accent, it was quite strong. [...] Using the word undies is not uneducated, everyone uses that term.

C: Yeah, it's mostly the language, you know, the me instead of my, it's almost, Gosh, it sounds terrible, I mean he sounds like he's a good guy, but sounds like he's not very well educated.

E: Well he says me instead of my about a hundred times I mean I guess that's just the way he talks. Many people talk like that but I would definitely associate that with low socio-economic areas.

H: I think it's his appearance, his hair and his tattoos are pretty typical, he talks a little bit ehm what's the word for it, ocker I think is what it's called.

J: Ehm he appears like [laughs] friendly [laughs]. But Bogan. You would assume that he's uneducated from the way he looks and his language.  
Ehm he doesn't ehm have my in his vocabulary, me jocks me undies. When he doesn't know what to say he just uses mate.

K: Really Bogan and super Australian in a way that makes me feel ashamed to be Australian [laughs] [...] Yeah it's a combination of wearing extremely Bogan clothes and yeah the missing teeth as well and he has a really strong Australian accent.

With regard to the frequency of the hypocoristic words *undies* and *jocks* in Australian English, the participants' responses clearly suggest that these forms are preferred over the original words. Compared with the previously discussed example, namely *saltie*, which appeared to be more commonly understood than used by the participants, the above-mentioned hypocoristic words are widely spread and used by both participants from Queensland and Victoria. In addition, Interviewee F (Appendix) provides specific examples by mentioning his father, who works as a lawyer and still uses phrases such as "get the jocks out of the dryer". The same participant also states that despite his university degree, he still does not have any "ifs, ands, and buts about saying jocks, mate, bloke" and summarises that there is not "anything uneducated though about saying I'm in my jocks", which once again underpins the assumption that these hypocoristic forms are used across various social classes.

Similarly, Interviewee E (Appendix) does not believe that "there's anything wrong with using the words undies and jocks, [...] people who are educated would still use those shortened words because there doesn't need to be too much said about underwear, [...], it's pretty self-explanatory", and also states that the words describe "something that doesn't hold too much precedence". Hence, Wierzbicka's (1992: 387) hypothesis which emphasises that hypocoristic words are frequently used for "household concepts" is confirmed. Furthermore, as discussed with the previous examples, it can be assumed that the words *underwear* and *jockstraps* are shortened because of the tendencies of Australian speakers to be informal and lazy, which represents their cultural values. However, while the hypocorisms *saltie* and *Straddie*, for instance, convey a familiar feeling towards the addressed item or place, this aspect does not seem to be an influencing factor in the shortening of the words that denote underwear, which can be explained by the fact that the term *underwear* labels an intimate item regardless of its word form.

e) Macca's, Aussie



Figure 15 Example 6 McDonald's advertisement

This is the lettuce handpicked today to be cooled and washed and on its way. And the tasty hero to this humble lettuce leaf, 100% juice Aussie beef. Then into Macca's with the scissors the Big Mac will start with special sauce, some say the best part, the lettuce cheese onions, pickles too. Toasted bun with sesame seeds, about 320. Best from the land sped to Macca's with haste, where it all comes together for that wonderful taste.

Figure 16 Transcription of McDonald's advertisement

Interestingly, as can be seen in Figures 15 and 16, this McDonald's advertisement includes the hypocoristic form *Macca's*. Simpson (2008: 406), who uses the form *Maccas* rather than *Macca's*, points out that it is unclear whether the word's suffix stems from a plural or possessive form or from the *-/as/* hypocoristic suffix. Since the company, however, uses the form *Macca's* in this example and it seems likely that the "s" represents a possessive suffix owing to the possessive *-s* in the word McDonald's, this spelling will be used in the analysis and the interviews' transcriptions.

The first aspect which was analysed in the interviews concerning this example was the fact that the company refers to itself as *Macca's*, which is according to the participants' responses a widely-spread hypocoristic word in Australia and is used more frequently than its original form. Interviewee A, for instance, mentioned that "everyone uses it" and assumed that "if you stopped somebody on the street in inner-city Brisbane and you show them that sign, they'll say Macca's", which aligns with the response by Interviewee E (Appendix), who states that the term *Macca's* is "classless" and "welcoming". Further, Interviewee B makes it clear that

the abbreviated form has “become so well-established over time that [...] it’s just [...] Macca’s, it’s not McDonald’s” (Appendix). Moreover, the assumption that *Macca’s* has become more commonly used in Australia in both spoken and written discourse is further confirmed by similar responses, such as “I prefer the terminology Macca’s to McDonald’s. I think a lot of Australian are used to that way of speaking where it almost becomes second way of nature” (Interviewee D), “Yeah sure I mean who calls it McDonald’s” (Interviewee F), “I mean it’s general in Australia that they call themselves Macca’s and it’s just such a widespread term here regardless of education and whatever” (Interviewee J) and “In like CBD Melbourne they have a McDonald’s that literally the label is Macca’s” (Interviewee K).

Doubtlessly, using a hypocoristic form in an advertisement to refer to the advertised company, also has a crucial effect on its targeted audience and was, hence, also part of the discussion. As the following statements show, all the participants agreed that the hypocoristic form creates a more accessible atmosphere and a feeling of camaraderie between the company and the audience and puts both parties on the same level.

A: Because they’re appealing to the audience. It’s that kind of fondness that they refer to - even the people who work there call it Macca’s.

C: And it potentially puts you in the category of your customers. If you’re referring to yourself as McDonald’s maybe you put yourself up here, whereas everyone else calls it Macca’s. They’re bringing themselves into the feeling of the community.

D: It’s just more relatable and targeted at the Australian audience, we say that a lot. Yeah and even the kids at school say it. [...] it would disassociate like what we know it [McDonald’s] as and it would become a more unfriendly way.

G: [...] yeah, it’s not as relatable, I think it would sound weird too. Yeah and I think because people would say it everyone else catches on and also you see it as well like what they refer to themselves that’s what you call it *[laughs]*.

H: Yeah it [using McDonald’s] would sound odd and it would disconnect it a bit more.

K: I think, ehm, McDonald’s is actually very clever in the sense that, I mean, it’s such a global country and it really goes into the specific nuances of each country that it markets in.

In addition, four participants noticed a further reason as to why the forms *Macca’s* and *Aussie*, which is a shorter form for *Australian*, might be used in this advertisement. In particular, these interviewees believe that the hypocoristic forms allow the company to

localise and make their products seem more Australian, which is used as a marketing strategy to advertise their company and connect to the Australian audience, despite the fact that McDonald's originated in America. Thus, as these answers show, McDonald's achieves a more local feeling by adjusting its language to the characteristics of Australian speech and, additionally, by addressing the local ingredients that the company uses for their burgers.

E: I mean, I've spoken to people from other countries and they have a laugh that we call it Macca's ehm, you know, some people in America call it Maccy Dees, but on their advertisement they don't have that written on there and it's amazing that we've actually kind of made them take on the colloquialism and they actually call themselves Macca's which is kind of funny and it's a little bit of the Australian iconic cheek.

F: It's definitely an advertising thing and they're doing it to play with the whole Aussie thing of shortening and making it more accessible making it more Australian and I think they do that with foreign companies you know Macca's is American and they're kind of distancing themselves from that and making it more local which is again why they're saying this is local lettuce and local beef.

J: Yeah, they're trying to make their product seem like it's come from Australia and not that it's from America. So they make it seem very Australian. They want that people think that they're supporting Australian farmers by buying McDonald's.

K: Macca's because it's also an Aussie name and it makes it sound like an Aussie farmer kind which is supporting local produce which is really funny because it's American. Ehm, it's a really weird way to make a global company feel really local and Australian, yeah.



f) Povo, Abo



Figure 17 Example 7 The Smith Family advertisement

Considering what has been proposed in the previous chapter, some hypocoristics which end in *-o* can have a derogatory function and, hence, have a negative connotation towards the addressed object. As can be seen in Figure 17, this example includes the word *povo* to refer to a poverty-stricken person and the text aims to show that this shortened form is inappropriate when talking about somebody in poverty. Furthermore, *Abo* as an abbreviated form for *Aboriginal person* was also discussed in the interviews, since its connotations are assumed to be similar. Therefore, it was not surprising that participants chose the terms “insulting”, “offensive”, “frowned upon”, “derogatory”, “a bad one”, “ignorant”, “degrading”, “nasty”, “awful” and “rude” to describe the associations of the hypocoristics *povo* and *Abo* (Appendix). Furthermore, with regard to these forms, Interviewee F (Appendix) pointed out that

I suppose, yeah, ehm it's just it's the vocabulary it doesn't discriminate against whether it's a nice word or not we just shorten them so whether that's a nice word or a good word it's, I suppose, it just happens.

Therefore, Interviewee F addresses a crucial aspect with respect to hypocoristics by mentioning that it is common in Australian English to shorten words which describe well-known objects, such as *brekky*, *mozzies* and *undies*, but also to abbreviate words which might carry negative connotations and are used to label a specific person. However, while some hypocoristics ending in the suffix *-o*, such as *servo*, *arvo* and *kiddo*, are not considered offensive or insulting, abbreviations such as *povo* and *Abo* are clearly associated with these attributes. Thus, it seemed crucial for this study to investigate possible reasons to explain these connotations. Interviewee C (Appendix), for instance, believes that

it's a slang word but it's almost like a really derogatory term - [...] it's bad but also sometimes Aussies try to downplay things by making things into a slang or a word like that not in a nasty way but to dismiss it a bit. I think Aussies are good slash bad at that maybe make it less real.

Furthermore, it is also stated that “for most things shortened it's a term of endearment and something you like [...] and with those things you shorten it for the wrong purpose” (Interviewee C Appendix). These responses suggest that shortening the words *Aboriginal* and *poverty-stricken* is associated with being dismissive and is, therefore, considered as politically incorrect. Interviewee D (Appendix) also agrees by stating that it appears as if the speaker intentionally shortens the word and as a result creates a derogatory term. Moreover, the following interview extract further underpins the dismissive character of the hypocoristic words *povo* and *Abo*:

I: So, it's offensive to use that [povo]?

J: For sure, I mean things that aren't funny when you shorten them it just becomes offensive.

I: Mhm, what about the shorter word for Aboriginal?

J: I wouldn't say that. That's even more offensive. Shortening Aboriginal is ehm a way of making them seem less than=

I: =Sorry less than what?

J: Just generally less than what they are, their culture or their name.

I: Same with povo probably.

J: Yes, exactly, it's not taking the issue seriously. [...] The thing is we're always shortening to make everything seem more relaxed, but you don't always want everything to seem more relaxed, sometimes when you shorten something that's not a good thing, it makes it worse because it means you don't care about it.

These statements give rise to the assumption that these abbreviated words might seem inappropriate to the participants because using these words shows that the speaker does not take “the issue seriously”. Hence, it can be assumed that the seemingly ignorant attitude of a speaker is reinforced by the hypocorism, since the words are shortened and, as a result, the

problem is dismissed. This is also further supported by Interviewee C, who mentions that somebody who uses these terms to refer to an indigenous or poverty-stricken person might be regarded as “ignorant” and as somebody who “wouldn’t be the one helping”, as the speaker “puts himself [or herself] superior” to the addressed person. In addition, Interviewee G also believes that referring to somebody as *povo* is regarded inappropriate because it shows that the person does not try to help, but rather uses it “to call them a nasty word”.

Another aspect is pointed out by Interviewee H (Appendix), who argues that the offensive character of these words might be tied in with the fact that they do not “stem from a necessarily good word”. Similarly, Interviewee F (Appendix) puts forward that “[r]eferring to someone as Aborigine isn’t that great anyways unless they wanna be identified with that I would rather say Native person or indigenous person”. Considering these aspects, it can be put forward that being an Aboriginal person or being in poverty are concepts which might be associated with a negative feeling in general. Thus, shortening these words results in reinforcing the negative connotations mentioned above and make the speaker appear ignorant and as somebody who does not take the situation seriously.

Finally, Interviewee K (Appendix) emphasises the role of mateship in Australia and connects the negative connotations of the words *povo* and *Abo* to this concept. As discussed in the previous chapter, mateship most commonly includes white Australian men and, hence, causes an exclusion of people who do not belong to this group, such as indigenous people, women and immigrants (Wierzbicka 1997: 111-112). The following interview dialogue shows that Interviewee K (Appendix) also mentions this aspect and, therefore, provides a relevant reason concerning the negative associations of the discussed hypocoristics and confirms Wierzbicka’s hypothesis:

K: Yeah, it’s ehm derogatory, ehm because it’s a noun describing something that has sort of a negative connotation and ehm it’s a noun used to describe a group of people. Actually, I think a lot of Australian words which are used to ehm categorise people are quite offensive and I think that has to do with the fact of mateship and camaraderie which means that everyone has to be the same and if you’re not part of that same culture or that same sense of mateship, then you get external labels, like being *povo* [...] I think it’s about ehm pushing people to the margins to strengthen up an Australian vibe and creating a national identity by saying what it is to not be Australian.

I: Mhm, yeah. And does it seem like words like poverty and Aboriginal are shortened for the wrong purpose and makes it worse?

K: Yeah, it does make it worse, because it turns it into an identity that is ehm negative and a label that can be used.

I: [...] Maybe words like poverty and so on already have a negative kind of connotation and shortening them, you know, makes it seem like you don't take it seriously.

K: Yeah, exactly yeah, taking something that's pretty ehm a circumstance that has a lot of misfortune associated and creating a label for a person which is ehm, and often the circumstances are beyond somebody's control like being poverty-stricken is beyond somebody's control, being Aboriginal is not something you choose. So it's almost like making it seem like those people made that choice.

Hence, it is made clear that while mateship is a desired and vital value in Australia, it also creates an outsider group which consists of the people that do not align with what is defined to be Australian. In particular, indigenous and poor people are frequently not regarded as "mates", which causes the negative connotations of hypocoristic words, such as *Abo* and *povo*. As Interviewee F (Appendix) puts it, using these shortened words is "dreadful" and "very, very rude [...]" because again Australia is about the fair go", as will be discussed further below.

### 5.2.3. *First names*

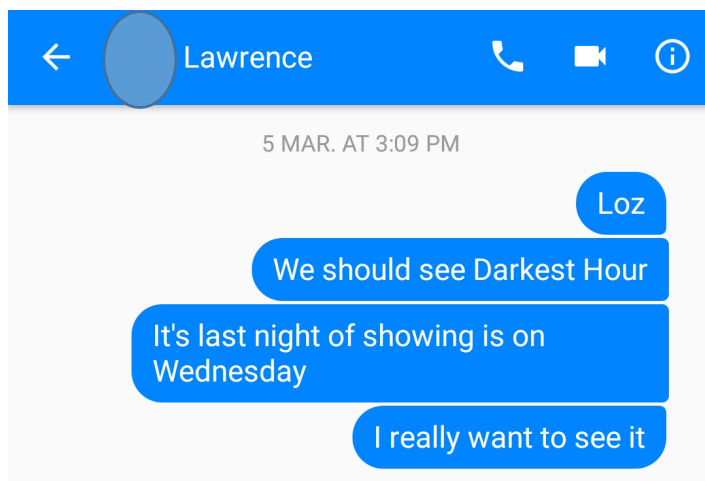
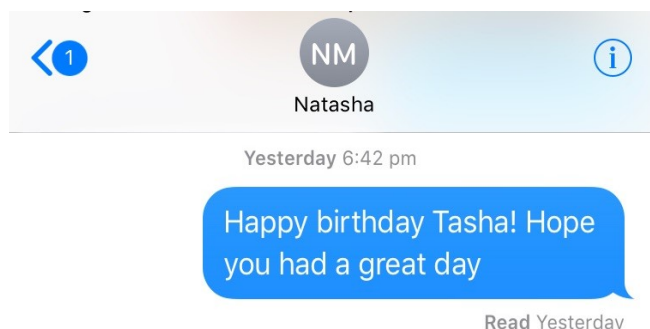


Figure 18 Example 8 Text Message to Lawrence

Natasha      ▶ Shannon      ...  
 17. February 2017 ·      QLD · 👤

Happy birthday Shan! 🎉 I hope u have an awesome day! Thanks for being u, I wish u all the best! Love u lots xoxox

**Figure 19 Example 9 Birthday Message to Shannon**



**Figure 20 Example 10 Birthday Message to Natasha**

Examples 8, 9 and 10 include hypocoristic forms of first names occurring in text messages and social media posts, an aspect also mentioned by Wierzbicka (1992: 376). When asking the participants about reasons as to why shortened versions of first names are common in Australian English, the interview answers have been congruent. In particular, as the following responses show, the main purpose of hypocoristic names is to express a close relationship between the speaker and the addressee (Appendix):

A: Some form of close relationship. [...] Definitely some form of mateship, some form of closeness. So it could be a close mate, it could be a female friend.

B: Well, it's like an informal thing. It's probably to show that you're close to that person and again, just to save time and be lazy. [...] But it's also an informality and a bond to that person.

C: Yeah to all my mates I'm Lou. [...] People close to me it's Lou.

D: It creates a more friendly atmosphere and a more personal connection friendlier connection to the people and it's also a bit lazy sometimes I'm like don't wanna say their full name, so I just come up with a nickname.

E: I think it implies sort of familiarity ehm, you know, informal it's an informal way of saying it.

G: I think it shows that you know a person better and e:h that you have a better connection with them, so when that happens you have a better relationship with them.

H: Yeah, they're probably quite close because ehm shortening their names to nicknames.

J: They're obviously very close with each other.

K: Yeah, it makes them seem like they're bros or they're mates ehm and it's like, you know, someone ehm it displays an intimacy and closeness with a person which is often used – it can be used to break that barrier of being friends being mates.

Although all of the participants agreed that abbreviating a person's first name results in a feeling of closeness and mateship, other reasons which explain the shortening were also provided. As can be seen above, Interviewee B and E (Appendix), for instance, stated that a tendency to speak informally is also an influencing factor with regard to the shortening of names, which is also put forward by Wierzbicka (1992). Moreover, Interviewees B and D (Appendix) also believe that laziness plays an important role, which supports the assumption that Australians tend to use short words to create an informal and laid-back atmosphere.

Furthermore, Wierzbicka (1992) assumes that first names are commonly shortened since it expresses toughness and makes the addressed person seem less sentimental, which is desired in Australia. However, with regard to these aspects, the interviews have shown opposing results. In order to gain insights into the correlation between toughness and hypocoristics, the participants were asked to imagine a person who is called *Jono* instead of *Jonathan*. Interviewee B, for instance, mentioned that this abbreviated name “makes him seem stronger”, whereas Interviewee H claims that “it's just a friendly introduction” and does not mean that they are tougher or less emotional, which illustrates the opposing opinions of the participants concerning this hypothesis (Appendix). Hence, although both Interviewee D and E (Appendix) believed that it depends on the situation/context and the name which is shortened, they agreed that an abbreviated name like *Jono* is considered a tough name. Interviewee J (Appendix) also considered a regional influence by stating that possessing an abbreviated name like *Jono* can make you appear tougher and “a bit more country” in rural areas, such as Mildura in rural Victoria.

Moreover, Interviewee E (Appendix) added that “if somebody says I’m Jono they’re probably trying to add something on there”. On the contrary, none of the participants stated that a hypocoristic name makes a person appear weaker or softer. Moreover, Interviewee A (Appendix) states that these hypocoristic forms of first names are not “baby-talk”, but can be seen as “affectionate shortening”, which once again supports the assumption that abbreviated forms represent a close relationship rather than imply that the addressee is an emotional person. By means of illustration, when asking whether a person seems more like a softie if they are referred to as *Loz*, *Shan* or *Tasha*, for example, Interviewee A answered (Appendix):

A: Oh, God no. You can have that huge guy called Garry. Or like John. Big tall muscular guy, call him Jono. Does not emasculate that particular person. It’s almost more fun, it makes them less serious, but it doesn’t make them any less physical serious.

With regard to frequency and form of shortened first names, Interviewee C (Appendix) pointed out that “that’s everyone in Australia”, which implies that this category of hypocorism is highly prevalent and, moreover, Interviewee A explains that in Australia it is common to shorten names and add the suffix *-/z/* to the name, as in *Shanza* or *Shaz* for *Shannon*. Although the interview responses have shown that abbreviated versions of first names are regularly used in general, it could also be demonstrated that some forms are more commonly used by closer friends or family members only. For example, Interviewee F (Appendix), whose first name is Nicholas, made it clear that “there’s a few names where you don’t have to be very good friends I mean I wouldn’t say we’re best friends when you call me Nic, but if you say G’day Larry or G’day Loz that’s one of those where you can tell they’re good mates”. Therefore, as mentioned by Interviewee A (Appendix) and also by Wierzbicka (1992), an affectionate character can be attributed to some shortened names depending on their form. In order to get specific examples, the participants were asked whether their names are shortened and if they are, by which people. Interviewee G and J (Appendix) mentioned that they shorten names for both closer, but also for less well-known friends, which shows that hypocoristics for first names are not restricted to close friends in general. In more detail, Interviewee J (Appendix) explained that he considers people who use his full name *Alister*, instead of using the shortened version *Al*, as someone who “isn’t that close” to him, which confirms the initial hypothesis of this study. In addition, Interviewee G (Appendix) believes that the shortening can display a transition “from acquaintance to

friends” and Interviewee K agrees that “it can be used to break that barrier of being friends being mates”.

Further examples have been provided by Interviewees C, Louisa, Interviewee G, Madison and Interviewee H, Patrick (Appendix). In particular, both Louisa and Madison stated that they are most commonly referred to as *Lou* and *Maddie* and even introduce themselves with their shortened names except in working environments or when answering the phone. Similarly, Patrick mentioned that he is most commonly called *Pat* and explained that even new acquaintances often call him by his shorter names. However, the interviews have also demonstrated that some forms of participants’ first names are only used by a specific group of people, as the following interview extracts show (Appendix):

E: I mean some people call me Chrisso as a joke. Or shortening my name to Chris.

I: And who would call you Chrisso?

E: My housemates.

I: So somebody who=

E: =knows me quite well yeah.

F: Oh Nico occasionally.

I: And who would say that?

F: Really only my dad.

G: Some people say Mads.

I: Okay, which kind of people would do that?

G: My family.

K: Yeah, I do get called Laz or Lazy.

I: And would that be somebody who’s close to you?

K: Yeah, they’re my housemates.

These results indicate that some hypocoristic forms of first names, such as *Nic* for *Nicholas*, and *Al* for *Alister*, do not seem to possess this affectionate character and can, according to the participants, be used by acquaintances as well. However, other forms, such as *Nico* for *Nicholas*, *Laz* for *Lara* and the forms used in the examples above, tend to be used by housemates, close friends or family members only. Therefore, the affectionate character of the latter forms has been corroborated and it can be assumed that their usage suggests a close relationship between the speaker and the addressed person.



### 5.2.5. *Hypocoristics and their representation of cultural values in Australia*

As discussed in chapter 4.3.3., cultural concepts, such as *mateship*, *solidarity*, *toughness*, *familiarity* and *informality*, are valued and desired in Australia and since it is assumed that they are represented in their language, this aspect is part of this investigation. In addition to these concepts, the interviews have shown that ideas, such as laziness, being laid-back and Fair Dinkum, are further key aspects in the Australian culture which affect the frequent occurrence of hypocoristics. Furthermore, this chapter will also focus on the idea of being *Aussie* and its contribution to the national identity, an issue raised by the majority of the study's participants.

#### i. Lazy, relaxed and laid-back

Since Australians show a tendency to speak informally and frequently use hypocoristic words, this study investigated possible reasons for these phenomena. As initially assumed, the interviewees' responses have clearly shown that laziness causes the frequent occurrence of abbreviated words. In particular, the participants stated that "we're too lazy", "we don't wanna talk more than we have to", "we're casual, we're lazy", "just to save time and be lazy", "easy and lazy", "we're lazy people" and "part of our culture is to be lazy" (Appendix). Owing to the fact that all participants describe themselves and Australians as lazy and connect this characteristic to their usage of short words, it can doubtlessly be assumed that laziness significantly affects the language of Australians, which results in a wide range of hypocoristic words. Moreover, this corroborates Wierzbicka's (1992) hypothesis that Australians do not want to use long words for objects that are well-known and concepts which are shared between the speakers and, therefore, prefer the shortened versions to the original ones.

Furthermore, the participants' analysis of the examples has shown that a relaxed and laid-back atmosphere is commonly associated with the shortened words, in particular for place names, such as *Straddie*, and common nouns, such as *brekky*. In total, the words *relaxed* (25 times) and *laid-back* (17 times) occurred most frequently in the participants' responses (Appendix). Moreover, the analysis of the interviews shows that participants described themselves as laid-back, relaxed and not taking themselves too seriously. To illustrate, Interviewee C stated that Australians have "that laid-back nature that we [...] don't take ourselves too seriously and we are not too formal and we just like everything to be laid-back

and really easy”, and further believes “that we don’t take ourselves too seriously like we’re okay with having a laugh at ourselves and each other”. Similarly, Interviewee A states that saying *brekky* instead of *breakfast* creates an “affectionate [...] casual and relaxed” atmosphere and connects it with the mentality of Australians, as it “describes who we [Australians] are as people as well”. Moreover, Interviewee D and J addressed another commonly used and well-known term which describes the laid-back and relaxed mentality of Australians, namely *She’ll be right*.

Nevertheless, this *She’ll be right-attitude* can also result in the fact that Australians are too relaxed in some situations. According to Interviewee J, “there’s a tendency sometimes to be a bit too relaxed you know about certain things, I think especially when it comes to politics we have that *She’ll be right* attitude and it’s sort of brought us in a bit of a lull especially in our education and so on”. Hence, while most of the participants described Australians as “relaxed” and “laid-back”, this participant believes that Australians are “a bit apathetic” and are “[r]elaxed to the point where they don’t care about anything”. Considering this addressed factor, it can be noted that Australians doubtlessly possess a relaxed and laid-back mentality, which allows them to make fun of themselves and to take things less seriously on the one hand, while it can also lead to an apathy and carelessness on the other hand. In particular, this is confirmed by the offensive character of the words *povo* and *Abo*, which indicate that the speaker creates an inappropriate relaxed atmosphere by dismissing the problem.

## ii. Mateship and Fair Dinkum

The interviewed person shown to the participants as part of Example 5, explains that he helped his neighbour when a car crashed into his store and addresses the concept of mateship by stating that this is “something you’ve gotta do for the community mate, it’s like you look after your mates and your mates will always look after you [...]”. Considering this statement, the study’s participants were asked about the relevance of mateship in Australia:

A: Yeah, it’s a nice quality, but it’s also rather idealistic, I guess it’s true in small communities. [...] you have to have that strong sense of mateship.

B: Yeah mateship, that’s obviously a very common theme in Australia. Stick with your mates. [...] Yeah, it’s valued and admired, that’s for sure. [...] Because it’s showing that you care. You know, what goes around comes around.

C: I think that's a very Australian thing, like if you see your neighbour in trouble you help. We had floods in Brisbane and everyone just pitched in and helped and I feel like that's what Australia is like and it gets lost sometimes and I think when things like this happen everyone gets excited.

F: Oh yeah, that's what we say. I think he said bloke too, that's sort of the Number One rule in Australia to be a good bloke, you know, yeah, I think it's a friendly way about Australia and Australian language.

G: Yeah, there is a big culture like that. You always look after your friends or your mate [laughs].

K: Yeah, mateship camaraderie and brotherhood, I suppose. Yeah look after each other and yeah be friends I suppose.

As shown by these responses, all of the participants agreed that mateship, which is also known as *camaraderie*, is a valued and vital concept in Australia, which is also supported by the interviewees themselves, who stated that they want to be “a good mate” (Appendix). Furthermore, the term *mate* is used to emphasise this concept and to show that everyone is everyone's mate in Australia. Interviewee E stated, “I mean you call most people mate here even if you don't know them”, which illustrates that mateship is even prevalent between strangers. Regarding the origin of this term, Interviewee E explains that “it ehm comes from the First Fleet where they took away their first names so they had to call each other mate or shipmate, so you [they] couldn't call each other by their Christian name” and further mentions that “it's a big thing with Australians to stick together with mateship” (Appendix). Hence, the interviewed person in Example 5 does not consider himself a hero because helping each other is part of being a good mate. However, Interviewee E believes that being a good mate “makes you a hero in Australia” and Interviewee F states that Australians are “laid-back, fun-loving and good blokes”, which underpins the importance and desired character of mateship (Appendix).

Another crucial cultural concept in Australia, which is closely related to mateship, is giving everybody a fair go and is commonly known as *Fair Dinkum*. When analysing the video in Example 5, Interviewee F mentions that

there's also the kind of Australian culture, you know, the phrase we use is Fair Dinkum [which is] kind of being honest and down to earth and he's sort of going for that he appears to show that because he's like “no this is just how it has to be”, you know, that Australian kind of attitude that comes through in the way he speaks.

This cultural value and its role in the national identity of Australians is further supported by Interviewee E, who responded that “being Australian is you know giving somebody a fair go and you know being friendly, helpful. So yeah, it’s about a fair go and mateship”. However, despite this national desire to be equal and solidary, the discussion above has also shown that mateship excludes particular groups, which is also reinforced by the concept of *We Aussies*, as shown below.

### iii. We Aussies

As part of Example 6 and the concluding questions of the interviews (Appendix), the cultural value of the term *Aussie* and the contribution of hypocoristic words towards the Australian culture was investigated. With regard to the McDonald’s advertisement and the usage of the word *Aussie*, the following responses were given:

B: Aussie is so common. [...] Aussie is like personalising the ad for Australian people, so that it appeals to them. [...] It’s trying to have a relation to the audience, which is obviously Australian and to be on their level I suppose.

C: Oh yeah, it’s always Aussie beef, it’s never Australian beef. Like in the pubs and even the supermarkets I think. It would just be like Aussie beef rather than Australian beef.

D: I say Aussie all the time instead of Australian, I say Aussie farmers instead of Australian farmers.

F: Ehm if I was talking to someone from overseas I might say Australian beef.

H: Yeah, it makes it sound more local and yeah more casual. [...] A:h I think it’s the content, I think I personally I would say Australian beef, I think it’s a personal thing it doesn’t flow well for me to say Aussie, I would say Australian.

As these responses and the discussion of the advertisement above show, using the word *Aussie* in an advertisement once again results in a closer connection towards the targeted audience. Moreover, individual preferences can be depicted concerning the usage of *Aussie*, since some participants claim that it is always called *Aussie beef*, while others would not use the shorter term in certain cases. Similarly, opposing responses were collected concerning the term *Aussie* as a way to refer to oneself. By way of illustration, the following statements show that while some participants use *Aussie* to talk about their nationality, others claim that they use *Australian* more often as well as in situations with people from other countries:

A: We call ourselves Aussies, not Australians. [...] Our Prime minister calls us Aussies. It's that terminology we use to describe ourselves as something fond ehm we are Aussie. We ehm we are Australian, but we're not mm, we're Aussies. [...] Saying you're Australian, it's kind of silly. You might say that to someone overseas, but here we're Aussies.

C: I'd probably say an Aussie.

D: I always say Australian – a:hh I guess it depends who you talk to, when I was overseas I said Australian because they ask all the time [so] I would not say Aussie, but if I'm talking here I'm Aussie.

E: I've never been big on nationalism, so I don't ehm have that Aussie pride [...] I would say Australian depending on where you are.

I: And how would you refer to yourself?

G: As an Aussie.

I: Even abroad?

G: Yeah. I did it just on holiday [laughs].

J: Ehm - I say Australian a lot but I don't mind saying Aussie I don't feel like it's Bogan or anything.

K: Yeah I would say Aussie [...] Ehm I would use it in a self-deprecating way if I was using it in a way of describing behaviour [...]

Owing to these diverse answers, it can be assumed that whether an Australian uses the word *Aussie* as a way to refer to him-/ herself is dependent on his or her personal preferences and is also connected to the speaker's sense of national pride, since the word *Aussie* is strongly connected with the national concepts and values of Australia. Furthermore, Interviewee K (Appendix) addresses the influencing aspect of Australia's multiculturalism and its connection to the creation of a national image by stating that Australia

can be quite racist because if you don't fit into that group you're a bit ostracised and I think being Australian is being white and blond even though we're multicultural [...] I think because we're so multicultural there's this really strong desire to reinforce ehm an Australian way of life and what it means to be in it, which is why we use nicknames and arvo and so on.

This statement suggests that owing to the prevalent multiculturalism in Australia, the desire to create a national identity and "way of life" is increased, which can then, however, result in the existence of insider and outsider groups. Thus, this marginalisation of people who are not part of the group is not only reinforced by the concept of mateship, but also by the language of Australians, such as the use of hypocoristics, which, as Interviewee K stated, creates a national identity and allows a differentiation between Australians and other English speakers.

Furthermore, considering the following response, Interviewee A (Appendix) also addresses this Australian identity which is connected to their common use of hypocoristics and, therefore, confirms that language does not only represent the Australian culture, but also shapes it significantly:

I guess it's just who we are. Like, I can't, I can't say anything else, it's part of who we are. It's, it's always been like that for us. You know coming from that convict history, we've always been a lot more informal. We've always spoken a lot more informally and the way we speak we speak ourselves is quite broad, for the most part, we shorten our words and we don't necessarily end the words that we speak. So, I guess it's not necessarily a fact of being uneducated or unintellectual it's, it's just the way that we developed as a nation. And I think that if we would stop doing that, we'd lose part of who we are. You know, we're a fun-loving kind natured nation who, you know, we don't take things so seriously as say other countries.

Moreover, the participants' responses to the question whether they feel more *Aussie* when including hypocoristic words into their speech have shown a congruency, as all the interviewees agreed that it is part of their culture and, hence, makes a speaker appear more Australian, as proposed in this study's hypothesis. This assumption is also further supported by the fact that Interviewee C (Appendix) explained that her English husband "definitely feels way more Aussie" when using hypocoristic forms and has incorporated words such as *sunnies*, *brekky* and *Aussie* into his vocabulary. To conclude, the following statements regarding the connection between shortened word forms and Australian culture confirm that using hypocoristics, although the speaker might not be aware of it, are part of the Australian culture and, consequently, create a feeling of being *Aussie* (Appendix):

B: Yeah absolutely, hundred per cent. It's a common thing within our culture.

C: Yeah, it's just what we do.

D: I think we as the Aussies understand and relate to it better, yeah.

E: [...], you know, if you have someone who can do a really good Australian slang but use the long words they would seem [...] less Australian, definitely.

F: I mean when I'm with other Aussies I'm not aware of it, but particularly when I'm with other Americans, Austrians, Norwegians, and I am using, you know, mates or whatever I definitely feel very much Australian, for sure.

G: Yeah, I think it shows that they understand the Aussie language and the culture. [...] I guess so, because I don't even know that I'm using them.

J: You can create a bit of an identity around them.

K: [...] it makes it feel like we have our own language and our identity is created as well.

### 5.3. Discussion

The aim of this study was to provide detailed insights into the usage of hypocoristic forms in Australian English on the one hand, and their representation of the Australian culture on the other hand. With regard to the initially asked research questions concerning the function of hypocorism in Australian English, it can be concluded that hypocoristics are not only part of the Australian spoken discourse, but also play a crucial role in written texts, such as advertisements, menus and news articles, since they create a close and personal connection to the Australian audience. In particular, the results have shown that while hypocoristics for place names commonly result in an insider perspective and a more familiar feeling towards the addressed place, common nouns are frequently shortened in order to align with the informal, relaxed and lazy mentality of Australians and, further, to avoid using long words for concepts which are shared between the speakers. With respect to the shortening of first names, it could be shown that participants are aware of this phenomenon and believe that it creates a familiar and close feeling towards the addressed person, which also represents the concept of mateship. Although the results have indicated that using hypocoristics for first names and common nouns can make the speaker appear tougher, it was concluded that it mostly creates familiarity. Hence, further investigation would be required to gain more detailed insights into the connection between toughness and the usage of hypocoristics in Australian English.

Moreover, the present analysis has shown that not only cultural concepts, such as *mateship* and *Fair Dinkum*, but also Australian tendencies, such as being lazy and laid-back, are doubtlessly represented by the frequent occurrence of hypocoristics, since they emphasise these characteristics, create an Australian identity and make the speaker feel and appear more Australian. In addition, the significant contribution of hypocoristic words towards the Australian culture is clearly underpinned by the prevalence of the hypocoristic word *Aussie*, which describes the Australians themselves. For these reasons, hypocoristic words, such as *povo* and *Abo*, which label groups that do not fit into the national image, seem offensive and represent terms which are used to intentionally insult and exclude people from being *Aussie* and belonging to the group of *We Aussies*. Finally, while this study has also provided some insights into the regional variation of hypocoristic words between Queensland and Victoria as well as between the different regions of Queensland, further investigation is needed in order to get a detailed and comprehensive understanding of how the speakers' opinions and preferences regarding hypocoristics differ within Australia.

## 6. Conclusion

This thesis has discussed various aspects with respect to Australian English, namely its history, characteristics as well as more specifically its usage of hypocoristics. With regard to the origin of Australian English, the research has shown that due to a lack of evidence in the documentation of the language of Australians at its colonisation, opposing theories concerning the language's history have evolved. While some researchers, such as Bernard (1969, 1981), Hammarström (1980) and Cochrane (1989), claim that Australian English was mostly influenced by the London variety, other linguists, such as Horvath (1985), criticise this theory and argue that social varieties have already existed at Australia's colonisation and that these varieties then spread throughout the country as a result of the gold rush. Owing to the historical proof provided by Horvath (1985) and the existing variance, this theory is considered most credible.

Furthermore, the main characteristics of Standard Australian English, which is the variety spoken by those Australians that were born or have grown up in Australia and are non-Aboriginal, were analysed in terms of phonetics, syntax, stress, intonation, and lexis. To summarise, it could be shown that although Australian English shares some features with Received Pronunciation, striking differences between these varieties can still be detected. In particular, short vowels, for instance, are produced at a higher position in Australian English and, furthermore, some lexical items which originate from indigenous languages as well as specific hypocoristic forms are unique to Australian English. Moreover, with regard to language variation, it can be concluded that even though researchers, such as Mitchell and Delbridge (1965), initially believed that regional variation cannot be detected in Australian English, Horvath and Horvath (2001a, 2001b) provided evidence that social as well as regional difference can be found in terms of pronunciation and vocabulary.

Since the analysis has shown that the use of some lexical items, in particular hypocoristic word forms, characterise Australian English, the last two chapters focused on this linguistic phenomenon from both a theoretical as well as an empirical point of view. Throughout this analysis, it became clear that even though hypocoristic forms are common in the English language in general, the occurrence of these forms is striking in Australia. In order to get a detailed understanding and to provide a theoretical foundation for the empirical study, the morphology of Australian hypocoristics were analysed categorised into first names, place



names and common nouns. Since Wierzbicka (1992, 1997, 2002, 2012) put forward that hypocoristics also represent Australian cultural values, concepts such as *mateship*, *toughness*, *familiarity* and *informality* were discussed in more detail and it was shown that Australians prefer informal speech, desire to be good mates and want to appear tough.

Finally, this knowledge was used to conduct ten interviews with Australian participants to gain crucial insights into the form and function of hypocoristics on the one hand, as well as their cultural significance on the other hand. In conclusion, the analysis of the results has provided empirical evidence that the usage of hypocoristic forms results in a more relatable atmosphere between the text and the addressee. Furthermore, hypocoristics underpin the relaxed and laid-back attitude of Australians, which evolves around the ideas of *No worries*, *No biggie* and *She'll be right*, and at the same time represent the lazy tendency of Australians. In addition to the desired mateship concept, the results suggest that the idea *Fair Dinkum*, which aims at giving everyone a fair go, is a further aspect that is valued in Australia's culture. In general, the results have clearly indicated that hypocoristic words contribute to the national identity of a speaker, the concept of *We Aussies*, and make the speaker feel more *Aussie*. However, as a consequence, other groups, such as indigenous people, are commonly excluded from this national image, which is supported by the formation of some hypocoristic words and their offensive character.

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## 8. Appendix

### Interview Overview

<b>Method:</b>	Semi-structured interviews Audio-recordings; selective transcription
<b>Data:</b>	Examples which include hypocoristic word forms ( <i>Straddie, Brissy, Brekky, Hoggies, Eggs Benny, mozzies, saltie, Lowie, jocks, undies, Aussie, Macca's, povo, Abo, Loz, Shan, Tasha</i> ) (advertisements, news articles, messages, travel information, menu)
<b>Participants:</b>	10 interviews (30-45 minutes each)

#### Research Questions:

- Why are hypocoristic word forms used instead of the original forms in the given examples?
- Which attitudes are conveyed by using hypocoristic forms in the given examples and how does it affect the audience?
- Which Australian cultural values and attitudes are reflected by using hypocoristics and how do hypocoristics represent these concepts?
- Does the usage of hypocoristic make the speaker feel *Aussie*? In which way does hypocorism play a role in self-identity of Australians and the concept of *We Aussies*?

#### Hypotheses:

- *Place names*: Hypocoristics are used to create an insider and outsider perspective as well as to show familiarity towards the addressed place.
- *First names*: Hypocoristics in first names have an affectionate character and are used to create a close relationship between the speaker and the addressee as well as to show that the addressee is a tough person rather than a softie. Moreover, the concepts of mateship and solidarity are emphasised by the usage of hypocoristic forms of first names.
- *Common nouns*: The usage of hypocoristic forms of common nouns, e.g. *mozzies, brekky, undies, Aussie*, represents the laid-back attitude of Australians and shows that no long words are needed for the concepts that are known by everyone in Australia. Frequently, hypocoristic words ending in -o, like *povo* for *poverty* and *Abo* for *Aboriginal* have a negative connotation and might seem offensive for this reason.

The use of hypocoristics in Australian English represents and reflects the cultural values prevalent and desired in Australia, such as mateship, informality, friendliness and toughness. However, hypocoristics do not necessarily represent anti-intellectualism, but rather support the laid-back and lazy attitude of Australians as well as their tendency to use short words. Furthermore, although Australians might not be aware of it, it seems likely that hypocoristic word forms are subconsciously also used to establish a feeling of national identity (*We Aussies*) and, consequently, make the speaker appear more Australian.



## Interview Consent Form

Research Project Title: *No Biggie! No Worries! An Empirical Investigation of the Australian English with a Focus on its Use of Hypocoristics*

Investigator: *Alina Czerny*

Participant:

Thank you for volunteering to participate in the research project for my diploma thesis and agreeing to be interviewed for this reason. In order to ensure that you understand the purpose of this interview and agree to the conditions of your participation, I would like to ask you to read the following information and sign below if you approve:

- You have the right to not give an answer to any question of the interview and end the interview at any time if you feel the need to do so.
- The interviews will be recorded and transcribed to allow a detailed analysis and provide insightful results.
- The content of the interview and your utterances may be quoted directly in the thesis. However, all direct quotations will be anonymised.
- You have the right to request a copy of the transcript of the interview and correct any factual misunderstandings.
- You are allowed to ask any questions during as well as after the interview and contact the researcher if you have any concerns.

Date:

Participant's Signature:

Date:

Researcher's Signature:

## Content Consent Form

Research Project Title: *No Biggie! No Worries! An Empirical Investigation of the Australian English with a Focus on its Use of Hypocoristics*

Investigator: *Alina Czerny*

Original Content from:

Thank you for sharing your private content with me and allowing me to use and analyse it as part of my diploma thesis. In order to ensure that you understand the purpose of this analysis and agree to the conditions of your participation, I would like to ask you to read the following information and sign below if you approve:

- The content that you have given to me will be analysed for the purpose of my research. Therefore, images of the conversation and direct quotations as well as your first name may appear in the thesis. The content will be anonymised and although your first name, your age and state in which you grew up may be mentioned for analytical reasons, your full details will not be mentioned and published.
- You are allowed to ask any questions at any point during and after this research.

Date:

Participant's Signature:

Date:

Researcher's Signature:

## Interview Guide

- ✓ Interviewee's Signature / Interview Consent Form
- ✓ Audio-recording

### Example 1: Straddie

- Does anything seem outstanding to you in this travel information?  
→ Guide interviewee to detect the form *Straddie*
- Why do you think *Straddie* is used here instead of *Stradbroke Island*?
- Can you detect another place name? → Brisbane  
Why do you think *Brisbane* is used and not *Brissy*?
- Which purposes do the hypocoristic form *Straddie* and the original form *Brisbane* have and which implications might they have?

#### Assumptions:

- Insider vs. outsider perspective that is created by using *Straddie* / *Brisbane*
- Holiday (*Straddie*) vs. working place (*Brisbane*)
- Informality, familiarity with the place *Straddie*
- 

### Example 2: Hog's Breath Menu: Brekky

- Guide interviewee to detect the forms *brekky*, *Eggs Benny* and *Kid's Brekky*.
- Why would these forms be used in a menu?
- Which kind of breakfast/atmosphere do you imagine at this place? Formal/informal?
- Do you use the form *brekky* commonly?
- How does it represent the attitude of Australians?
- Do you think it represents an anti-intellectual style?

#### Assumptions:

- The menu addresses the audience in a colloquial way. The form *brekky* is commonly used in spoken language, so this menu tries to address the audience informally and personally.
- The laid-back and easy going mentality of Australians is represented. The words used in the menu suggest an informal and casual breakfast situation.

- The hypocoristic forms do not suggest anti-intellectualism, but represent the laziness of Australians and their tendency to use short words for concepts that everyone knows, e.g. *brekky*.

**Example 3:** The University of Sydney: News / Mozzies

- Why would the word form *mozzies* be used in a news section of the university?
- Why is the shortened form only used in the subheading and not in the title and main text?
- How would you describe Australians in general?
- How does some appear to you if he or she uses the form *mozzies*?
- Would you say that “Mozzies aren’t a big deal/a biggie?”

*Assumptions:*

- *Mozzies* is used in the subheading to represent the Australian way of talking about these insects, whereas *mosquitoes* is used in the title and main text to show a formal way of speaking, since it is an article on a university homepage.
- Australians think that mosquitoes are not a big deal and they do not want to use a long word for something that everyone knows.
- Australians are laid-back and easy-going. By using *mozzies*, the speaker dismisses the problem.

**Example 4:** Katherine Times / Saltie

- Compared to the last example, what purpose does the form *saltie* have?
- How would you describe someone who uses the terms *saltie* and *freshie* (freshwater crocodile)?
- Would you say that “Salties are not a big deal/a biggie?”
- Do you use the terms *saltie* and *freshie*? Why (not)?
- What about the word *Lowie*? Do you know what it means? Do you think that the people in Katherine would know what it means?

*Assumptions:*

- In contrast to *mozzie*, which does not necessarily convey toughness of the speaker, somebody who uses *saltie* might seem like a tough person.

- Saying that “Salties are not a biggie” means that the problem is ignored, although crocodiles present a possible danger.
- The newspaper article uses the term Australians use, in order to establish a connection to the reader and represent a desired Australian value, namely to be tough.
- *Lowie* is an abbreviation for *Low Water Reserve* and it is expected that people in Katherine know the term. Hence, an insider perspective is created, as it is less likely to be known by people from other states.

**Example 5:** News Interview / jocks, undies

- How would you describe this guy? Uneducated? Tough?
- Apart from his appearance, can you comment on this person’s language? (e.g. jocks, undies)
- Would you use the words *jocks* and *undies*? Why?
- The speaker mentions the concept of mateship and says that if you look after your mates, they will always look after you. How do you feel about this concept? Would you say this is an Australian value?

*Assumptions:*

- Owing to the speaker’s appearance, he instantly seems uneducated and anti-intellectual to the audience. Although it might be interpreted that this particular person seems uneducated, the word forms *jocks* and especially *undies* for *underwear* are commonly used and are not necessarily associated with anti-intellectualism.
- The person seems to have a humorous attitude towards the incident which is also represented in his mode of speaking.
- The speaker seems tough and is a good mate.
- Mateship is seen as a core value in Australia.

**Example 6:** McDonald’s advertisement / Aussie, Macca’s

- Why do advertisements like this one make use of shortened forms?
- How does the advertisement connect to their audience?
- Do you use the word *Macca’s* instead of *McDonald’s*?
- How is the word *Aussie* used? How does it influence the audience?

- Does the advertisement seem anti-intellectual to you because of the use of these forms?

*Assumptions:*

- The hypocoristics are used to localise their audience and connect with them on a personal, informal and national level.
- The term *Macca's* is very common in Australia. Hence, the company wants to attract more audience by using this term in their advertisements.
- The term *Aussie* contributes to the national identity of Australians and establishes a feeling of belonging.
- The hypocorism does not cause an anti-intellectual atmosphere, but once again shows the casual mode of communication in Australian English.

**Example 7:** Povo

- Which word seems striking to you? → *povo*
- Why would it be used in this context?
- Which connotation does this word have? Does *poverty* have the same connotation?
- Would you say referring to someone as a *povo* is offensive?
- How do you think about the term *Abo* for *Aboriginal*? In which way is this offensive or not?
- What about the words *arvo*, *kiddo*, *bottle-o*?

*Assumptions:*

- It seems that hypocoristics ending in -o are frequently associated with something negative and have an offensive undertone.
- The advertisement makes use of this to show that it is not socially accepted to call someone a *povo*.
- It might be possible that the words *poverty* and *Aboriginal* already have a slight negative connotation, which is reinforced by the hypocorism.

**Examples 8-10:** First names: Loz, Shan, Tasha

- How would you describe the relationship between the people involved in these conversations?
- Would you say using these shortened forms is regarded as baby-talk?
- How would you describe the person that is addressed? Tough?

- Does the concept of mateship play a role in this mode of communication?
- How would you describe the communication? Anti-intellectual? Friendly? Provoking? Humorous?
- Does *Tasha* suggest an even closer relationship than *Tash* to you?

*Assumptions:*

- The hypocorism of first names suggests a close relationship between the speaker and the addressee.
- While it is not considered baby-talk at all, it rather seems the addressee appear tougher and as a really good friend/mate.
- The hypocorism suggests a friendly and informal tone.

**General questions to conclude:**

- Do you think somebody appears more *Aussie* if he or she uses these shortened forms? Why (not)?
- Do you feel more *Aussie* and part of the *Australian culture* when you use these forms? Why (not)?

# Examples for Interviews

## Example 1:

Holidays	Transport	Groups & Weddings	Tours & Attractions	News & Events
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### 5 reasons to do a day trip on Straddie

05/01/2017

#### 1. Escape from the hustle and bustle

Finding a destination that is close enough to home for a day trip but far away enough to escape from the hustle and bustle of our busy lives is not an easy task. For those of us lucky enough to live in the Brisbane area and surrounds, Straddie is no more than a hop, skip and a jump away, but it feels like whole different world. While you're on Straddie you can relax, soak up some sun and forget the mainland for the day.

<https://www.stradbrokeferries.com.au/news-events/5-reasons-to-do-a-day-trip-on-straddie>

## Example 2:

### BREKKY

*Hogges Style*

**Toasted Milk Bun** 525KJ 5.95  
Lightly toasted milk bun with your choice of peanut butter, Vegemite, Nutella or honey.

**Toasted Muesli** 3930KJ 8.95  
Toasted mixed nut muesli with Greek natural yoghurt, Beerenberg honey and garnished with a strawberry.

**Bacon & Egg Roll** 3662KJ 12.95  
Fried egg, rocket leaves and grilled rashers of smoky bacon in a toasted Turkish bun with hickory smoked BBQ sauce and 2 crispy hash browns.

**Caramelised Pancakes** 3275KJ 12.95  
3 light and fluffy pancakes with vanilla ice cream, sliced banana, lashings of maple syrup, garnished with a strawberry and sprinkled with icing sugar. Add Nutella for 2.00

**Three Cheese Breakfast Burrito** 5268KJ 12.95  
Creamy rich scrambled eggs, garlic mushrooms, Aussie cheddar cheese, creamy brie and parmesan, together with rocket leaves wrapped in a flour tortilla with 2 crispy hash browns and chipotle ranch dressing.

**Eggs Your Way** 5069KJ 13.95  
Your choice of fried, poached or scrambled eggs cooked to perfection with grilled rashers of smoky bacon on toasted Turkish bread.

**Eggs Benny** Bacon 545KJ 18.95 | Salmon 6338KJ 19.95  
Poached eggs, grilled tomato and buttered spinach with your choice of grilled rashers of smoky bacon or smoked salmon on toasted Turkish bread finished with béarnaise sauce.

**Boss Hog's Big Breakfast** 7880KJ 23.95  
Your choice of fried, poached or scrambled eggs, grilled rasher of smoky bacon, grilled tomato, garlic mushrooms and tender grilled steak on toasted Turkish bread with 2 crispy hash browns and a sauce of your choice.

**Kid's Brekky**  
Available for ages 12 and under. Our kid's meals come with a FREE juice.

**Kid's Pancakes** 2195KJ 9.95  
2 light and fluffy pancakes with vanilla ice cream, sliced banana, maple syrup, a strawberry and icing sugar. Add Nutella for 2.00

**Kid's Brekky Roll** 3043KJ 9.95  
1 grilled bacon rasher and 1 fried egg in a toasted bun with 1 crispy hash brown and tomato sauce.

Product classified as being low gluten, containing no more than 10 parts of gluten in a million (ppm). Please note that we can't guarantee an allergen free meal as we do not operate in an allergen free environment.

Unless otherwise stated, nutritional information is based on the average standard product which includes fried eggs. The recommended average adult daily energy intake is 8700KJ.

Boss Hog's Big Breakfast - Eggs Benny with Salmon

#### Coffee & Other Drinks

**Espresso Coffee**  
Flat White... 4.50 | Mug 5.00  
Cappuccino... 4.50 | Mug 5.00  
Latte... 4.50  
Vienna... 5.00  
Short Black... 3.50  
Long Black... 3.95  
Mocha... 5.00

Apple... 4.20 | Large 4.80  
Pineapple... 4.20 | Large 4.80  
Cranberry... 4.20 | Large 4.80

**Tea**  
English Breakfast... 3.95  
Earl Grey... 3.95

**Hot Drinks**  
Hot Chocolate... 5.00  
Balycino... 1.50

**Juice**  
Orange... 4.20 | Large 4.80

#### Templers

1 Hash Brown 724KJ... 1.95  
1 Poached Egg 277KJ... 2.20  
1 Fried Egg 695KJ... 2.20  
Sliced Avo 1043KJ... 3.95  
Garlic Mushrooms 2374KJ... 3.95

Crispy Bacon 1669KJ... 3.95  
Grilled Tomato 554KJ... 1.95  
Buttered Spinach 425KJ... 2.95  
Chipotle Ranch 686KJ... 2.20  
Béarnaise Sauce 960KJ... 2.20

<https://www.hogsbreath.com.au/new-menu/brekky/>



### Example 3:

[← Home](#)  
[← News & opinion](#)  
**News**  
2018: all news  
Arts & culture  
Business & economics  
Campus & community  
Government & politics  
Health & medicine  
Law & society

News\_

## 10 tips to keep you mosquito free this summer

28 October 2016

Keep those pesky mozzies at bay and enjoy an itch-free summer

Summer is coming and so are the mosquitoes. There are plenty of myths and misconceptions about what works and what doesn't when it comes to beating the bite of backyard mosquitoes.



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Kobi Print  
Media and PR Adviser (Health Sciences)

Share

<https://sydney.edu.au/news-opinion/news/2016/10/28/10-tips-to-keep-you-mosquito-free-this-summer.html>

### Example 4:

NOVEMBER 14 2017 - 12:08PM


## Big saltie spotted near the Lowie



Chris McLennan

News



 Visitors swimming at the reserve late last month said they did not know about the Crocwise warnings.

A big saltwater crocodile has been spotted near the popular swimming spot at the Low Level Reserve at Katherine.

<https://www.katherinetimes.com.au/story/5055639/saltie-spotted-near-the-lowie/>

### Example 5:

News Interview

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9QCgqQdmr0M&frags=pl%2Cwn>

### Example 6:

McDonald's advertisement

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bje8LEdJKco&frags=pl%2Cwn>

### Example 7:

The Smith Family



**Poverty hurts.**

Jake is one of the 1.1 million young Australians living in poverty<sup>1</sup>. Without support, the poverty Jake is experiencing today will follow him through school and into adulthood.

But by sponsoring a child, you can empower them. You will help them access the extra tools, resources and personal support they need to make the most of school. Please help end poverty, one student at a time.

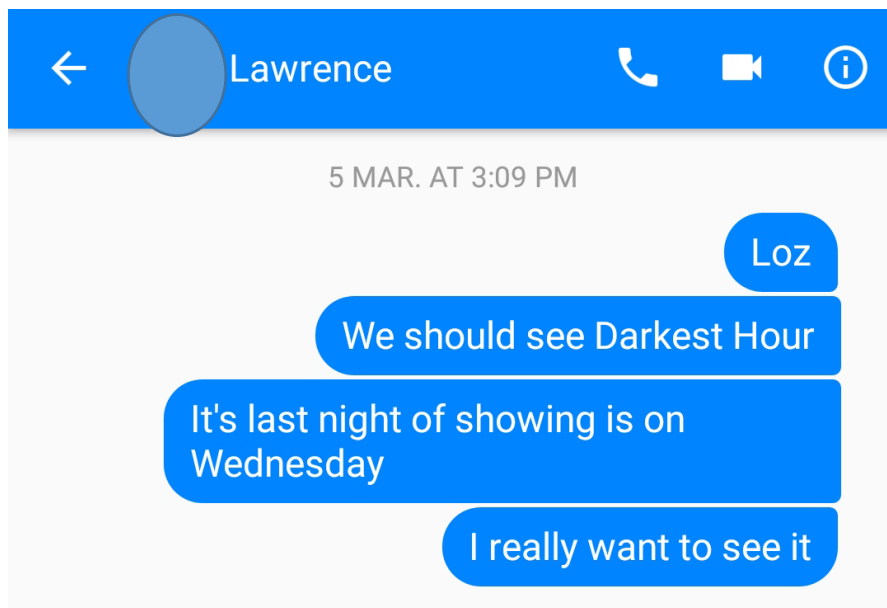
1. ACOSS Poverty Report, 2016.

**SPONSOR AN AUSTRALIAN CHILD TODAY**  
1800 633 622 or visit [thesmithfamily.com.au](http://thesmithfamily.com.au)

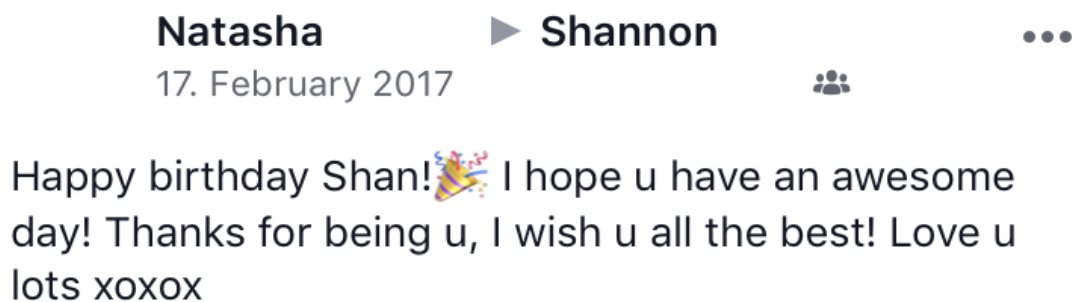
  
everyone's family

<https://www.deborahniski.com/the-work.html>

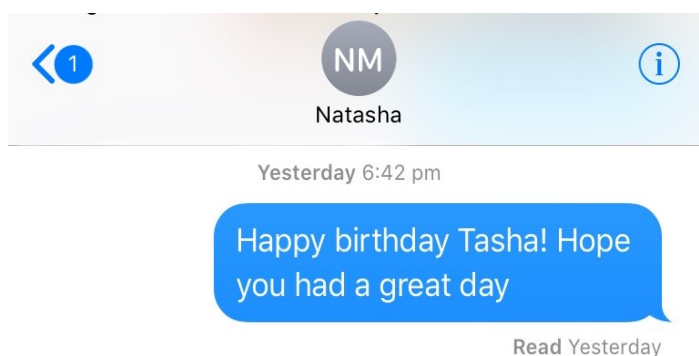
**Example 8:**



**Example 9:**



**Example 10:**



## Transcription of Interviews

**I = Interviewer**

**A = Interviewee I:**

- First Name: Brooke
- Age: 24
- Grew up in: Innisfail, Far North QLD
- Living in: Pottsville, NSW (since 2016)

*Date of Interview: 06/07/2018*

I: Okay, yeah, so the first example is a ehm almost like a tourist ad I'd say. Just focus on the text and have a look if anything seems outstanding to you.

A: Obviously Straddie is ehm is an abbreviation for Stradbroke.

I: Okay.

A: It is a very common thing. Same with the ehm figurative "hop, skip and jump away" that's something that's quite iconic. It's one of those phrases that we say.

I: Okay, yeah. Why would Straddie be used here ehm instead of Stradbroke Island?

A: Because Stradbroke Island is a mouthful and we're too lazy *[laughs]*.

I: *[laughs]* Okay, so it is about laziness?

A: I guess it's just the way that we ehm abbreviate and shorten words to, ehm, it almost makes it sound more fun as well. We're going to Straddie sounds a lot better than we're going to Stradbroke Island, like, it's not as formal. So, for me, it feels like it's a lot more relaxed and ehm it gives that vibe of it being more of a holiday or a get-away destination.

I: Perfect. Do you have any other place names in there that might be similar?

A: Hm no ↑ not in here.

I: What I'm wondering is why might they have used Brisbane here instead of an abbreviated form?

A: I guess in a way that they do that, I mean when I read it I read Brissy anyways *[laughs]*.

I: *[laughs]*.

A: but I guess part of the reason is to distinguish it from it being a place where one might work or live compared to ah where one might go for a vacation.

I: that sounds good, thanks. So, we have a differentiation between Brissy and Straddie almost like a working and holiday place as well?

A: Yeah, I don't even know if they realised they've done that.

A: Also even I call Pottsville Potty.

I: Mhm.

A: It's that idea of it being more of a holiday destination for us, or that abbreviation that we use because it's who we are.

I: So, if someone says to you, I'm going to Brissy, does it make you feel like that person is more familiar with the place?

A: Ehm, yeah↑. [Ah, yes and no]

I: [Or does it] give you a feeling of a closer relationship between you and that place?

A: Yeah for sure. Especially having lived here for a while we are you know Potty people. We're local to Potty. It's I don't know it's one of those things where you abbreviate.

I: So does it create an insider perspective? Like, towards you the people of potty?

A: I guess it's like an affectionate name. So, if you don't like Brisbane, you'd probably say I don't like Brisbane. You wouldn't say I hate Brissy. It's almost - for me, it gives that y of fondness - I guess.

I: Do you think it has to do with laziness again?

A: Of course, we shorten our words ehm we shorten our words. It's just the way we are and I've never really had to think about it too much. It's just who we are and it's you know how our parents, our grandparents spoke.

I: Mhm. So, it's almost Australian to speak like that. Does it make you feel Australian?

A: Yes I guess. It's like your dialects in Austria.

I: Mhm. Alright perfect, maybe we'll continue to look at the next example ((pause)).

A: Oh, Hog's Breath ↑

I: Yeah.

I: Anything you notice?

A: Hoggies and ehm, brekky. That again, that ie abbreviation. It's something we do a lot.

I: Yes, why would they use this in a menu?

A: because breakfast is so ehm so mainstream. - Brekky is a lot more affectionate, like what do you want for brekky? It's a lot more, kind of, casual and relaxed and I guess that kind of describes who we are as people as well.

I: So, you'd say it's very common anyways? In menus and so on?

A: Not necessarily in menus. But it represents that [casual easy dining].

I: [Mhm]. In what way would you say it represents your culture?

A: Hm-m.

I: In your attitudes?

A: It's more of a thing that we see a lot more in the country, ehm you know, more abbreviations. Especially on the East coast, you might not see it in Melbourne, but for us on the coast, well you know, we just go out for brekky. And that is a lot more affectionate.

I: So, it's an easy-going way of having [breakfast?]

A: [Yeah, yeah.] quick and easy.

I: Ehm, because you said it's more common on the coast than in the city, would you say it makes it seem anti-intellectual to use this?

A: I wouldn't necessarily go anti-intellectual I would go more anti-snob. Does that make sense to you?

I: Mhm yeah.

A: It's not necessarily appealing to people who would go to a fancy restaurant for breakfast.

I: Yes. So you would say that somebody who's really educated would still use those words?

A: Yeah, yeah definitely.

I: Why do you think that is?

A: that we talk this way?

I: Yeah.

A: A lot comes from the history, I think. Because of the way we were colonised. The prisoners. That really has affected our language I think.

I: Yes, good. Would you say it generally represents more of an informal rather than anti-intellectual way?

A: Yes, yes. I mean you can be very intelligent and still have a broad accent.

I: Coming back to [the example], you said Straddie is used because you're lazy. Would you say it's the same here?

A: [ah yes sorry] of course, we shorten our words ehm we shorten our words. It's just the way we are and I've never really had to think about it too much. It's just who we are and it's you know how our parents, our grandparents spoke.

I: Mhm. So, it's almost Australian to speak like that. Does it make you feel Australian?

A: Yes I guess. It's like your dialects in Austria.

A: Ah, Eggs Benny. Although I feel like they've gone too far. Like, they're trying to get away with a lot more. And again, brekky, I wouldn't spell it like that myself.

I: Oh. So you would've gone with -ie

A: I would've said b-r-e-a-k-i-e I mean it comes from breakfast.

I: Okay, interesting.

I: Alright, next example is taken from a news article from the University of Sydney.

A: Mozzies? =

I: =Yeah, right=

A: =Pesky mozzies. So - mosquitoes. Have you seen that they've chosen the two different forms, though?

I: Yes. Why would they do that though? In the subheading the only used mozzies.

A: I guess with writing, especially, and in that formal sense, yeah, so they have to write in the formal language, but also in a way that appeals to the common folk as well. So mozzies is one of those terms like brekky or Straddie.

I: mhm, what attitude does that imply? How does it make someone seem to use that word?

A: Again, it gives that kind of laid-back vibe. But with mosquitoes it's one of those things where I'd argued, where it's the opposite of Straddie, where you have fond memories and here, we don't wanna waste our time with something that we hate. So here mozzies has that kind of negative affiliation, so it doesn't have that fondness to it.

I: =Yeah=

A: =Like, everyone hates mozzies [laughs]. We don't enjoy mosquitoes.

I: So, everyone knows mosquitoes, so you just wanna use a shorter word?

A: Yeah mos-qui-toe, that's three. Mozzies, that's two [laughs]=

I: =[laughs].

A: You know we're lazy, we don't wanna talk more than we have to.

I: Mhm.

I: Similar, I've heard people say saltie and freshie and especially you coming from the north of Queensland ehm what do you think about it? Like say somebody like Steve Irwin says that, how does it make him appear?

A: Well, as someone coming from up there, it's just a lot easier to say that. It's such a long winded information, for the most part, you just talk in these abbreviated terms. And you're

talking to someone you already know, who has some background information. So, you can just say “that freshie over there”.

I: And does it, like with the example of mozzies, make it seem like, you know, like mozzies are, ah, not a big deal?

A: We care about that. But it's more, they're just a pain, and they're so annoying, and we don't have to spend a lot of time saying that. The last time I've heard someone say mosquito ehm I can't even remember.

I: *[laughs]*

A: No one says it *[laughs]* =

I: =and with the saltie and freshie, do you think it makes a person sound tough?

A: Hm, I guess so, yeah. Again, having grown up in those areas, I think it's just something that we're used to. We just ehm disregard the ehm potential severity of those animals and the danger that they may pose you know.

I: So you make the problem seem smaller?

A: We have so many challenges to deal with, so if we would worry about everything we would live inside *[laughs]*.

I: *[laughs]*. that's true. Anyways maybe we'll look at the next video now a news interview.

I: Alri::ght *[laughs]*

A: *[laughs]*.

I: How does the guy appear to you?

A: He's a Bogan.

I: why is that?

A: he has no teeth.

I: And apart from his appearance?

A: His language. So, it's very broad Australian. It's ehm how foreigners would see us talking. It's how it's portrayed ehm so have us seem ehm almost uneducated.

I: Hm, so uneducated attitude would have to do with the language too?

A: Yeah, I'd instantly base it on his appearance. And the language. Ehm. His body language as well.

I: I know what you mean. Did you hear any examples of abbreviated forms in this video?

A: Yeah, instead of saying I was in my underwear he was saying I was in me jocks or me undies, and that there is that informal language that we have. Even my grandma says me instead of my, and my partner does the same, and it does come across uneducated.

I: Mhm, yes -what about him seeming tough?

A: Yeah again how he talks about it. We have that nothing needs to be a huge deal kinda thing, because as we said, we are surrounded by dangerous things.

I: Do you abbreviate that no big deal phrase as well?

A: Yeah no biggie =

I: =and that's common?

A: Oh yeah, no biggie. I say that all the time, or no worries, that's things that we definitely do.

I: Okay, yeah. One other thing he points out is the mateship, ehm what do you think about it?

A: Yeah it's a nice quality, but it's also rather idealistic, I guess it's true in the small communities.

I: Is it an ideal?

A: Yeah in the small communities and in rural areas yeah. You have to have that strong sense of mateship.

I: Mm yeah - Let's watch the next video.

A: *[laughs]* this is the worst poem ever written, did you hear that person talking about the lettuce. He's not Aussie=

I: =really?=-

A: =He's not Aussie. He's Kiwi, honestly. He's definitely not Australian.

I: Yeah, so you just used an interesting word.

A: Aussie?

I: Yeah, why would you use that?

A: Yeah that's what we do. We call ourselves Aussies, not Australians.

I: Why would they do it in the ad?

A: because they're appealing to their audience. It's that kind of fondness that they refer to - even the people who work there call it Macca's.

I: does it seem anti-intellectual in this case?

A: No, not to me. I wouldn't say that it's anti-intellectual because everyone uses it, like if you stopped somebody on the street in inner-city Brisbane and you show them that sign, they'll [say Macca's, you know.]

I: [Mhm yeah] What about Aussie?

A: Everybody says Aussie.=

I: =yeah so is that including everyone?

A: Our Prime minister calls us Aussie. It's that terminology that we use to describe ourselves as something fond ehm we are Aussie. Well ehm we are Australians, but we're not mm, we're Aussie.

I: and does that go hand in hand with the mateship concept?

A: Yeah, it's part of our nationality. I guess it comes down to nationalism. Saying you're Australian, it's kind of silly. You might say that to someone overseas, but here we're Aussies.

I: Good. Last few examples we'll do all together.

A: So, we have Loz there. Ah, for Lawrence. See that's not one I would associate with Lawrence I would go with Lawry, but I guess it depends.

I: Oh and how would you describe the relationship between those two people?

A: Some form of close relationship.

I: What is implied by Loz?

A: Definitely some form of mateship, some form of closeness. So it could be a close mate, it could be a female friend.

I: Okay.

A: Well if someone says I'm Lawrence, it makes them seem like they're upper class, [whereas if] someone says I'm Loz it seems a bit more down-to-earth and relatable.

I: [Mhm] Maybe we'll look at the other examples and then we talk about them all at once.

A: Yeah the language used here is quite decent. So, I would definitely argue that this person is educated, although he uses Loz. I'd argue that they're quite educated.

I: And still use the form Loz, yeah.

A: It's that affectionism, it's that affectionate terminology ehm.



I: Maybe we'll look at the last one now.

I: How would you describe all of those people that are being addressed with the shortened forms?

A: definitely some form of familiarisation. They obviously know that person. It's not necessarily intimate knowledge. So, depending who you are as a person and how you approach others. So, someone would go, I'm Shannon, call me Shaz.

I: Yeah, so, because you say that would you say that Shanny is baby-talk?

A: No, no. There's no baby-talk. It's that affectionate shortening. Same with Loz, that's not baby-talk, it's just affectionate. And I guess everyone does it differently. We have many zeds, so Shannon could be Shanza.

I: Ehm, would you say that they're displaying that person a softie, like that this particular Shan or Loz is a softie or is it the opposite?

A: Oh, God no. You can have that huge guy called Garry. Or like John. Big tall muscular guy, call him Jono. Does not emasculate that particular person. It's almost more fun, it makes them less serious, but it doesn't make them any less physical serious.

I: Okay. So, why do you think Australians are so frequently abbreviating words?

A: I guess it's just who we are. Like, I can't, I can't say anything else, it's part of who we are. It's, it's always been like that for us. You know coming from that convict history, we've always been a lot more informal. We've always spoken a lot more informally and the way we speak we speak ourselves is quite broad, for the most part, we shorten our words and we don't necessarily end the words that we speak. So, I guess it's not necessarily a fact of being uneducated or unintellectual it's, it's just the way that we developed as a nation. And I think that if we would stop doing that, we'd lose part of who we are. You know, we're a fun-loving [kind natured] nation who, you know, we don't take things so seriously as say other countries.

I: [Mhm, right] I think that's a good conclusion. Thank you so much.

**I = Interviewer**

**B = Interviewee 2**

- Name: Corey
- Age: 27
- Grew up in: Brisbane, South-East QLD
- Living in: Brisbane, South-East QLD

*Date of Interview: 22/07/2018*

I: Alright, let's look at the first example which is taken from ehm a travel advertisement. Please just look at the text and tell me if there's anything that seems outstanding to you. You can zoom in if you need to.

B: Yep, well let me read the text first ((pause)).

B: Okay, something that stands out to me?

I: Yes

B: It looks like it's in Australia. Ehm the landscape, the walk on the edge of the beach. Ehm guys wearing flip flops.

I: Mhm, what about the text itself?

B: A::h, yeah Stradbroke. They say Straddie.

I: Okay good, why would you say is that used here in Stradbroke Island?

B: *[laughs]* It's probably more commonly called Straddie. People are probably more familiar with Straddie, the word Straddie I would say.

I: Yes, how would that connect to the audience? Does that have an effect on the audience or you as a reader?

B: Well, the audience can probably relate to it better.

I: Yes, can you find another example of a place's name?

B: Ehm, yeah, Brisbane.

I: Can you think of any abbreviated name for Brisbane?

B: Yeah a:hm, probably the most common one is Brissy than Brizvegas.

I: Good, why would they not use these ones in the text? Do you have any idea why they used Straddie, but not Brissy in this example?

((pause))

B: Ehm - well yeah well, Straddie would appeal to Australians, foreigners aren't really gonna know what Straddie is. It's probably more aimed at local people from around.

I: What does this ad advertise?

B: For a short trip I would say. It's not a place where you go to for a long holiday, you go there to relax.

I: and in comparison to Brisbane? You know, judging from the language?

B: Yeah. Straddie is more laid-back, probably more cash, easy-going =

I: = whereas Brisbane? =

B: =Brisbane is obviously a big city, ehm=

I: =and how would it feel for you if they said Brissy in this ad?

B: ((pause)) I don't know, it would feel less formal.

I: Would you say it makes a place more familiar?

B: Yes, definitely.

I: Do you ever use those terms?

B: Yes, absolutely. It's more, mostly, yeah it's the norm. It's probably just ehm, it's what people say. And it sounds, it sounds, it's probably simpler to say and it's maybe even more fun to say.

I: Okay, good. Maybe we'll go on to the next example now, which is a menu from the Café Hog's Breath. Again just focus on the bigger written [text and, you know].

B: [Hoggie's Style, Brekky].

I: Yeah, that's already some important ones. Why would they use the form brekky in a menu, you reckon?

B: Ehm, brekky is more familiar. I don't know, it's probably psychological. At home you're probably more likely to say brekky here in Australia obviously. And - I don't know, I guess it has to do with some marketing things. I guess it's a vibe, I suppose.

I: Mhm, which vibe? Which breakfast do you imagine?

B: A::hm, pretty standard breakfast.

I: Which atmosphere?

B: Oh well, it would be a local thing, an Australian thing, absolutely.

I: How would you describe the Australians that go there?

B: [laughs] Average Joe's I suppose =

I: =mhm [laughs]

B: I mean, the word brekky, brekky is so well established in Australia, you're not not gonna use it.

I: How would you describe the typical Australian that goes to that breakfast?

B: Oh, it's probably more aimed at people who want some, I don't know, just average people. Maybe yeah, people who are in the area. Casual people, easy-going people.

I: Mhm, cool. Now, in this menu would you say that this is uneducated or anti-intellectual to use those words in this context?

B: Absolutely not.

I: Okay, why not?

B: Why not? Because it's just a well-established term to use in Australia, to say it's uneducated, that's just absolutely not true. Everyone uses that, it's so universal, that it's just not true.

I: Okay mhm. Why do you think it has established to be so common here?

B: Why? Because we're casual, we're lazy.

I: [laughs].

B: Because we like to abbreviate things, we like as little syllables as possible [laughs].

I: Thanks, I guess we'll just go on to Number three. This is taken out of the University of Sydney News Tab. Again you can point out any (forms or words) that seem interesting to you.

B: [laughs] (Pesky mozzies). [A:hm].

I: [Yeah, good.]

B: Bloody mozzies. I hate 'em.

I: *[laughs]* Why would they use it in a news tab at the University?

B: Well, they've used the word mosquito in the heading. That's probably the more formal side of it. And then they go on and use mozzies because ah everyone would know what that is, that's just Australian, it's just a universal regularly used word.

I: Yeah. Do you think it makes somebody seem tough, ehm tough, when someone uses this word?

B: No, no.

I: Not so much tough, okay. Do you think it makes it seem like they're not a big deal?

B: Everyone hates mozzies, but like, they've just like, it's just how they've addressed them. Ah, hm, I would say that it's just=

I: =a form to use here? =

B: =Yeah, because it's well established.

I: Yeah, the next example is similar, it's a news article out of the Katherine Times. There's another word that is shortened.

B: Yeah, saltie.

I: Yeah, so now if we compare mozzies and salties. How does it make a person appear?

B: with respect to saltie, that's probably for someone from the outback or someone who's more familiar with them. Ah, salties, I would say that people in the major cities would not use that word actually. Saltie is probably for people who are more in rural areas.

I: Yeah and just because they're in more rural areas, does it make them seem more uneducated?

B: Hm, no I wouldn't say so.

I: So, hm say Steve Irwin says "Look at that saltie", does it make him appear more tough?

B: *[laughs]* Hm yeah he sounds like the ehm Mr Nature. Yeah, yeah I can just see him say that. I would agree with that yeah.

I: And yeah there's also another word in there, can you see it?

B: Yeah, Lowie.

I: What does that refer to?

B: I don't know actually. Ah, in the description it says down at the Lowel Level Reserve at Katherine.

I: Again, because it labels a place, how do you think that place is displayed?

B: Ah, well it seems like the journalist trying to be creative with the heading. Saltie near the Lowie. So I think they're trying to have a run on words. But Lowie is certainly not a, well I didn't know it. A lot of people would have to read the below to know what the Lowie is.

I: And what about the people that come from this place?

B: Oh, people in Katherine, yeah I'd say so. If you're from Katherine, yeah, they would know.

I: So they're the insiders ↑ ?

B: Yeah, within that context of where you're living and what's around you, you would be more ehm familiar, that would be in your vocabulary I'd say.

I: Alright, cool. If you're ready for it we would go on to a video now. It's a news interview.

I: Alright, in this example, did anything seem outstanding to you?

B: Yeah he used a lot of Australian slang=

I: =mhm, do you remember any particular examples?

B: Yeah, he used undies, jocks and scoot up the road.

I: What do they mean?

B: Undies is underwear, jocks is also underwear, yeah it's also underwear and scoot up the road is just quickly moving basically.

I: How would you describe this guy?

B: *[laughs]* very cash *[laughs]* very cash.

I: Uneducated?

B: Possibly. The way he sounded, it wasn't so much the words he used it was more his Aussie accent, it was quite strong.

I: Say one of your friends or family uses the word undies =

B: =yeah=

I: =would you say that's uneducated or is it just in this context?

B: Yeah certainly the context makes it more definitive. Using the word undies is not uneducated, everyone uses that term.

I: Ehm, okay. Yeah, he also mentions ehm the value of mateship in the end. How do you feel towards that? What's the importance of that in Australia?

B: I don't know, yeah mateship, that's obviously a very common theme in Australia. Stock with your mates, I suppose is an alternative.

I: Is it more an ideal? It is valued?

B: Yeah, it's valued and admired, that's for sure.

I: Do you wanna be someone like that? To stick with your mates?

B: Yeah, everyone does.

I: Why?

B: Because it's showing that you care. You know, what goes around comes around.

I: Alright, the next one is another quick video.

B: They use the term Macca's.

I: Why would they do that in an ad?

B: Yeah, you know maybe ten years ago they wouldn't have done that. But you know it's become so well-established over time that ehm it's just it's Macca's, it's not McDonald's, there's too many syllables in McDonald's for our liking.

I: you wanna be quick?

B: Yeah comes back to being lazy *[laughs]*.

I: Yeah and the other one he uses was Aussie.

B: Ah yeah you're right, that's so common I didn't even pick it up. Aussie is so common.

I: What does this do in the ad?

B: Aussie is like personalising the ad for Australian people, so that it appeals to them. Aussie is like how they relate to them personally

I: Is that something you would say? I'm Aussie?

B: Yeah yeah. ↑

I: Ehm so yeah and does this ad seem anti-intellectual?

B: No in this context it doesn't. it's trying to have a relation to the audience, which is obviously Australian and to be on their level I suppose.

I: Ehm, okay now that's another example

B: *[laughs]* So, something that falls out to me ehm povo, nice shoes povo.

I: Why would they do that in that ad?

B: No Hoper, I haven't heard the term hoper before actually.

I: Povo you've heard?

B: Yeah that's an old one. Short [for poverty].

I: [Also the person] being poor?

B: Yeah it's short for poverty but can be applied to many contexts .

B: Poverty, poor, you know, disadvantaged.

I: Why would they do that in this context?

B: Ehm it's insulting.

I: So do you think it's offensive if somebody uses this term?

B: Yes, absolutely.

I: And what about the shorter word for Aboriginal?

B: Oh that one.

I: What is it?

B: it's Abo, but you're not supposed to say that.

I: Why not?

B: Because it's an offensive term. You're not supposed to say that.

I: So, it is more offensive to say He's an Abo than to say He's Aboriginal.

B: Yeah way more offensive.

I: And same with povo?

B: Yeah that's, that's ehm insulting=

I: =so that's not socially accepted?=  
 B: No, that's frowned upon.

I: Alright, thanks. We'll look at the last few examples all together.

B: Okay, there's no Australian slang so much than abbreviations of names and words.

I: Okay, yeah I'd like to focus on the names here. Why is that a common thing here apparently? Why do you think it's used here?

B: Well, it's like an informal thing. It's probably to show that you're close to that person and again, just to save time and be lazy.

I: Ah so it makes you feel Australian as well to use those forms?

B: A:hm, yeah to a degree. But it's also an informality and a bond to that person.

I: So which relationship would you suggest here?

B: They're all friends, they all know each other pretty well.

I: And how do the addressed people appear?

B: They obviously all have ehm they're obviously all friends.

I: Do you think Shannon is a softie? Is he emotional?

B: I think it just means that they're I don't know.

I: Like imagine a Jono who's really strong does he seem weaker than a Jonathan?

B: No, no makes him seem stronger.

I: So makes him appear tougher.

B: Yeah Jono.

I: And is it anti-intellectual to use those forms?

B: No, I don't think that. It's that informal style.

I: Alright, one more question, do you think that someone who uses all those shortened forms that we just looked at Straddie, Brissy, mozzies, salties, do you think they appear more Aussie?

B: Yeah absolutely, hundred per cent. It's a common thing within our culture.

I: Do you feel more Aussie if you use the words?

B: Yeah it's a social thing. More socially integrating.

I: Alright, thank you so much.

**I = Interviewer**

**C = Interviewee 3**

- Name: Louisa
- Age: 42
- Grew up in: Melbourne, VIC (for 12 years)
- Living in: Brisbane, South-East QLD

*Date of Interview: 23/07/2018*

I: Alright, the first example is taken from a travel ad. You can zoom in if you need to.

C: Okay.

I: Is there anything that's outstanding to you?

C: Well yeah, I think that's just Straddie itself, it's an abbreviation.

I: Yeah, that's right.

C: *[laughs]*

I: Why do you think it's used here in a travel ad instead of the long the long word?

C: Ehm, I think it's just the Australian way, I think we just abbreviate anything. Australians refer to everything with the shortened version.

I: Yeah, any particular reason for that?

C: Oh, I don't know, it is just it is what it is *[laughs]* Is that a common response? *[laughs]*

I: *[laughs]* I guess you are not very aware of that. There's even another form in here Brisbane and they don't use the shorter form *[for it here]*.

C: *[Yeah right]*.

I: Do you have any reason why the might have not used the short form here?

C: Yeah, maybe it makes it sound more holiday-ish, maybe it makes it sound more like a getaway and makes it more exciting.

I: Yeah, good. And do you think it almost shows an insider perspective of the people knowing *[Straddie]*?

C: *[Yeah↑]* Yeah definitely. I definitely do actually.

I: Do you do that with Brissey?

C: It's funny I would say Brisbane as well but I'd say Straddie and sometimes the Gold Coast is the Goldy and different parts of the Gold Coast I use the shorter terms, like there's a place called Duranbah which I call Debah. Things like that, and quite often Brisbane is Brisbane, maybe the capitals.

I: Interesting.

C: Yeah, I've never once called Stradbroke Island Stradbroke Island. I've only ever called it Straddie.

I: Good one. Alright, we can look at the second example.

C: *[laughs]*

I: It's a menu.

C: *[brekky]* and hoggies style *[rather than Hog's breath]*

I: *[Yeah good]*. Why do you think they would use something like brekky in a menu?



C: Again it makes it sound more casual and maybe to show that it's a laid-back place and it can probably make it more family orientated rather than a posh place that would use the full term.

I: So you'd say it's more laid-back rather than formal?

C: Yeah ↑ definitely.

I: Do you think the people who go there are more informal as well?

C: Yeah definitely. And again I would, depending where you'd come from and your wealth I would say that everyone with a family would look after a more informal place.

I: And do you think it makes it sound more uneducated or anti-intellectual to use those words in a menu?

C: Maybe in other countries but I think in Australia it's just it's accepted that you do that I think *[laughs]*.

I: Yeah I think so too, yeah yeah. And how do you think it represents the mentality and kind of way of living of Australians you know in general?

C: I think it's just that laid-back nature that we we don't take ourselves too seriously and we are not too formal and we just like everything to be laid-back and really easy.

I: Mhm and do you think it has to do with laziness?

C: Yes it's funny. Yes and no I wanna say yes but then sometimes we shorten and add a bit on. So it's that's Queensland shortens a lot more but sometimes we change words like togs for swimwear. It's just making it more informal.

I: Okay. I think we'll go on to the next one. Ehm yeah this one is taken out of the University of Sydney ne:ws tab.

C: Yeah so again it starts off so you know what it's about and then it drops straight into Australian with ehm *[pesky mozzies]*. Because I think if that was in the title you might not know what a mozzie is potentially ehm.

I: *[Yeah]*. So is that the reason why they'd use it in the title?

C: Yeah I'd say so. And interestingly it comes to the Australian way of saying it and then in the article it comes back to mentioning mosquitoes.

I: Yeah, how do you think somebody is who says mozzies? Does it make someone you know appear in a certain way if you use that word?

C: Yeah again I'd say it's just a way of talking. And because mozzies is used so frequently and maybe somebody saying mosquito it sounds more posh? *[laughs]* We're just used to say mozzies. So, if somebody says I got bitten by a mosquito it maybe sounds posh or maybe that they are not from Australia.

I: Mhm, yeah so it's an Australian way of talking=

C: =definitely=

I:=and do you think, I mean that it's an article of an Australian University that it seems uneducated or inappropriate style?

C: No ↑ I think they're clever. They used mosquito everywhere else except for that little subheading so I think they have they have made it sound intelligent enough, but they have brought in that to keep you know it Australian and to draw the Australians in as well.

I: And do you personally think that mozzies aren't a big deal?

C: A:h, ah they're annoying, but, you know, they're a part of life. I have friends in England and they have flies and mozzies and they panic whereas for us, you know, if you're gonna go outside they'll be there so it's not gonna stop me and everyone I know from going outside.

I: And do you personally use the term mozzies?

C: I kind of change it I guess. I'd say I got bitten by a mozzie ehm or they're mozzies out. But I quite often interchange that and maybe that's why that article did it too I guess because most people do

I: Interesting yeah. Do you feel like you don't wanna use a long word just because everyone knows it anyways?

C: Yea: I think that's it. It's why use the full word if everyone knows what a mozzie is and maybe I drop into mosquito when I talk to someone who's not from Australia perhaps.

I: So it is an Australian thing to do you know especially when you talk to Australians?

C: Yeah, definitely.

I: Alright the next one is similar. Maybe those animals are a bit of a bigger deal *[laughs]*

C: *[laughs]* See, from that title I wouldn't know what that is.

I: Oh really?

C: Yeah.

I: Did you grow up in Brisbane?

C: Ehm Melbourne initially=

I: =ah maybe that's why.

C: I mean I'd probably work it out but I wouldn't instantly go oh that's about a crocodile.

I: Really? So it isn't that common for you to use that to talk about a crocodile?

C: No, I would never say that.

I: That's funny.

C: Yeah no, I would never ever use that term.

I: Funny. I interviewed someone from Northern Queensland and she would always use that term.

C: Yeah maybe it's because of the city. It makes sense.

I: Do you think in the article it makes it you know seem like ehm dismiss the problem a bit or ignore the danger?

C: Yeah, I mean definitely. I mean people in Katherine would know.

I: And the word itself? I mean if I don't know if somebody says I've seen a saltie does it make that person seem more tough?

C: Maybe, I don't know if they're trying to or show that they're a local and they, you know, know more about it than we do.

I: Mhm yeah.

C: Even when I travelled to somewhere where there are crocodiles I would not use it. I would say there are crocs=

I: =another shortened word *[laughs]*.

C: *[laughs]*.

I: Do you know what Lowie is?

C: No – A:h Low Water reserve.

I: Do you think the people in Katherine would know?

C: Yeah but I would say only people in Katherine who have lived there for a while. It narrows it down.

I: Do you think it's desired in Australia to be a tough person?

C: Hm, yeah, yeah. I think ehm for males in particular. I think Australian males have to be tough or think they have to be tough and probably use words like that or use words to show off to their friends.

I: So it does make you appear tougher to use saltie?

C: Yeah to show I know all the words and I am from here and yeah.

I: Okay, the next one is a funny one too *[laughs]* A news interview.

C: *[laughs]* Oh my God it's hilarious but as an Australian I find this really embarrassing *[laughs]*

I: *[laughs]* How does this guy appear?

C: U::h ehm I struggle with the use of the word mate especially guys calling a girl mate I really don't like it.

I: It's a big thing here though it seems.

C: Look after your mate I find okay, but saying mate all the time and me like me jocks me undies it's so in Australian we'd call him a Bogan.

I: Does that have to do with the language?

C: Yeah, it's mostly the language, you know, the me instead of my, it's almost, Gosh, it sounds terrible, I mean he sounds like he's a good guy, but sounds like he's not very well educated, ah, it sounds horrible to say that.

I: Yeah it's okay and what if one of your friends says undies does that make them seem uneducated?

C: No it is the context again because pretty much everyone and even I say undies but I wouldn't say *[me undies]*.

I: *[Yeah]* *[laughs]*

C: Yeah so it comes down to the context.

I: And what about the word jocks? Do you use that as well?

C: Only if I'm being silly. I definitely wouldn't say jocks but I do think in particular guys might say jocks but undie is way more common.

I: And does he appear tough because we addressed that earlier?

C: I don't think so. I think - not foolish because he's done a good thing but I think it was more impulsive which I do respect as well but I don't think he's a particularly tough guy.

I: and is it admired to be a tough guy?

C: Yeah, definitely and I think that's a very Australian thing, like if you see your neighbour in trouble you help. We had floods in Brisbane and everyone just pitched in and helped and I feel like that's what Australia is like and it gets lost sometimes and I think when things like this happen everyone gets excited.

I: Good. The next example is a shorter video.

I: Did you hear any shortened forms? The brand itself maybe?

C: I guess just Macca's.

I: Is that common?

C: Yeah definitely.

I: Why would they use it in an ad and even refer to themselves as Macca's?

C: Again I just think that's Australian everyone just knows it as Macca's. And it potentially puts you in the category of your customers. If you're referring to yourself as McDonald's maybe you put yourself up here, whereas everyone else calls it Macca's. They're bringing themselves into the feeling of the community

I: And another one they used is ehm I'm not sure you picked it up it's ehm hundred percent real juice Aussie beef.

C: Oh yeah, it's always Aussie beef, it's never Australian beef. Like in the pubs and even the supermarkets I think. It would just be like Aussie beef rather than Australian beef. Yeah, so good pick up yeah it's just Aussie beef.

I: And do you refer to yourself as Aussie?

C: Yeah I'm trying to think what I refer to myself. I'd probably say an Aussie.

I: Maybe we Aussies?

C: Yeah definitely. And my husband is from England and he is constantly like Ah you Aussies *[laughs]* yeah which is interesting he's been here for 15 years now and yeah he would use all those words like Aussie beef and call it Macca's.

I: that's interesting. I'm wondering if he says it to address you Australians or also to feel a bit more Aussie himself you know.

C: I think he definitely feels way more Aussie with it. He feels very Australian.

I: Yeah and also with using these forms. Does he use those shortened forms as well?

C: Yeah, he'd say sunnies.

I: and brekky maybe?

C: Yeah, definitely we're going for brekky. And I guess that's the thing, maybe if you say the longer word to Aussies it just doesn't feel right maybe?!

I: Yeah, that's true.

C: Yeah, maybe you just hear it so much and start saying it too.

I: Yeah it almost seems like a culture.

C: Yeah, definitely.

I: Okay the next one is taken out of the Smith family which is saw on the bus once.

C: Yeah - povo - and no hoper.

I: Which associations does that word povo have?

C: It's a, I mean, it's a slang word but it's almost like a really derogatory term - it's, it's bad but also sometimes Aussies try to downplay things by making things into a slang or a word like that not in a nasty way but to dismiss it a bit. I think Aussie are good slash bad at that maybe make it less real.

I: So if someone says you know "Look at this povo" does that seem really you know striking to you?

C: Yeah - if someone said that I'd be really upset and sad and I think it's ignorant.

I: And what about a shorter form for Aboriginal?

C: Yeah that as well - see it's just this seems racist then which is crazy because we abbreviate everything else as well. I think it's because it's more used in a derogatory sense than sunnies and so on.

I: Maybe it has to do with the fact that poverty already has a negative association I mean bottle-o ends in o as well and doesn't have that negative feeling.

C: Yeah, yeah, maybe. I guess because for most things shortened it's a term of endearment and something you like if that makes sense and with those things you shorten it for the wrong reasons I don't know.

I: Yeah that sounds good.

C: Yeah you know things like that always make me sad.

I: Yeah so it's just not the right way to address someone?

C: Yeah it's just not right and a person using that wouldn't be the one helping and puts himself superior you know.

I: Yeah, mhm. It's interesting how it makes such a difference.

C: Yeah, you do what you do and you don't even think about it.

I: Alright we'll look at the last three examples all together.

C: Okay yeah that's everyone in Australia. Yeah even with my name I'm Lou. If someone says Louisa it's like have I done anything. And even if I introduce myself I am Lou.

I: Oh really? What if someone calls you on the phone and you don't know who it is how do you introduce yourself then?

C: Yeah then I'm Louisa or at a workshop or at a gym initially I'm Louisa but yeah to all my mates I'm Lou.

I: So it's a friendship thing as well.

C: Definitely. I wouldn't say like Shan with Shannon I wouldn't say Shan unless they've said Hi my name is Shannon and you can call me Shan.

I: So you'd suggest a close relationship between the people?

C: Yeah, for sure. People close to me it's just Lou.

I: And so it's not automatically uneducated is it?

C: No definitely not at all *[laughs]*

I: Is it a friendly way to address someone?

C: Yeah, yeah<sup>↑</sup>. It just shows that someone is comfortable as well.

I: Perfect. One last question. So with all those words that we looked at so Straddie, Brissy, Aussie whatever do you think it makes someone appear more Aussie? Say your husband uses the words

C: Yeah, yeah. I didn't even really realise it until we went to London and all of his mates where like What is this language you're speaking *[laughs]* Yeah it really makes you part of this culture.

I: Would you say you're using those words to feel more Aussie?

C: Yeah, it's just what we do. And half the ton you're not even aware.

I: So in the end how would you describe Australians?

C: I think definitely laid-back would be the first one. Ehm, easy-going mostly friendly ehm and again I'd like to say that most people look out for each other I think even different suburbs do that they tend to all look out for each other. But I think when things go bad you just come and be like "What can I do?" and I don't think you have that in a lot of other countries from my experience but yeah sure everyone has their own communities but I'd say that's the most common ones.

I: And that's also displayed in the language?

C: Yeah definitely and I also think we don't take ourselves too seriously like we're okay with having a laugh at ourselves and each other.

**I = Interviewer**

**D = Interviewee 4:**

- First Name: Tegan
- Age: 25
- Grew up in: Brisbane, South-East QLD
- Living in: Brisbane, South-East QLD

*Date of Interview:* 31/07/2018

I: Alright, ehm the first example is taken out of a travel advertisement. You can just look at it and yeah tell me if anything is outstanding or ehm interesting to you.

D: ((pause)) As in grammar or ehm=

I: =more as in words I'd say.

D: ((pause)) Yeah, ah the shortened thing Straddie.

I: Mhm do you have an idea why they would do that I mean what is the long word for Straddie?

D: Stradbroke Island.

I: Yeah and why would they do that here? Any reasons for that?

D: Ehm yeah more relatable and ehm we tend to shorten things here in Australia.

I: And why?

D: Why? Ehm I don't know we do that a lot, there's a lot of slang for everything. Ehm shortened maybe to have it easier, friendlier, more relatable, more approachable.

I: And even in a text like that?

D: Yeah, I think it's definitely more friendlier and yeah that kind of thing.

I: Also they used Brisbane and not the shorter word, why might that be?

D: Ehm ((pause)) Probably maybe a tourism thing.

I: Mhm which atmosphere does it create?

D: A more relaxed one=

I: =yeah towards which place=

D: Towards Straddie.

I: Yeah. And Brisbane?

D: More the place to work yeah. ((pause)) Mainland, I never really use that one. Ah so that's what you're looking at those shortened words?

I: Yeah that's it. Also in the next example.

D: Brekky?

I: Yeah you got it already. It's taken out of a menu from Hog's Breath Café.

D: Yeah, I just use it, like it's so natural that I don't even think about how it's advertised.

Brekky, breakfast, like I actually prefer brekky, like it's more natural for me than breakfast.

I: Yeah, I'm not surprised about that. *[laughs]*

D: Yeah.

I: So why would they use it in a menu here? Just because it's more common to say it here?

D: Ah yeah I also think again it's more of a friendlier term that people relate to I just like it more, like brekky is more easier to say.

I: And which atmosphere would you expect there? Like which kind of people would go there?

D: Probably the young upcoming generation. Yeah more of a informal place, relaxed and maybe they would wear thongs *[laughs]*

I: *[laughs]* Do you think it's anti-intellectual to use those words in a menu [for instance?]

D: [Do I think it's what?]

I: Anti-intellectual, like uneducated.

D: Ah, no, I don't actually which is an interesting thing. I actually no. I wouldn't use it though in the classroom and I don't think we were ever taught the slang, that's interesting. Like we know it anyways.

I: Yeah you just know it. But do you think just because somebody uses it, it makes someone seem like an uneducated person?

D: No, I don't think so, I think even a highly educated professional refers to the different terminology for things like that because I've heard, you know, people refer to breakfast as brekky. Everyone says it yeah.

I: Yeah, the next one shows us another one.

D: Mosquitoes pesky mozzies.

I: Yeah, it's taken from the University of Queensland, I mean sorry University of Sydney News Tab. Even they use it.

D: Mozzies, yeah. Again mozzies *[laughs]* I say it so frequently I don't even really think about it. No yeah, definitely, I say mozzies all the time over mosquitoes. More again like you say it's an Australian term we've somehow adapted into our language.

I: Yeah, good. Do you think it has a reason though why they used mosquito in the heading and the main text and not mozzies?

D: Yeah, I think to be more professional and ehm and then once they get into it they're a little bit more care-free and relaxed and the language they use is more relatable for the audience.

I: Yeah, perfect. So it's more targeted at Australians just because that language is used?

D: Yeah, I think so. Yeah ehm yeah I think it would be more target towards the Aussies than anything else.

I: *[laughs]* Interesting, you've just used another one when you said it was more targeted towards the Aussie=

D: *[laughs]* Yeah, without even realising to be honest.

I: Yeah, and would you say that mozzies aren't a big deal and whatever we don't wanna use a long word for something that everyone knows?

D: Yeah, I think that's why. They make it easier and a bit more lazier or just to say mozzies instead of mosquito. It's like with the pronunciation of the Americans they also lack some sounds and yeah we do shorten a lot of words without even thinking about it.

I: Yeah, definitely. The next one is also referring to animals.

D: Saltie and Lowie.

I: Is saltie a word that you would use or not as commonly as mozzies?

D: Nah, I don't really use that.

I: Do you know what it is?

D: Ehm, salt-water crocodile?

I: Yeah right and is that not something you would use commonly?

D: No no, not as much but I guess that's because where I am where we're situated I don't have a big ehm we don't have a big thing with crocodiles in Brisbane but if I were to go up North it'd be more relatable there.

I: Mhm yeah. I talked to someone from Far North Queensland and she said that it's a normal term to use there.

D: Yeah, that's interesting, it would be. And it's interesting you know the demographic how that's affecting it.

I: Yeah, very much. And do you think that if someone says saltie like does that make him appear tougher than saying it's a salt-water crocodile.

D: Yeah, hm, I think you'd know that they are more – ehm I don't know what do you call it – more aware or more used to to that thing happening or you know they're spotting them every day and yeah I guess it makes them look cooler too if they're using the you know local slang and terminology and [stuff]. Yeah I definitely don't use it as much but if I was up there I would probably use it as well if everyone else was using it.

I: [mhm] And do you think it also seems like dismissing the possible danger a bit by saying saltie?

D: Hm, you kinda yeah hm, it kinda downplays it a bit and makes it a bit more again relaxed and easy and lazy way and a more friendly way than saying there's a big salt-water crocodile [laughs].

I: [laughs] Yeah, good. And the other one in there Lowie do you know what that is?

D: Lowie. Probably the Low Level Reserve.

I: Yeah, and would you know what that is though if they didn't explain it in the subheading?

D: Hm, it's less common but again if I lived there, like if I was closer, I would definitely use Lowie and would understand it.

I: So, it almost creates an insider thing for the people from Katherine.

D: Yeah, definitely. That's right, the audience there would understand it. But I still understand the association between those two.

I: Yeah, good. It's very common here with the place names.

D: True, I don't think about that at all.

((watching video))

I: Yeah [laughs]. Well how does he seems to you?

D: Very relatable, Australian, pretty much how everyone think we speak.

I: Any words you picked up?

D: Yeah jocks, mate, he didn't say knickers what was it that he said?

I: Undies

D: Yeah that's it.

I: Would you use those words?

D: Yeah, not so much jocks, men use that more than women do I'd say, but definitely mate and undies yeah

I: Yeah, and would you say he's uneducated?

D: Yeah, yeah.

I: Does that have to do with the language as well? Like is it because he says words like undies?



D: No, I think it's like a combination of – yeah how he is using a bit more slang and saying mate all the time.

I: So, if somebody else says undies does that seem uneducated to you?

D: No, because I say it all the time you know everyone says it here all the time.

I: So, it is the context as well in this case?

D: Yeah, I guess it all comes together.

I: And because he addresses this mateship. Do you think that whole thing is something that is desired here?

D: E::hm yeah, I think for a lot of people – Ehm I don't know, see I think it used to be more and it's going down a bit but yeah we say it a lot.

I: So, everyone wants to be a good mate?

D: Yeah, hm: I don't say it a lot but you understand what they mean when they say it. You know I get called mate a lot at work I guess that's just how they refer to you.

I: Yeah, a friendly way probably.

D: Yeah, friendly that's the one.

I: Okay, good, the next one is a short video.

D: Are there any other countries that refer to it as Macca's?

I: I don't know, we say Mci in Austria.

D: Hm, Mci.

I: And why would they refer to themselves as Macca's here?

D: It's just more relatable and targeted at the Australian audience, we say that a lot.

I: Something you say?

D: Yeah, and even the kids at school say it. So it's definitely, yeah, a highly used term.

I: So if they used McDonald's in the ad would that almost be weird?

D: Yeah, I think it would be and it would disassociate like what we know it as and it would become a more unfriendly way. I prefer that terminology Macca's to McDonald's.

I: So, Macca's is not uneducated?

D: *[laughs]*. Maybe they are probably dumbing it down for us the audience. Yeah *[laughs]* I don't know it's probably a fine line. It could be seen as uneducated and they are targeting the mindset of the audience but I think a lot of Australians are used to that way of speaking where it almost becomes *[second way]* of nature. *[laughs]*

I: *[yes]* *[laughs]* And they also use another in there, the Aussie beef.

D: Yeah, again the slang the term yeah.

I: Would you ever say Australian beef?

D: No, I don't think I would. Again it's more relatable. I say Aussie all the time instead of Australian, I say Aussie farmers instead of Australian farmers.

I: And what about referring to yourself?

D: Actually, that's interesting, I always say Australian – a:hh I guess it depends who you talk to, when I was overseas I said Australian because they ask all the time I would not say Aussie, but if I'm talking here I'm Aussie. Yeah I guess it depends on the audience.

I: And if you use those words does it make you feel more Aussie as well?

D: I think people definitely think you're more relatable then and think you're more Australian or Aussie then. I say dunnie all the time instead of toilet. *[laughs]*

I: *[laughs]* – Alright the next one is a bit more controversial.

D: Nice shoes povo. Got no mates, no hopper. Yeah povo, I've heard that one before.

I: Which associations does that have if someone uses it?

D: It's more a degrading term instead of just saying poverty you know you use it as a degrading and intentionally. I think it's more thought about when you say povo instead of poverty.

I: Yeah, but it's interesting because you shorten so many words and then with like povo it's almost offensive isn't it?

D: Yeah, yeah. But then sometimes people use it as a joke. But yeah, if you say Nice shoes povo then that's offensive. You know you have crap shoes obviously.

I: Yeah, I mean there's another very common one for the Aboriginal people.

D: Yeah, Abo?

I: Yeah, and how does that make somebody appear if they use that word?

D: Yeah, see I guess I think it's an intentional, it degrades. Yeah, I would never call them Abo to their face. Aboriginal is the more appropriate term to use I think. Povo I have never – a:h I have said it like “I'm povo”=

I: =but to yourself=

D: =yeah referring to myself, but I would not say it to someone you know. It's definitely worse than poverty, like you've shortened it and you've done it intentionally.

I: So, whereas with the other words it creates a friendly atmosphere with this one=

D: =yeah, it is more a:h harsh and less friendly and with underlying intentions.

I: Okay, cool the last examples we can all do at once because they're very similar.

D: Cool – Loz.

I: Yeah, referring to Lawrence.

D: Happy Birthday Shan. Oh Natasha, good one. Tasha, yeah. I do that a lot with everyone.

I: Why is that and what does it do?

D: It creates a more friendly atmosphere and a more personal connection friendlier connection to the people and it's also a bit lazy sometimes I'm like don't wanna say their full name, so I just come up with a nickname *[laughs]*.

I: So, how would you describe the relationship between those people?

D: Good friends. Yeah, but then I see we do that all the time. People started calling me Teg and I did it too then.

I: So, if someone addresses you with Teg does that make you feel like I don't know like you're more familiar with that person?

D: Yeah, yeah, definitely. More friendly relationship and things like that.

I: And does it make that person seem more emotional or tough?

D: E::hm ah God it's like it really depends on the context and the circumstances too I don't know.

I: Like imagine a big guy who says “I'm Jono” [instead of Jonathan]. I'm wondering if that seems more tough.

D: [That's true] Yeah, that's what I mean by the different circumstances between each one. Then it would probably be that. But when you come up with a term for them would be more friendlier.

I: Alright cool, so in the end if someone uses all those terms like Straddie, Brissy, brekky and so on do you think that person seems more Aussie?

D: Ye:ah, definitely, because then you understand the term and the terminology. It would kind of be assimilating a bit more. I definitely I think it's more Australian to use that.

I: And do you feel more Australian when you use them?

D: Yeah but sometimes I use them without even knowing and like I don't even think about iz, I just say it because it's just how it is. And I think we as the Aussies understand and relatable to it better, yeah.

I: And how would you describe Australians in general?

D: Relaxed, laid-back, definitely the stereotypical, you know it takes a lot for us to, but then we have our mates' backs. Aussies are known to sort of do that, yeah.

I: Yeah, so laid-back as the first one.

D: Yeah, definitely laid-back, a bit lazy and you know She'll be right. Ah she'll be right, you use that for everything.

I: Alright perfect, thank you!

**I = Interviewer**

**E = Interviewee 5:**

- First Name: Christian
- Age: 28
- Grew up in: Brisbane, South-East QLD
- Living in: Brisbane, South-East QLD

*Date of Interview:* 01/08/2018

I: Okay, ehm basically I'm just gonna show you a few examples and you just tell me if anything seems interesting to you. Ehm the first one is taken out of a travel advertisement. Maybe there's anything that seems Australian to you.

E: In the picture?

I: Ehm, mostly in the text I'd say.

E: ((pause)) 5 reasons to do a day trip on Straddie. Well Straddie seems really Australian because it's shortened and it's sort of ehm a colloquialism or at least a local abbreviation.

I: Yeah and do you use that commonly?

E: Yeah, all the time.

I: Why do you think they might use that in a travel ad advertising this place?

E: M:m, I guess that's a good question. It could portray a more Australian vibe I guess.

I: Mhm, yeah. So how does it display that place? Maybe because it also says Brisbane in there and not the shorter word.

E: Yeah, I guess so. I guess if you called it Stradbroke Island it would sound more formal whereas Straddie sort of says you know it's just a beach and the whole thing is just beaches and shops and [just relaxing].

I: [yeah, yeah] So do you think that might be the reason why they use Brisbane and not Brissy for instance?

E: Yeah, cause they're trying to say ehm where is it, escape for the hustle and bustle so Brisbane you know they're not saying Brissy as if it was a cool place it's just saying Brisbane ehm yeah.

I: Do you use Straddie and Brissy commonly?

E: Yeah, most of the time actually.

I: Do you know why?

E: Because everyone else does I guess – and it's easier than saying Stradbroke Island. But I've been brought up saying Straddie since forever.

I: Alright, so it's a normal way of saying it. – The next one is similar, it's a menu taken out of the Hog's Breath Café Menu=

E: =right=

I: =again, just look at it and tell me what's interesting.

E: Yeah, I'm looking for other ones now.

I: What's the most=

E: =well brekky.

I: Yep. Why would they use the form brekky in a menu?

E: Again, laziness a sense of informality really something that's laid-back so just come and get brekky, so Australians don't have to think too much about it.

I: So, if someone would say brekky instead of breakfast do you think he's uneducated?

E: It's fairly common I think. Look, I wouldn't straight away think they're uneducated because they've used that I would probably use it all the time, but I think when it's when you take it ehm when it's written down I mean it has its own spelling it sort of because a bit like uneducated.

I: And which atmosphere would you imagine at this place?

E: Fairly relaxed, informal, just casual dining.

I: Cool and the word brekky do you use that commonly?

E: Yeah, definitely.

I: And you still think it's uneducated to use it although you use it all the time?

E: A:h, if you're using it in casual speech it's not uneducated I suppose, but when something's written in a menu as an abbreviation or colloquialism it sort of is.

I: So maybe a formal place wouldn't say that?

E: Nah, a formal place wouldn't say it.

I: Okay – the next one is interesting because it's taken out of the University of Sydney News Tab and even there they use some of those forms.

E: Right ((pause)) Yeah got it.

I: Now why might they use it here in the subheading?

E: Keep those pesky mozzies at bay. I guess maybe because if you're searching for mosquito free tips you'd be searching for mosquito rather than for mozzie, which might not come up a lot.

I: And because we talked about the education. Might that have to do something with it because it's a University page?

E: Yeah right, I guess that's true I guess they have to use real words.

I: So, do you think somebody appears tougher when they use that word?

E: I guess when you say it like that I definitely think there's a certain toughness that comes with using abbreviations.

I: And why would a University page use the word mozzies then?

E: Yeah, I guess relating it to the readers, I mean it's an Australian University and it helps especially for probably for ehm if it's for a younger audience, you know, just to keep the language informal.

I: Do you feel more addressed if it says mozzies?

E: Ehm, I guess so yes.

I: And do you think mozzies is used because you don't wanna use a long word for something that everyone knows?

E: Yeah probably, because mosquito's got three syllable and that's just a no go. Mozzies has two that's okay, more than two syllables not really, yeah.

I: That's too much *[laughs]*. In the next one do you know what they address here?

E: Yeah, yeah, so it's a salt-water crocodile.

I: Yeah it that common here?

E: Not in Brisbane, but in the tropics in Far North Queensland.

I: Yeah so that's taken out of the newspaper from Katherine. Why would they use it in here in a newspaper?

E: Yeah I guess it's so that Australians can relate to it, especially you know if you go to the North it's a very unique colloquialism to that area so it's probably local news so they are using a local colloquialism.

I: And in the heading there's *[another one]*.

E: *[yeah near the]* Lowie. So they're talking about the Low Water Reserve and yeah that's obviously another nickname like Straddie.

I: So if somebody said Lowie would you know what they are talking about? =

E: =I would have no idea, I mean I can read it in the text in here, but no not often.

I: But the people from Katherine would know?  
 E: I imagine they would and I guess that's why they're using it.  
 I: So, it's almost creating an insider perspective?  
 E: Definitely. I mean this isn't tourist news I guess.  
 I: Would you use salties and freshies or not so much?  
 E: Not particularly. I guess if I was talking about it I would say crocodile and if I wanted to differentiate I would say salt-water crocodile.  
 I: So if somebody says "There's a saltie" does he appear more tough?  
 E: I guess if I mean if somebody said to me "There's a saltie" I probably wouldn't know what they are talking about but if I read it=  
 I: =oh really, so if somebody said that you wouldn't know what they mean?  
 E: Yeah, I mean I would probably go like a saltie? If they just said I've seen a saltie lately I would probably not know what they're talking about, but if they said we saw a really big saltie up near Cairns I would probably know what they're saying.  
 I: So, say Steve [Irwin] had said that would it make him appear tougher?  
 E: [laughs]  
 I: [laughs]  
 E: I don't know, like Steve Irwin is just cool, so he would definitely seem more informal and cool and Australian.  
 I: And do Australians want to seem tough?  
 E: Yeah, I think some do, yeah I think a lot of the time something synonymous with Australians is being tough and rough and to the point possibly.  
 I: Alright, we'll talk about another cultural concept later, namely in the next example.  
 E: [laughs] Right, oh okay we'll I guess I'm looking at a low socio-economic area, his grammar is shocking ehm  
 I: Why?  
 E: Well, he says me instead of my about a hundred times I mean I guess that's just the way he talks. Many people talk like that but I would definitely associate that with low socio-economic areas. Ehm he also says seen instead of saw which is just shocking.  
 I: Anything about the words he uses?  
 E: Yeah, he said something like forty-odd, undies, just in me jocks. Yeah quite a few shortened words.  
 I: Do you use the words undies and jocks?  
 E: Yeah definitely, but I would say my undies and my jocks like "Did you see me in my jocks?", "Yeah I saw him in his undies."  
 I: Yeah, so, it's not necessarily using these words that makes him seem uneducated?  
 E: No, no. I don't think there's anything wrong with using the words undies and jocks, I mean definitely people who are educated would still use those shortened words because there doesn't need to be too much said about underwear you know it's pretty self-explanatory.  
 I: So, I guess it's like with mozzies where you don't have to use the long word?  
 E: Yeah, you don't have to use a long word. I mean you're just describing something that doesn't hold too much precedence. – I mean, he's on the news so he could have used underwear I guess.  
 I: And what about the words jocks do you use that? Is that more of a male thing?  
 E: I don't know if women wear jocks, I think it's a certain type of underwear to be honest. Underwear is more universal.  
 I: And then he addresses the concept of mateship. What role does that play?  
 E: That's definitely Australian. If you want a history lesson, it ehm comes from the First Fleet where they took away their first names so they had to call each other mate or shipmate, so you couldn't call each other by their Christian name and ehm I guess it's a big thing with

Australians to stick together with mateship. It's interesting that they say you're a hero and he just says no you know that's what a mate would do, but I guess it makes you a hero in Australia to be a good mate.

I: So, it's desired to be a good mate here?

E: Yeah, absolutely. Yeah I mean you call most people mate here even if you don't know them.

I: So, that's very prominent here?

E: Yeah, definitely. My dad used to call me mate and yeah.

I: Even within family?

E: Yeah, my dad would call me mate, for sure.

I: And do you know why?

E: I guess it's an endearing term, but I guess it's how you use it. It's a tonal difference too.

I: Alright the next example is just a short ad.

E: Right, yeah I thought this might come up I was gonna say it before, but I'm glad I didn't. It's obviously Macca's the one we're going on about here.

I: Why do you think they might refer to themselves as Macca's here?

E: It's amazing actually. I mean, I've spoken to people from other countries and they have a laugh that we call it Macca's ehm, you know, some people in America call it Maccy Dees, but on their advertisements they don't have that written on there and it's amazing that we've actually kind of made them take on the colloquialism and they actually call themselves Macca's which is kind of funny and it's a little bit of the Australian iconic cheek, like it makes a lot of sense that we would call it Macca's.

I: And which effect would it have on the audience?

E: Yeah, I guess it's again it's a casual experience, it's welcoming you know, it's classless in that way.

I: Do you think it would be weird to use McDonald's?

E: I think it makes it slightly more formal and I guess in a way if you say Macca's everyone knows what you say and it's not synonymous with a surname.

I: And did you pick up another one in the ad?

E: I mean, they have "lovin' it", but I don't know if that's the one you're referring to.

I: Yeah I meant more the one hundred per cent real=

E:=Aussie beef [laughs]. Again I've never been big of nationalism, so I don't ehm have that Aussie pride.

I: Oh, so how would you refer to yourself?

E: I would say Australian depending on where you are.

I: And what about talking to Australians?

E: You've probably never find me talking about me being Aussie, no.

I: But Aussie beef you would still say?

E: I would probably just say beef. [laughs].

I: Alright, the next one is a bit of a controversial one.

E: Yep, I think I've heard this one on the radio. Yeah ehm povo.

I: Yeah, you know it's another shortened word.

E: Yeah, it's an Australian-ism. I mean poverty is the word and yeah they've made it povo.

I: Is it offensive?

E: Yeah, definitely I'd say it's definitely derogatory.

I: So calling someone povo isn't appropriate?

E: Unless you're saying that to your friends it's not a very nice thing to say.

I: What about the word for Aboriginal?

E: You're referring to Abo?

I: Mhm.

E: Yeah they've changed the word in the same way. Referring to someone as Aborigine isn't that great anyways unless they wanna be identified that I would rather say native Australian person or indigenous person, yeah.

I: So, does it seem like the shorten word is used for the wrong purpose here?

E: Yeah, I mean, I would say Look at my povo shoes which is commonly used but probably not so appropriate when you think about it.

I: Yeah, so referring to yourself as povo isn't offensive really then?

E: No, that's right.

I: Okay, the last examples we can all do together.

E: Right, so the shortening of people's names=

I:=Yeah.

E: We've got Loz, Shan and Tasha.

I: Is that very common here?

E: Definitely.

I: And what does it do?

E: I think it implies sort of familiarity ehm, you know, informal it's an informal way of saying it.

I: So how would you describe the relationship between those people?

E: Close friends, I mean it's like having a nickname and an informal shorter nickname as well.

I: And do you think it makes someone appear less or more tough if they have a name like that?

E: I mean it depends on what your name is you know if you're name is Robo or=

I: = Jono?

E: Yeah then they're pretty tough names.

I: So it makes somebody appear less sentimental?

E: Yeah, definitely, if somebody says "I'm Jono" they're probably trying to add something on there.

I: Do you have any shorter names?

E: Yeah I think so, I mean some people call me Chrisso as a joke. Or shortening my name to Chris.

I: And who would call you Chrisso?

E: My housmates.

I: So somebody who=

E:=knows me quite well yeah.

I: And you wouldn't refer to yourself as that would you?

E: No I always use my full name.

I: Cool and few last questions. Do you think somebody appears more Aussie if they use all those words?

E: Yeah, definitely, you know, if you have someone who can do a really good Australian slang but use the long words they would seem less normal, less Australian, definitely.

I: Do you feel more Australian when you use those words?

E: Yeah, I guess so. I mean sometimes you're aware of it especially when you talk to someone who's really ocker you'd definitely use shorter words.

I: And how would you describe Australians, like what's your mentality like?

E: *[laughs]* Bloody rippers, mate ye::h. I think being Australian and what I would think of being Australian is you know giving somebody a fair go and you know being friendly, helpful. So yeah, it's about a fair go and mateship.

I: And what about laid-back?

E: Yeah that's a good thing, I guess I like that about being Australian, but I guess there's a



tendency sometimes to be a bit too relaxed, you know, about certain things, I think especially when it comes to politics we have that She'll be right attitude and it's sort of brought us in a bit of a lull especially in our education and so on.

I: Alright yeah – well, that's it, thank you!

**I = Interviewer**

**F = Interviewee 6:**

- First Name: Nicholas
- Age: 21
- Grew up in: Brisbane, South-East QLD
- Living in: Brisbane, South-East QLD

*Date of Interview: 02/08/2018*

I: Example one is taken out of a travel [advertisement] for a particular place.

F: [yes] – well, I think day trip for the start I'm not sure if that's Australian but it's definitely something that's used very commonly and Straddie of course is Australian ehm hustle and bustle again I don't think that's just Australian it's used a fair bit here.

I: Straddie is Australian?

F: Absolutely, putting i e at the end of everything is quite common.

I: Why do you reckon they would do that in a travel advertisement?

F: I think, perhaps they're just trying to seem a little bit ehm less formal I think there's a culture in Australia to be very casual and I think it makes it a bit more accessible to readers.

I: Mhm. And do you feel more addressed if they use forms like that?

F: I think so, yeah – I think so.

I: So it has to do with the audience?

F: Yeah.

I: Ehm, there's also another place name in there in the smaller text.

F: Brissy, is that what they say?

I: Yeah, but they say the longer form like Brisbane. Why would they not use Brissy in there?

F: I think for the sake of repetition, I think they don't want to be too repetitious. I think Brissy is used fairly commonly, you have Brizvegas Briz and all those different forms=

I: =but yeah it's an ad for Straddie, so do you think that has to do with that too?

F: Yeah, it's sort of in the background the focus is on getting away from Brisbane so maybe you don't wanna draw attention in that sense.

I: Yeah, so Brisbane could be considered more of a working place?

F: Yeah, yeah.

I: Do you say Brissy?

F: Sometimes, yeah. I also say Briz a lot – occasionally I say Brizvegas, but only sarcastically but yeah Brissy and Briz definitely.

I: Mhm and does it make you feel more of an insider if you [say that?]

F: [yes yeah]

I: Cool, the next one is [out of a menu.]

F: [ah brekky [laughs]]

I: Why would they use that in a menu?

F: Again, classic Australian slang they're making it a little bit more accessible less formal you know brekky is I think just an Australian word I don't think I've heard it anywhere else.

I: Mhm. They also use Eggs Benny. Is that something you would use?

F: *[laughs]* yeah, that's pretty common. We're lazy people we just shorten everything *[laughs]*.

I: And which breakfast would you imagine there?

F: Sorry, what was the question?

I: Ehm which atmosphere do you imagine there?

F: I think it's maybe one of those places that tries to be laid-back but still serve very good food.

I: Do you think it's uneducated to use those words in a context like that?

F: No, not necessarily. I mean somehow selfishly I call myself an educated person and I use it all the time but I think it could be bit of both. There are plenty of people in suits who use it but also plenty of uneducated people who use it so.

I: It's just Australian maybe *[laughs]*. That one is from the University of Sydney News Tab.

F: O:h yeah, mozzies. That's one – every time, particularly in summer when it's sort of mosquito season everyone says mozzies, I don't think anyone in my family and friends, I have never heard them say mosquitoes.

I: Why not?

F: Mosquitoes. It's just a bit lazy and a combination of shortening, you know, I suppose it's cultural too everyone says it so I say it. That's what my parents would say, so yeah. I remember sitting out on the back when I was a kid and my parents would say “get one of those mozzie coils” or “lots of mozzies out”, yeah it's just how we say it.

I: *[laughs]* Do you feel like you just don't wanna use a long word for something that everyone knows anyways?

F: Yeah exactly, yeah certainly.

I: But why would they in this example not use it in the main heading but only in the subheading?

F: I think they're trying to maintain some level of formality, trying to keep the headline professional, but again in the article lower it to a less formal style of writing and so you've got mozzies again. It brings it down to the readers' level, they don't feel like they're reading an academic [journal] they just have an easy to read article.

I: [yes]. Do you feel more addressed if it says mozzies?

F: Oh, yeah definitely. Easier to access yeah.

I: Yeah, and do you think mozzies aren't a big deal?

F: No, so common.

I: No biggie?

F: No biggie. *[laughs]*

I: *[laughs]*- Next ones are maybe a bit more of a big deal.

F: Ah, that's an interesting one because this is one of the ones where it's not as clear, I mean, of course it's a salt-water crocodile, I mean we know, probably the crocodile hunter helped with that, Steve Irwin, yeah, saltie.

I: Is that something you would use here?

F: I would probably say a croc. Saltie, personally I wouldn't use it, but you see it particularly up North.

I: But you would still know what it is?

F: Yeah definitely. You know, because we don't have that many salties here, you know, you go up to Far North Queensland where it's a lot more common, so I would assume they would use it more often.

I: So, it's also a regional thing?

F: Regional yeah, absolutely. I probably haven't said the word crocodile for weeks, months, I don't know. But when you can't swim in the water in Darwin because you'll get eaten by a croc, yeah definitely.

I: And do you think it makes somebody appear tougher if they use the word?

F: Ehm – I think it makes them appear more Australian, whether or not it makes them appear tougher. I suppose that depends if the person thinks that being Australian makes you tough, which I think it does.

I: Do Australians wanna be tough?

F: Yeah, you know we chill on the beach and wrestle crocodiles and all that kinda stuff.

I: Yeah *[laughs]*

F: Yeah, so I definitely think it makes you appear more Australian and therefore possibly tougher depending on what the person thinks.

I: So, if Steve Irwin had used it back then?

F: Oh, yeah badass. I think what it's always is taking a casual approach to something that's very, very serious and very dangerous and so yeah, that probably makes you seem a little bit bigger because you're like ah it's just a saltie.

I: Yeah, good one – and then there's another one in the heading which might be not as common.

F: The Lowie.

I: Do you know what that is?

F: I have no idea.

I: It says it in the small text. It's a Low Level=

F: =Reserve a:h.

I: So you wouldn't know that?

F: No.

I: And do you think people in Katherine would know it?

F: Absolutely, and I think they knew that writing it you know.

I: Yeah, so you're assuming that people in Katherine would know?

F: Yeah, definitely. I think definitely based on the region and=

I: =so, it's also an insider thing?

F: Yeah, I've never even heard about the Low Level Reserve at Katherine.

I: Yeah, people in Katherine would know probably. – Cool, next one is=

F: = *[laughs]*

F: Lovely great interview *[laughs]*

I: How does he appear?

F: Oh, he's the most Australian man I've ever seen – ehm in particularly the way he speaks.

I: What in particular about the way he speaks?

F: Ah, mates, undies, jocks ehm there's also the kind of Australian culture, you know, the phrase we use is Fair Dinkum [which is] kind of being honest and down to earth and he's sort

of going for that he appears to show that because he's like "no this is just how it has to be", you know, that Australian kind of attitude that comes through in the way he speaks.

I: [Mhm]. Do Australians wanna be good mates?

F: Oh yeah, that's what we say. I think he said bloke too, that's sort of the Number One rule in Australia to be a good bloke, you know, yeah, I think it's a friendly way about Australia and Australian language.

I: Yeah, and would you say he seems uneducated?

F: [laughs] – ehm ,yes, it was a, I think there are a few grammatical errors there, ehm his appearance as well, not so much his tattoos, but probably the hair is the biggest thing. E::hm, I wouldn't say there's anything uneducated though about saying "I'm in my jocks", though=

I: =So, if somebody else says undies or jocks is that already uneducated?

F: No, not at all, not at all. Ehm, you know, I think- my dad is a lawyer, but he is pretty casual, yeah, you know, so he'd say "get the laundry out" and "get the jocks out the dryer" and I am the same thing, I don't know - I'm doing law now, but have an undergraduate and I have no if, ands, and buts about saying jocks, mate, bloke that's just how I'd describe people. I mean I think he's missing front teeth as well.

I: Yeah, so it's also the context?

F: Yeah, I mean there's nothing in the words he uses that would make me think that he's uneducated. It's more the appearance.

I: And what about how he says me undies?

F: Oh, yeah, me undies, that's actually the big one. Yeah, so apart from that I would say there's nothing in the words themselves, it's more the appearance and the way he speaks.

I: Yeah, so the words undies and so on they're you said used commonly.

F: Yeah, commonly, commonly absolutely, particularly in Brisbane and Queensland.

I: Really?

F: Yeah, I think it's sort of perhaps seen as a little bit more uneducated which isn't really fair, but it has to do with the school system.

I: And why do you think words like jocks and undies are used?

F: I think it's a cultural thing and to an extent that culture doesn't care in which class you're in. You can probably draw a line depending on how someone speaks. But saying brekky, undies, Eggs Benny and so on I wouldn't say that's uneducated.

I: What about those ending in an o like arvo?

F: Yeah arvo, servo.

I: Is it laziness?

F: Oh, yeah absolutely, laziness, well for me it's laziness and I think maybe these words were born out of laziness, but now they maybe just use them because they're common, but ehm, maybe because they're lazy, so it's probably a bit of both now but laziness is definitely a factor.

I: And how does that represent the Australians?

F: Yeah, it's I think we're very laid-back and casual and I think it's very different to the proper posh English that the Queen speaks, but ehm look I mean it's taking the grammar lightly. Taking something that's very rigid, grammar, and saying we're doing whatever. And it's taking that attitude of you know we're laid-back I mean if it doesn't hurt anyone you know why not? Who cares.

I: And also maybe why use long words if everyone knows it anyways

F: Yeah, everyone knows what servo means.

I: Yeah, servo, that's another good one. – The next one is another short ad.

F: M::m, interesting.

I: Which one might I want to talk about here? ((pause)) The Macca's?

F: A:h, yeah, that's so common.

I: Why would they refer to themselves as that?

F: It's definitely an advertising thing and they're doing it to play with the whole Aussie thing of shortening it and making it more accessible making it more Australian and I think they do that with foreign companies, you know, Macca's is American and they're kind of distancing themselves from that and making it more local which is again why they're saying this is local lettuce and local beef.

I: Yeah, so relate to the audience.

F: Yeah, exactly.

I: Do you think it would sound weird if they said McDonald's in there?

F: Ye::ah, I think it would, it would almost make it sound more formal I mean we're so used to saying Macca's you know we'll go to Macca's yeah so for me it probably would.

I: Do you say Macca's?

F: Yeah, sure, I mean, who calls it McDonald's?

I: Yeah and there's another in there which you might not have even picked up because it's so common – Aussie=

F:=Aussie yep.

I: Would you say Australian beef or is it just Aussie beef?

F: Ehm, if I was talking to someone from overseas I might say Australian beef=

I: =but if you talk to someone here?

F: Yeah, Aussie beef.

I: How would you refer to yourself?

F: H::m, see on the one hand, I would say Aussie to other Australians, but I would never have to refer to myself as an Aussie, because they would know.

I: Yeah, and what if you're talking about you know you Aussies?

F: Yeah, us Aussies.

I: And does that seem uneducated in that ad?

F: No, it doesn't I think they counteracted that with the whole poem.

I: Do you think the word Aussie contributes to a culture or [you know] national identity?

F: [absolutely]. It continues that thing of creating our own slang and I mean it's the most Aussie thing it's the word for Australia so it's the top almost.

I: Alright, the next one is a bit different. I picked the up on the bus.

F: Yeah, povo.

I: Which associations does that word have?

F: Yeah, certainly a word meaning poor person and ehm No hoper that's another one.

I: Is it offensive?

F: Yeah, absolutely. Povo is maybe not something that wealthier people might use but it might be used by the more casual lower class.

I: And if you refer to someone else as that?

F: Yeah, it'd be dreadful it would be very, very rude ehm because again Australia is about the fair go so that's a big no.

I: But you know why do all the other shortened words convey a friendlier tone and so on and with this one it's different you know

F: I suppose, yeah, ehm it's just it's the vocabulary it doesn't discriminate against whether it's a nice word or not we just shorten them, so whether that's a nice word or a good word it's, I suppose, it just happens.

I: Yeah, and there's another one the shorter word for Aboriginal.

F: Uh, yeah, that's a bad one. Yeah it's interesting, ehm, it's undeniably offensive, but I don't know why shortening it makes it worse, I don't know, yeah, I don't know.

I: Maybe it's like shortening for the wrong purpose.

F: Yeah, well it may have been that people were just shortening it back in the day when it wasn't offensive and ehm when they were treating Aborigines badly and when everyone said you can't do that, the word that word was associated with the bad treatment, so perhaps it was only after we've become a more accepting society that ehm the language that it became an unaccepted word.

I: Yeah, it's interesting.

F: Yeah, so I'd say that A word is probably the top of the yeah.

I: Yeah, so the last few examples we can look at all at once.

F: So, first one we're looking at Loz. Ehm I haven't heard Loz referring to Lawrence, but it makes complete sense.

I: How do you think the relationship between those people is?

F: I'd say very close friends. I mean, there's a few names where you don't have to be very good friends, I mean, I wouldn't say we're best friends when you call me Nic, but if you say "G'day Larry" or "G'day Loz", that's one of those where you can tell they're good mates. Yeah, this is definitely one of those nicknames which implies a very friendly way.

I: What about the Shan and Tasha?

F: Yeah, see I don't know many Shannons, but yeah I guess that's really the only common one.

I: Yeah, maybe, Shaz or Shazza.

F: Yeah, Shaz, I suppose. I guess it shows being really close again.

I: Does it make anyone appear less or more tough or sentimental?

F: Yeah, perhaps less sentimental and depending on what the person thinks is tough.

I: Do you have any nicknames other than Nic?

F: Oh, Nico occasionally.

I: And who would say that?

F: Really only my dad.

I: Okay so someone who's really close to you.

F: Yeah.

I: Cool, and in the end do you think somebody appears more or less Aussie if they use those forms?

F: Yeah, I mean not using them doesn't make them not Aussie but using them definitely makes them seem more Aussie=

I: =Do you feel more Aussie when you use them?

F: Yes and no, I mean when I'm with other Aussies I'm not even aware of it, but particularly when I'm with other Americans, Austrians, Norwegians, and I am using, you know, mates or whatever I definitely feel very much Australian, for sure.

I: And how would you describe Australians?

F: Laid-back, fun-loving and good blokes *[laughs]*.

I: *[laughs]*



**I = Interviewer**

**G = Interviewee 7:**

- First Name: Madison
- Age: 21
- Grew up in: Townsville, North QLD
- Living in: Townsville, North QLD

*Date of Interview: 03/08/2018*

I: Ehm that one is just taken out of a travel advertisement for a specific place, just look at the text mainly and ehm maybe there's anything that seems Australian to you.

G: Straddie. *[laughs]*

I: Yeah, you got it right away. What makes it Australian?

G: Because it's shortened with the i e.

I: Yeah, and is that something that's common?

G: Yeah, if I wanna say I want to go there I would say Straddie.

I: And why?

G: Because Australians commonly know what that is and it shows the Australian culture.

I: So it's also cultural and represent you Australians?

G: Yes, yes I think so.

I: Do you use the word Straddie?

G: Yes *[laughs]*

I: Yeah and then there's also another word in there, they use Brisbane. Ehm why might they not use the shorter word for Brisbane? Like would you use a shorter word for Brisbane?

G: Brissy.

I: Yeah, would you use that commonly?

G: Yeah, pretty commonly *[laughs]*

I: Why might they not use it in this ad?

G: Ehm, maybe because Brisbane is not as commonly known as Brissy by people not living there but Straddie is more commonly known.

I: So, it almost creates an insider perspective?

G: Yeah, maybe.

I: And which atmosphere is connected with Straddie considering that they used the shorter form for it?

G: It's more casual for the Straddie and for the Brisbane it's saying to escape from the hustle and bustle so maybe Brisbane is more serious.

I: Cool thanks, the next one is taken out of the Hog's Breath Menu.

G: Brekky.

I: Yeah why would they do that in a menu?

G: I don't know, because they're trying to relate with the customers maybe.

I: Which atmosphere would you imagine there?

G: Well, yeah, it's really casual it's not a really formal restaurant.

I: So. the people that would go there would be more informal too?

G: Yeah, I'd say so.

I: And would you use the word brekky?

G: Yeah, all the time *[laughs]*

I: Do you think it's uneducated if it's used in a menu or if it's used instead of the long form?

G: I don't think so. It depends some people are casual. so they want to go to a place that relates to you and there's a time and place for it.

I: Maybe because it's so common as well.

G: Yeah, it's so common and everyone knows what you mean.

I: Alright, this one is an article from The University of Sydney and even they use a shorter form in there=

G: =Mozzies.

I: Yeah. why would a university page even do that?

G: To be more relatable again.

I: Yeah, and why would they not use it in the main heading?

G: The subheading can grab your attention as well but if you search the article they'd be more unlikely to search for mozzies more mosquito.

I: So, if you use the word mozzies why would you do that?

G: Because it's easier and it sounds better.

I: Is that a word that everyone understands?

G: Yeah, everyone.

I: And would you say they use mosquito to seem more educated?

G: I wouldn't say educated but it's because ehm because the mosquitoes are a big problem anyway so they want to I don't know make it seem more easy-going so that they can relate with a bigger crowd.

I: Do you feel more addressed if it says mozzies?

G: Yes *[laughs]*.

I: Do you feel like you're using those words because you don't wanna use a long word for something everybody knows?

G: Yeah, I don't even think about it, it just comes out easier *[laughs]*.

I: The next one is probably very common to you.

G: Yeah, a saltie.

I: Do you know straight away what that means?

G: Yeah.

I: And would you use it as well?

G: No, I would say a croc, but I probably wouldn't refer to it as a saltie, but I know exactly what it means.

I: Yeah, so this is a newspaper from Katherine so why would they use it in here?

G: Because they get them all the time there and they're so common there.

I: Ehm and what about the other shortened word that they use in there?

G: The Lowie?

I: Yeah, do you know what that is?

G: ((pause)) The Low Level Reserve.

I: Did you read that? *[laughs]*

G: Yeah *[laughs]*.

I: So, you wouldn't know what that is?

G: No, but that's in Katherine.

I: So, do you think the people in Katherine would know what it is?

G: I'd say so because they're using it so casual.

I: Do you think it's an insider to address the people in Katherine?

G: Yeah yes.

I: Do you feel like if somebody says saltie instead of salt-water crocodile does that person seem tougher?=  
 G: =tougher?

I: Or maybe, you know, if Steve Irwin had said it back then would he have seemed cooler?

G: Maybe, it's like he knows what he's talking about more because he can just refer to it casually, yeah more familiar with it, so he can have a shorter word for it.

I: Cool. The next one is a video.

I: How does he appear?

G: A bit of a Bogan.

I: *[laughs]* And why?

G: The words he uses and the accent.

I: Yeah any particular words that you picked up?

G: He's in his jocks and in his undies, and, and, mate and=  
 I:=so if somebody says jocks and undies does that already make somebody appear uneducated?

G: No, no, it's just the way he's saying it *[laughs]*

I: Maybe because he says me undies instead of my.

G: Yeah, yep, I'd say that's why.

I: So, if somebody else said them is that already uneducated?

G: No, I use those words too *[laughs]* It's the context he's on a news report thing, he's getting interviewed and he's really, well, you don't need to be professional, but use your proper English *[laughs]*

I: Yeah, would you say he's uneducated therefore?

G: Maybe I think he's a bit of a Bogan, I don't know if that's uneducated.

I: Do you use the word jocks as well?

G: Yeah, I use both.

I: And he also addresses the concept of mateship when they ask him if he's a [hero]. Is that a thing that is desired here?

G: [yes] I think  
 yeah, there is a big culture like that. You always look after your friends or your mate *[laughs]*.

I: Would you say it's a value here or is it desired to, you know, be a good mate and stick with your mates?

G: Yeah, I'd say so.

I: Alright, the next one is just a short video.

I: Okay, why would they refer to themselves as that?

G: Because we all do, it sounds honestly weird to say McDonald's.

I: So, would that be weird to you if they did it in the ad?

G: Yeah, it's not as relatable, I think it would sound weird too.

I: Why do you think everyone uses it?

G: It's so much shorter and easier.

I: Laziness?

G: Yeah, and I think because people would say it everyone else catches on, and also you see it as well like what they refer to themselves that's what you call it *[laughs]*.

I: And another one they use is very common as well they said a hundred percent real juice Aussie beef.

G: Yeah, I heard it but I didn't think it would be like=

I: =yeah maybe cause it's so common. Would you say Australian beef or Aussie beef?

G: Aussie beef.

I: And how would you refer to yourself?

G: As an Aussie.

I: Even abroad?

G: Yeah. I did it just on holiday *[laughs]*. I mean if they say where're you from, I'd say from Australia, but yeah, I say Aussie a lot.

I: Does that also represent your culture?

G: Well, I think that people found it funny when I shortened that word, but they all knew what I meant.

I: Again, do you think it's uneducated for McDonald's to use those shortened words?

G: No *[laughs]* I just think they're relating with the people. I think they're being smart by being more relatable.

I: Okay let's look at the next one.

G: Povo.

I: Yeah which associations does that word have compared to the other ones?

G: Like, it's a derogatory term, it's not nice.

I: Is it offensive?

G: Yeah.

I: Why I don't know why do you think that is? Considering that all those other words create a positive atmosphere?

G: ((pause)) Well you could say you're in poverty and that's not nasty but this word sounds it's a nasty word it's like you're calling someone that, but you're not trying to help them, it's just to call them a nasty word.

I: There's another one which is the shorter word for Aboriginal. How do you feel about this one?

G: It's nasty it's you wouldn't call somebody that.

I: So if you overheard somebody saying that you would feel it's inappropriate?

G: Yeah.

I: Mhm, and do we have any reasons for that?

G: Yeah, I don't know I mean saying it in a nasty word, it's like in a bullying way saying "Nice shoes povo".

I: Yeah, in this ad, that's right. ((pause)) Alright the last few ones we can look at once.

G: Ye:ah people shortening people's words I mean names.

I: Is that common?

G: Yeah.

I: Do you do that?

G: Yeah *[laughs]*

I: Why?

G: I think it shows that you know a person better, and e:h that you have a better connection with them, so when that happens you have a better relationship with them.

I: Yeah so how would you describe the relationship between those people?

G: Yeah, they're friends.

I: Do you reckon just friends or do they know each other better?

G: I do it for just friends as well. I guess when you go from acquaintance to friends, unless it's some really crazy weird nickname.

I: Do you feel like Loz for Lawrence is a common one?

G: Not for Lauren?

I: In this example it's for Loz. So you would use it for Lauren?

G: Yeah we had a Lauren that we called Loz but I don't really know many Lawrences.

I: And with Natasha would you say Tash or Tasha?

G: Either really it depends what the person prefers I think.

I: Yeah and if somebody introduces themselves as, you know, "I'm Jono" instead of "I'm Jonathan", do you think that makes them appear tougher or less sentimental?

G: Hm not tougher – I don't think tougher, less sentimental maybe? Maybe doesn't take life too seriously.

I: Do you have any nicknames except for Maddie?

G: Some people say Mads.

I: Okay, which kind of people would do that?

G: My family.

I: Yeah, so people who are close to you.

G: Yeah.

I: Would you introduce yourself as Maddie?

G: Yeah, most of the time except for a work environment I'd say Madison.

I: Okay and then just a few questions at the end – Ehm, would you say that somebody appear more Aussie if they use those words Straddie, Brissy, brekky?

G: Yeah I think it shows that they understand the Aussie language and the culture.

I: Do you feel more Aussie if you use them?

G: I guess so, because I don't even know that I'm using them.

I: Yeah *[laughs]* And in the end how would you describe Australians in general?

G: Laid-back, relaxed.

I: Cool, thank you, that's it.

**I = Interviewer**

**H = Interviewee 8:**

- First Name: Patrick
- Age: 22
- Grew up in: Darwin, Northern Territory (for 11 years)
- Living in: Townsville, North QLD

*Date of Interview:* 03/08/2018

I: Okay Example Number one is taken out of a travel advertisement.

H: Straddie?

I: Yes, what's particularly Australian about that?

H: It's just the abbreviation and the i e.

I: Yeah, do you use that commonly instead of Stradbroke Island?

H: Yeah, I don't think I've ever used Stradbroke Island *[laughs]*.

I: Why do you think that is?

H: It's very long to say isn't it?

I: Yes, laziness *[laughs]* Which atmosphere does it imply if you read Straddie instead of Stradbroke Island?

H: I mean, it sounds quite relaxed, ehm, a bit more approachable.

I: And yeah, they also use Brisbane in there. Why might they not use Brissey in there if they, you know, already use one shortened word in there?

H: Because I think they're advertising people to go to Straddie, so they wouldn't be referring to Brisbane as very relaxed, but very busy.

I: So also a working and holiday place distinction?

H: Yes.

I: And would you say it creates a more familiar feeling towards Straddie?

H: Oh, yeah, of course.

I: Okay, we can go on to the next example, which is a menu.

H: The brekky?

I: Yeah, that's it. Why might they use it in a menu even?

H: Ehm, probably for the same reason it's a lot more, you know, familiar relaxed. Well, I think it's just to make it sound a lot more relaxed.

I: So, would you also imagine a relaxed atmosphere there?

H: Oh yeah, I would.

I: Ehm do you use the word brekky?

H: Yes, a lot *[laughs]*.

I: *[laughs]* Do you know why?

H: I don't know, it's fun, it's a lot more shorter than saying breakfast.

I: Mhm, and do you think it makes the place more Australian?

H: Yeah, I think it would be very common so you would also imagine a sort of Australian atmosphere there.

I: Do you reckon a formal place would use the word brekky in their menu?

H: No, I don't think so. It's more informal.

I: Do you think it's uneducated to use words like that in menus?

H: No, I don't think that, it's so commonly used and they use it on purpose to make it sound more positive and laid-back.

I: Okay, good, because the next one is from the University of Sydney so you know you might expect an educated style, but even they use it [at some point]

H: [ah yeah mozzies]

I: Yeah, why do you think they would use it?

H: I think this looks like a talkpiece so I think it doesn't have to be too formal, it could just be an Australian saying so they fit it in.

I: Do you feel more addressed if they use it in there?

H: I think it doesn't really matter because I know what they are referring to anyways.

I: Okay, but do you have any reasons why they might use mozzies in the subheading but not in the main heading and text?

H: Oh, I didn't notice that. I think that's because you know mosquito is the full word, so it would be a bit more important and formal in the heading and then it just rolls on to the slang to connect with the audience more.

I: Do you use the word mozzies?

H: Yeah, I don't think I've ever used the word mosquito. I can't remember the last time I said it [laughs].

I: Good [laughs] The next one is a news article from Katherine.

H: Ah, yeah, crocodiles.

I: Would you know straight away what a saltie is?

H: Well, I actually grew up in the Northern Territory.

I: Oh really? That's interesting. [But yeah] even in Townsville it would've still been a topic to have crocodiles [there].

H: [ye:ah]

[yeah]

I: So you would know what they mean with you know big saltie spotted?

H: Oh, yeah, yeah.

I: Do you know what the Lowie is?

H: Lowie. I think that's the name of the town.

I: Yeah, it actually means Low Water Reserve.

H: O:h.

I: Do you think the people in Katherine would know what that is?

H: I assume, I hope so, because no one else does.

I: So, does it create an insider perspective?

H: Yeah, I think it would because it's a Katherine newspaper.

I: Okay, back to the salties. Why do you think the words salties and freshies are used instead of salt-water and fresh-water crocodile?

H: Ehm, I think it's just in common speech, that's what it's referred to as, and in the newspaper it just makes it clearer.

I: And in general in your speech? Why is it used there?

H: Yeah, it's just easier and quicker to say it.

I: Yeah, and do you also think that somebody appears tougher if they use it?

H: Not tougher, but they probably know what they're talking about and they're familiar with it.

I: Mhm, and imagine Steve Irwin had said that would he have seemed cooler?

H: He's already cool, can't be even cooler – He was probably the first person to use it  
[laughs]

I: [laughs] Yeah maybe – Do you feel like you use the words salties and mozzies because everyone knows anyways what it means?

H: Yeah, I think it's part of the colloquialism, so if you say it people know what you're talking about and it's common, so yeah, we just use it all the time.

I: How does this guy appear in general?

H: Bit of a Bogan.

I: Yeah and why? What makes you think that?

H: I think it's his appearance, his hair and his tattoos are pretty typical, he talks a little bit ehm what's the word for it, ocker I think is what it's called.

I: And what makes his language I mean is there anything you picked up?

H: Ehm I think he doesn't finish his sentences, but he's still he still manages to say what he's talking about.

I: Did you hear that he said jocks and undies?

H: Oh, yeah.

I: Does that make him seem uneducated?

H: A:h not uneducated but, ehm, maybe a little bit more ehm Australian [laughs]

I: Yeah, and do you use those words as well?

H: Yeah, all the time [laughs].

I: Why?

H: It's just shorter to say that [laughs]

I: So, what makes him uneducated specifically if it's not those words?

H: It's just the slang and the colloquialism and his area maybe and, yeah his appearance mainly.

I: Yes, probably a low socio-economic area. – And he also addresses the mateship concept, is that something that is you know a big thing here?

H: Yeah, that's definitely common as well and he seems to know the person in the video a lot.

I: Do you feel like you wanna be a good mate?

H: Always [laughs]. I am never not [laughs].

I: [laughs]

I: Yeah, did you pick up any shorter words in here?

H: Is it the word Macca's?

I: Yeah [laughs] Why would they refer to themselves as Macca's you know in an ad? =

H: =in an ad. Because that's probably how everyone refers to McDonald's so yeah why not?

I: Do you always say Macca's?

H: Yeah, always I've never used McDonald's at all.

I: Would it distance it a bit more if they said McDonald's?

H: Yeah, it would sound odd and it would disconnect it a bit more.



I: Yeah, that's interesting probably because it's so common. – And another they also said Aussie beef. So the word Aussie, how about this one?

H: The word Aussie?

I: Yeah.

H: Yeah, it makes it sound more local and yeah more casual.

I: Do you ever refer to yourself as Aussie?

H: In which context?

I: Like talking with other Australians or with people abroad?

H: A:h I think it's the context, I think personally, I would say Australian beef, I think it's a personal thing it doesn't flow well for me to say Aussie, I would say Australian.

I: Okay but do you think that because the word Aussie is used to commonly you know even ehm in this ad, does this contribute to a culture or imagine in a way?

H: Oh yeah, it definitely creates sort of an identity.

I: Yeah, it's part of your culture maybe.

H: Yeah, yeah, definitely, I mean it's used everywhere.

I: Do you think it's uneducated to say that in an ad or so?

H: No, definitely not, it's just common.

I: Okay, let's look at the next one.

H: Ah is it the word povo?

I: Yeah. How do you feel towards that one?

H: Ehm it's a bit of a bad word. Yeah it would be offensive to call someone or something povo, because it doesn't stem from a necessarily good word.

I: Oh, so do you think the word poverty itself already has that bad connotation?

H: Yeah exactly.

I: It's interesting because so many other shortened words don't have that negative feeling and also the shorter word for Aboriginal=

H:=Oh yeah Abo=

I:=yeah does that seem inappropriate to you?

H: Probably, yes, I mean it doesn't seem too bad to me, I mean there's so many more worse words. I know Aboriginal people that refer to themselves as Abo.

I: Yeah, maybe that makes a difference if they said it to themselves.

H: Yeah, it could also be the context.

I: Yes. And the last examples are all very similar.

H: Ah is this the Tasha, Loz and so on?

I: Yeah, it's about the names. – So how would you describe the relationship between those people?

H: Yeah, they'd probably be quite close because ehm shortening their names to nicknames.

I: Yeah, do you have any nicknames?

H: Not a nickname really, but yeah just Pat.

I: So if somebody calls you Pat is that someone who's very close?

H: Ah, I think just normal friends as well.

I: And what about Patty?

H: Never Patty. It's always Pat even with people I just meet they'd say "Oh I'll call you Pat".

I: Yeah. And do you think somebody appears tougher if they have a nickname like that?

H: Ah no.

I: Less sentimental? You know if you imagine a Jono? Like does he appear like a tough guy then?

H: No, it's just a friendly introduction if they introduce themselves with their shorter name.

I: Cool. And in the end do you think somebody appears more Aussie if they use those shorter words that we talked about?

H: Yeah you could definitely identify them straight away if they used those words.

I: And how would you describe Australians?

H: Pretty relaxed.

**I = Interviewer**

**J = Interviewee 9**

- Name: Alister
- Age: 25
- Grew up in: Mildura, VIC
- Living in: Melbourne, VIC (since 2012)

*Date of Interview:* 08/08/2018

I: So, the first example is a travel advertisement for a particular place in Queensland. Does anything seem Australian to you in that ad?

J: Ehm Straddie instead of Stradbroke Island.

I: Yeah and what makes it Australian?

J: The shorter name Straddie, we usually shorten things and add i or o or some sort of vowels at the end of it so that it gets shorter.

I: Why do you think you do that?

J: Because it sounds more relaxed.

I: Is that how you are as people?

J: Yeah, I think generally less. [We're] more relaxed and less formal than other places that speak English.

I: [Mhm] Why do you think they might use this in an ad then?

J: To appeal to a certain type of person ehm to locals rather than – like unless I've been around the Gold Coast I wouldn't necessarily know what Straddie was.

I: So, you in Victoria wouldn't know straight away what that is?

J: Only because I've been there.

I: Mhm, there's also another place name in there.

J: Ehm escape from the hustle and bustle is also a kind of cliché phrase sounding more fun ehm.

I: And why do you think they use Brisbane instead of the shorter word for it?

J: Brissy?

I: Mhm. And why might they not use it in there?

J: ((pause)) Maybe they're trying to distinguish between a formal city like Brisbane and a more relaxed place like Stradbroke Island.

I: Yeah perfect. So you feel like Straddie makes it seem more like a holiday place as well?

J: Yeah exactly.

I: Okay perfect, I think we can go on the next one now which is a menu from Hog's Breath Café.

J: Yeah brekky and Eggs Benny, Hoggies Style.

I: Yep why would they use those forms even in a menu?

J: I mean, we would agree that it is not a formal place there. The design and everything makes it seem like a place where you can not have a white table cloth on your lap.

I: [laughs] Mhm and is that also the kind of people that you would imagine going there? Like less formal people?

J: Yeah, very informal people because ehm even like hipsters and stuff are probably interested in going to this place because it seems a bit Bogan. *[laughs]*

I: Do you use the word brekky?

J: No, not really.

I: Really?

J: No, I would usually say breakfast but maybe it's because I speak more formally with most people.

I: Do you feel like all those words are used more in Queensland?

J: Yeah, Queensland or country.

I: And do you feel like it's kind of uneducated to use those words?

J: Yeah, maybe appealing to informal and relaxed people. I don't know- not many people who are from the city use shorter words here.

I: And would you ever say Eggs Benny?

J: Nah.

I: And how about saying Hoggies instead of Hog's Breath Café? I mean do you get that café there

J: Yeah, there's one in Mildura I've never seen one in Melbourne.

I: Hey, what about in Mildura? Do they use a lot of those shorter words?

J: Yeah, maybe a little bit more than in Melbourne.

I: Alright, the next example is taken out of the University of Sydney and even they use those forms if you can see it.

J: Yes, mozzies.

I: Why do they use mosquito in the heading and main text then though?

J: I guess universities and their articles and stuff are usually more formal, so they're probably trying to appeal to more formal and educated people as well.

I: And mozzies, does that appeal to the Australian audience?

J: Yeah, definitely.

I: Does that seem uneducated to you if a university does it or so?

J: Not uneducated no, just relaxed.

I: Yeah and maybe informal?

J: Yeah.

I: And do you use that form? Like do you say mozzies?

J: Rarely *[but sometimes.]*

I: *[really?]* Do you always say mosquitoes?

J: Yeah mostly. Ehm maybe it depends on the company I'm in.

I: Okay, so, say you're camping with your family.

J: I would say mozzies at home in Mildura.

I: Yeah, that's interesting.

J: I mean they all use those words in Mildura.

I: Yeah. Okay let's look at the next one.

J: A saltie in the Lowie *[laughs]*.

I: Yeah, would you know what that is straight away?

J: A saltie, I'm guessing is a salt-water crocodile and the Lowie I wouldn't know what that is, it's definitely a newspaper from the North.

I: Would you assume that people there would know what that is?

J: Yeah, for sure it's localised.

I: But you still know what a saltie is?

J: Yeah, I would be able to guess it but I don't talk about crocodiles often *[laughs]*.

I: So you would say crocodile?

J: I would say crocodile because I'm not familiar with them, they're not part of my life, so I wouldn't feel the need to shorten it when I say it.

I: Mhm and how does it make somebody appear when they use that word?

J: If somebody says saltie to me I would feel like, ehm they know what they're doing with a saltie and I have no idea *[laughs]*.

I: So it seems like they know what they're talking about=

J:=for sure.

I: And does it make them seem tougher?

J: Ehm I guess ((pause)) nah, I guess it just makes them seem familiar with it.

I: Ehm, the Lowie means Low Water Reserve. You wouldn't have known that?

J: I have no idea what that is.

I: Why do you think they would use that in this article?

J: To appeal to people who know what the Lowie is and localise it more.

I: Okay cool, the next one is a news video.

I: Well how does he appear?

J: Ehm he appears like *[laughs]* friendly *[laughs]*. But Bogan. You would assume that he's uneducated from the way he looks and his language.

I: *[laughs]* Yeah which words did he use that make you think that?

J: Ehm he doesn't ehm have my in his vocabulary, me jocks me undies. When he doesn't know what to say he just uses mate.

I: Would you use the words undies and jocks?

J: Yeah, I would say jocks.

I: So, if somebody says undies and jocks does that make you automatically think that they're uneducated?

J: Not uneducated, just Australian.

I: So it makes somebody appear more Australian?

J: Yeah, for sure.

I: And what about the mateship that he addresses?

J: He talks about mateship a lot.

I: And is that a thing that is desired here?

J: In Australia yes. I guess politicians use it all the time too.

I: Do you wanna be a good mate?

J: Yeah, I guess so. But I don't feel it as strongly as I guess some do.

I: But you would consider it a value here?

J: Yeah, in Australia yeah.

I: Alri::ght the next one is a shorter ad.

I: In this one, which words did you pick up?

J: In Australia we say Macca's, I don't know anywhere else in the world they say it but I don't think so.

I: Why would they use that to refer to themselves as Macca's as well?

J: I mean there are signs in Australia that even say Macca's.

I: Why do you think they do that here though?

J: I mean, it's general in Australia that they call themselves Macca's and it's just such a widespread term here regardless of education and whatever.

I: But does that seem uneducated to use that word in this ad?

J: It seems very Australian and what they're trying to push here is how Australian their burgers are.

I: Yeah, they also use the form Aussie.

J: Yeah, they're trying to make their product seem like it's come from Australia and not that it's from America. So they make it seem very Australian. They want that people think that they're supporting Australian farmers by buying McDonald's.

I: True. And do you use the word Aussie a lot?

J: Ehm – I say Australian a lot but don't mind saying Aussie I don't feel like it's Bogan or anything.

I: Does it represent your culture as well or national identity?

J: Yeah, it's pretty common everyone calls it Aussie, Oz. Also I feel that Aussie these days isn't as popular as straian like s t r a i a n that shortening sounds like more common.

I: True, I haven't thought about that.

J: It's funny because Aussie is more accepted than straian. You wouldn't hear it in an ad at the moment.

I: Yeah maybe down the track. – Okay let's look at the next one.

J: Povo.

I: Yeah.

J: That's just so bad.

I: Why is that?

J: It's not something to joke about.

I: So, it's offensive to use that?

J: For sure, I mean things that aren't funny when you shorten them it just becomes offensive.

I: Mhm, what about the shorter word for Aboriginal?

J: I wouldn't say that. That's even more offensive. Shortening Aboriginal is ehm a way of making them seem less than=

I: =Sorry less than what?

J: Just generally less than what they are, their culture or their name.

I: Same with povo probably.

J: Yes, exactly, it's not taking the issue seriously.

I: Yeah, it's interesting.

J: The thing is we're always shortening to make everything seem more relaxed, but you don't always want everything to seem more relaxed, sometimes when you shorten something that's not a good thing, it makes it worse because it means you don't care about it.

I: That's a good point. Okay the last few examples we can look at all at once.

J: Happy Birthday Shan. Ehm I think Shan and Loz I mean that's a very Australian shortened name I guess.

I: How would you say you know the relationship between those people?

J: They're obviously very close with each other.

I: Do you use nicknames a lot or shorter words?

J: Yeah yeah.

I: Do you have nicknames?

J: Yeah people shorten my name to Al.

I: And who would do that?

J: Friends or closer acquaintances. I would expect that someone who uses my full name isn't that close to me.

I: Do you think a person appears tougher if they have ehm a name like that or maybe less sentimental?

J: Tougher. It ehm depends where you are I guess in Mildura and stuff you might sound a bit tougher *[laughs]* or a bit more country.

I: Cool. And in the end do you feel more Aussie if you use those words?

J: Do I feel more Australian. Ehm I think that you feel more Australian if you use regional like words for sure. You can create a bit of an identity around them.

I: Mhm good. And how would you describe Australians?

J: Maybe a bit apathetic.

I: Very relaxed *[laughs]*

J: *[laughs]* Relaxed to the point where they don't care about anything.

**I = Interviewer**

**K = Interviewee 10**

- Name: Lara
- Age: 25
- Grew up in: Melbourne, VIC
- Living in: Melbourne, VIC

*Date of Interview:* 10/08/2018

I: Yeah so the first example e:hm that's taken out of a travel advertisement for a particular place in Queensland.

K: Straddie?

I: Yeah and does that seem Australian to you saying Straddie?

K: Yeah, it does seem Australian especially knowing that it's Stradbroke Island, I mean, it's a massive shortening of words *[laughs]*.

I: Do you know straight away what that is or is that something well known throughout Australia?

K: Well, I think it's in Queensland so I think people who have been to Queensland would know what it is but I think places like Victoria and New South Wales might not know what it is.

I: Why do you think they use words like that in travel advertisements?

K: I think they use it to seem more casual, ehm, more kind of chilled out and appealing and show that kind of relaxed and chilled out atmosphere which I think we represent in our language by shortening everything, that's probably why they used it and to appear as kind of a mate to the person who reads it.

I: Yeah good. And they also use Brisbane in the smaller text if you've seen that. I'm just ehm wondering why they might use Brisbane here instead of a shorter version of Brisbane?

K: Yeah, true, ehm, it might seem a bit forced, I mean, try hard if they had two. I think Straddie is such a long word that you don't write it out, whereas Brisbane is often used as Brisbane when you travel and on airports and so on.

I: Do you think they distance the ad a bit from Brisbane by using the longer form?

K: Yeah true, it makes Straddie seem more casual and a place to escape whereas Brisbane is a big city.

I: Alright, I think we can go on the next one which is a menu.

K: Yep.

I: Cool, that's just a menu from Hog's Breath Café. There's probably some words that stand out to you as well in here *[laughs]*.

K: Yeah, brekky?

I: Yes – yeah is that something you would use commonly?

K: Yeah, all the time, I think I say brekky every day, for sure.

I: Would you expect to see that in Melbourne as well?



K: M:: I think you still say it in Melbourne, I think it's a bit more used in Brisbane because people in Brisbane tend to use a lot more slang and also because Melbourne has brunch instead of brekky a lot more.

I: Oh *[laughs]*.

K: And I think Melbourne people have a bit more attitude, ehm, it's a bit more Bogan to ehm write brekky, it makes it look casual and in Melbourne they have that big pompous breakfast culture and Queensland also has a lot more sense of national pride.

I: Okay. And would you say it's uneducated to use words like this in a menu or also an ad?

K: In Melbourne yes. *[I think]* ehm yeah very a bit Bogan, I suppose. In Queensland I'm not sure, but I think it would be more appealing in a place like Queensland.

I: *[Mhm]* And how do you think it connects to the audience?

K: Ehm makes it seem like it's written for Australians by Australians ehm so yeah a stronger sense of connection. Just to have some casual brekky.

I: Yeah right. And how do you expect the atmosphere at that place because they say brekky and also Hoggies instead of using the full word?

K: I think it would be really chilled out you wouldn't have extremely formal service. It might even have a family vibe and probably more Australian customers maybe yeah.

I: Cool, the next one is from the University of Sydney and that's a News you know an article from the News Tab. Can you see the word?

K: Mozzie?

I: Yeah, is that something common?

K: Yeah, that's actually something I use all the time but I would never write it down and that looks really bad to be written down.

I: Oh really? Do you know why they only used it in the smaller heading and not the main heading?

K: Ye:ah, I think that's because ehm the subheading is supposed to be kind of a hook which might draw your attention in and makes it seem more relaxed.

I: Yeah and still addressing the Australians.

K: Yeah, like add to the ehm feeling of the article without actually being the ehm main focus, I suppose.

I: And why do you think the mosquito is shortened anyways and brekky and so on?

K: Well, firstly it's really a bit lazy, ehm part of our culture is to be lazy but also casual to be casual and really open is something that's really important and valued and by shortening words it automatically makes it feel like it kind of gets rid of the power and gives more of a sense of mateship. Everyone can be everyone's friend. I think in England the different accents they have are really specific and a lot of different classes which we don't have in Australia. It's actually a bit looked down at in Australia because you wanna be a good mate.

I: So, you think that these words are used in all different classes or do they discriminate between different classes?

K: No, I don't think that they discriminate between lower and higher classes.

I: So, really educated people would still use words like brekky and so on?

K: Yeah, I have a degree and I still use brekky and yeah *[laughs]*.

I: Okay, maybe the next one is not so common to you.

K: Oh, big saltie. That's interesting, because I've never used that one before, but I know what it means straight away.

I: So, you wouldn't I mean how would you refer to them just as crocodiles?

K: Yeah, I would say croc, a:h, no, I'd probably say crocodile, but I suppose because I've lived in cities I didn't have to use that very often.

I: But you would still know what it refers to?=  
K: =yeah, yeah=

I: =and what about the Lowie, do you know what that is?

K: No, but I'm gonna assume it's a river or a place.

I: Yeah, it's a Low Water Reserve. [Do you think] the people in Katherine know what that is?

K: [Oh yeah] Yeah, for sure.

I: So, it would be an insider perspective as well?

K: Yeah, definitely yeah.

I: Do you think if somebody uses the word saltie though does that person appear tougher or ehm cooler?

K: I think, ehm more country and ehm maybe in a sense, I suppose, more rough around the edges and I suppose, high-core and tougher.

I: Is it desired to be tough in Australia?

K: Yeah, we have a high culture of hyper-masculinity, especially more country Australia, not so much in Melbourne actually, it's more like Europe.

I: Yeah, it's different across the country – The next one is a short news interview. How does he appear?

K: Really Bogan and super Australian in a way that makes me feel ashamed to be Australian [laughs].

I: [laughs] What makes you think that, you know, is it the appearance?

K: Yeah, it's a combination of wearing extremely Bogan clothes and yeah the missing teeth as well and he has a really strong Australian accent.

I: Yeah, ehm did you pick up any particular words that he used?

K: Ehm, I think he said jocks, undies.

I: Does that make somebody seem uneducated already?

K: No [laughs] I think [laughs] I mean, I use jocks and undies but I think it's him saying me jocks and me undies that's the part that makes him uneducated.

I: Yeah, so, just because somebody says undies or jocks does make them uneducated?

K: No, it's not knowing how to actually use tenses.

I: And then he also addresses the mateship concept that you already addressed earlier. Which value does that have here?

K: Yeah, mate camaraderie and brotherhood, I suppose. Yeah look after each other and, yeah be friends, I suppose.

I: Cool, the next one is just a short ad.

K: Alright, they're gonna say Macca's aren't they?

I: [laughs] Yeah, well you guessed it already. Why would they refer to themselves as that?=  
K: =McDonald's?=  
I: =Yeah. Why would they say Macca's?

K: I think, ehm, McDonald's is actually very clever in the sense that, I mean, it's such a global company and it really goes into the specific nuances of each country that it markets in. In like CBD Melbourne they have a McDonald's that literally the label is Macca's and I didn't even know that was weird until someone who's international ehm says it. Macca's because it's also an Aussie name and it makes it sound like an Aussie farmer kind which is supporting local produce which is really funny because it's American. Ehm, it's a really weird way to make a global company feel really local and Australian, yeah.

I: Yeah, good. And another word you just used is the word Aussie and they said it in the ad as well. Would you refer to yourself as Aussie?

K: Yeah, I would say Aussie.

I: Even abroad or with Australians?

K: Ehm, I would use it in a self-deprecating way if I was using it in a way of describing behaviour or being self-deprecating, which is a huge part of Australian humour. I would say "Oh I'm Aussie", you know, or if referring to something that's really Aussie like being chilled out and those things *[laughs]*.

I: *[laughs]* – Okay, let's look at the next one which is a bit different I think.

K: That's pretty awful.

I: So, it seems offensive to you?

K: Yeah, it's ehm has a lot of negative connotations.

I: Why do you think that is?

K: Yeah, it's ehm derogatory, ehm because it's a noun describing something that has sort of a negative connotation and ehm it's a noun used to describe a group of people. Actually, I think a lot of Australian words which are used to ehm categorise people are quite offensive and I think that has to do with the fact of mateship and camaraderie which means that everyone has to be the same and if you're not part of that same culture or that same sense of mateship, then you get external labels, like being pov0 or=

I: =Aboriginal would be another one maybe=

K: =yeah I didn't wanna say that because I feel too bad or like being a wog or things like that.

I: So, you feel like it has to do with you know being Aussie and maybe if you don't belong into the group it creates an insider and ehm an outsider group.

K: Yeah, definitely, I think that's what it is about. I think it's about ehm pushing people to the margins to strengthen up an Australian vibe and creating a national identity by saying what it is to not be Australian.

I: Mhm, yeah. And does it seem like words like poverty and Aboriginal are shortened for the wrong purpose and makes it worse?

K: Yeah, it does make it worse, because it turns it into an identity that is ehm negative and a label that can be used.

I: Yeah, it's interesting. Maybe words like poverty and so on already have a negative kind of connotation and shortening them, you know, makes it seem like you don't take it seriously.

K: Yeah, exactly yeah, taking something that's pretty ehm a circumstance that has a lot of misfortune associated and creating a label for a person which is ehm, and often the circumstances are beyond somebody's control like being poverty-stricken is beyond somebody's control, being Aboriginal is not something you choose. So it's almost like making it seem like those people made that choice.

I: Yeah, true, good. – The last few examples will look at all together.

K: Shortening people's names? [Loz, Shan] and Tasha.

I: [Yeah] Why do you think that is common? And ehm, how does it portray their relationship?

K: Yeah, it makes them seem like they're bros or they're mates ehm and it's like, you know, someone ehm it displays an intimacy and closeness with a person which is often used - it can be used to break that barrier of being friends being mates.

I: And do you think somebody, say a Jono, seems tougher because he's a Jono not a Jonathan?

K: Yeah, because once you've been gifted this name you're accepted by the Australian mob around you and so you're displayed the qualities of a desired Aussie yeah.

I: And do you have nicknames?

K: Yeah, I do get called Laz or Lazy.

I: And would that be somebody who's close to you?

K: Yeah, they're my housemates.

I: Cool, and do you think that somebody appears more Aussie if they use shortened words like the ones we discussed?

K: Yeah, for sure. It differentiates you from the rest of the world, because it's such a commonly used language and it's used everywhere. So taking our own spin on it makes it feel like we have our own language and our identity is created as well.

I: So, you feel more Aussie as well?

K: Yeah, sure.

I: And how would you describe Australians in general?

K: Ehm, I would describe Australians as casual, laid-back, really strong value for friendship but also negative things, ehm as we were saying, it can be quite racist because if you don't fit into that group you're a bit ostracised and I think being Australian is being white and blond even though we're multicultural ehm.

I: Yeah that's true, it's almost a contradiction.

K: Yeah, and I think because we're so multicultural there's this really strong desire to reinforce ehm an Australian way of life and what it means to be in it, which is why we use nicknames and arvo and so on.

I: Yeah, I think it contributes to the national identity as well.

K: Yes, I think that too.

I: Alright, that's it, thank you so much.

## Deutschsprachige Zusammenfassung

Beobachtet man Konversationen zwischen Australiern, so kann festgestellt werden, dass das Englisch der Australier einzigartige Charakteristika vorweist, die es ermöglichen, dass das australische Englisch von anderen Variationen, wie zum Beispiel dem britischen oder dem amerikanischen Englisch, unterschieden werden kann. Um die Entstehung des australischen Englisch zu verstehen, beschäftigt sich diese Diplomarbeit zuerst mit der Geschichte und Entwicklung des australischen Englisch. Da die Meinungen der Linguisten die sich mit dem australischen Englisch und dessen Geschichte beschäftigen sehr unterschiedlich sind, behandelt das erste Kapitel verschiedene Theorien und deren Kritik.

Das zweite Kapitel beschäftigt sich mit den Charakteristika des australischen Englisch und geht genauer auf phonologische, lexikalische und syntaktische Merkmale sowie auf Betonungsmuster ein. Außerdem wird ein Vergleich zu anderen Englischvariationen, insbesondere zur britischen Standardaussprache (Received Pronunciation), gezogen. Ein weiterer Fokus dieses Kapitels ist es die sozialen sowie regionalen Unterschiede des australischen Englisch zu besprechen. Während einige Sprachforscher der Meinung sind, dass regionale Variation im australischen Englisch nicht vorgefunden werden kann, haben andere Forscher bewiesen, dass sowohl soziale als auch regionale Unterschiede im australischen Englisch vorkommen.

Aufgrund der wichtigen Rolle die hypokoristische Formen im australischen Englisch und dessen Charakterisierung spielt, beschäftigt sich das dritte Kapitel mit Hypokoristika in Englisch im Allgemeinen sowie im australischen Englisch im Besonderen. Deswegen werden Hypokoristika bezüglich ihrer Form und Bildung analysiert und hypokoristische Wortbildungen für die Kategorien Vornamen, Ortsbezeichnungen und Substantive besprochen. Da hypokoristische Formen im australischen Englisch auch häufig kulturelle Konzepte representieren, werden Vorstellungen und Werte, die in Australien angestrebt werden, genauer diskutiert. Aufbauend auf diese Theorien, behandelt das letzte Kapitel, die qualitative Forschung, die für diese Diplomarbeit durchgeführt worden ist und sich mit den Funktionen von Hypokoristika sowie deren Representation von kulturellen Konzepten beschäftigte. Die Ziele der Studie, die verwendeten Methoden und die Auswertung der Ergebnisse stehen im Fokus des letzten Kapitels dieser Diplomarbeit.